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# A HISTORY

OF THE

# ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CYPRUS

FROM THE COMING OF THE APOSTLES
PAUL AND BARNABAS
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BRITISH OCCUPATION
(A.D. 45-A.D. 1878)

TOGETHER WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

LATIN AND OTHER CHURCHES
EXISTING IN THE ISLAND

BY

J. HACKETT, B.D.

CHAPLAIN TO THE FORCES

Pt. 1.

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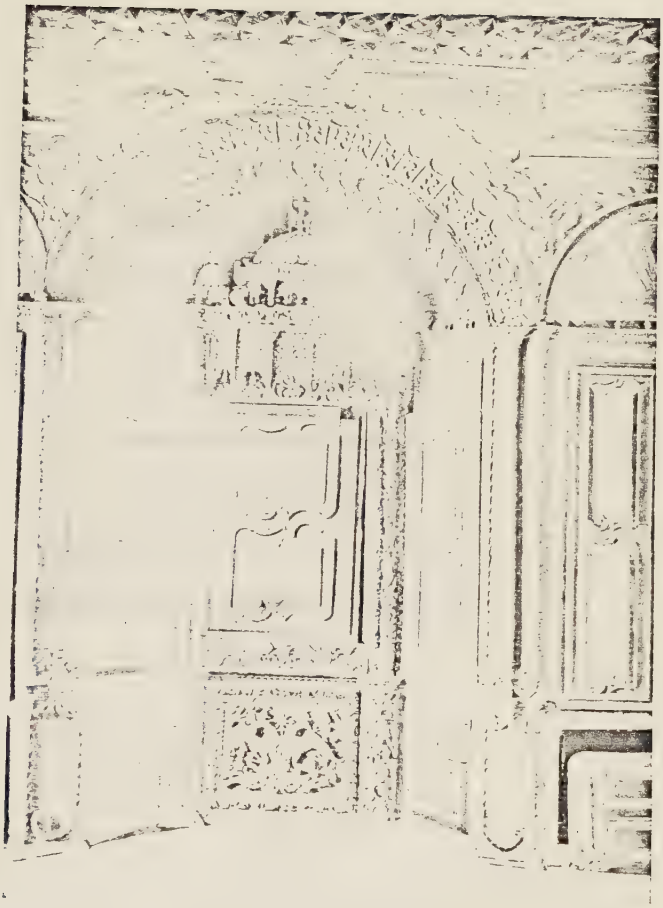
# A HISTORY

OF THE

# ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CYPRUS

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CARVING AT OMODOS MONASTERY

TO FIELD MARSHAL

THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT WOLSELEY,

K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.,

AS THE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE

OF BRITISH RULE IN CYPRUS

SINCE CŒUR-DE-LION,

AND IN RECOGNITION OF HIS KINDNESS

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE AUTHOR

# PREFACE

This work is the outcome of two tours of service in Cyprus, where the author acted as military chaplain. Though it does not profess to much original research, sources of information have been used which are generally inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Hitherto the quest for such brief notices of the ecclesiastical history of the island as still exist has entailed laborious search in the pages of many writers. It has been the author's principal object to collect these scattered fragments, and to attempt to lay before his readers as one continuous whole the story which they represent. After a long period of comparative oblivion Cyprus has within recent years again come prominently into view. Since the commencement of the British occupation, much has been done to clear up the obscurity connected with its early history and antiquities, but no corresponding effort has been made to render the like service to its ecclesiastical records. Yet it is a subject which for many reasons is deserving of equal attention. As Cyprus is now the only part of the British dominions where English churchmen are brought into immediate contact with that great Eastern Communion, numbering within its fold so many millions of fellow-believers, it presents an exceptionally favourable opportunity for that friendly intercourse between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches which it is to be hoped may yet prove productive of the happiest results. The author begs to assure his many Orthodox friends, who may honour him by reading what he has written, that he has approached his task in no captious or censorious spirit. His one constant endeavour throughout has been to remember that Christians, however much they may be separated by doctrinal differences, form after all but one body, and that "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it, or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it". Nothing has, therefore, been set down with the intention of

causing pain or giving offence, and he is confident that any seeming reflections will be accepted in the spirit in which they have been made.

The author is gratefully sensible of the kind assistance he has received from various quarters during the course of his labours. Among the many names which readily recur to him selection is difficult. To the present Commissioner of Larnaka, C. Delaval Cobham, Esq., the mention of whom will recall pleasant memories to every traveller in Cyprus, his thanks are more particularly due. Mr. Cobham's own achievements in the field of Cypriot literature are too well known to need description. Not only has he freely placed the rich stores of his learning at the author's disposal, but he has also most kindly permitted him to use a series of valuable notes he had himself collected for a similar purpose. Such generous treatment well merits the most cordial recognition. Mr. C. J. Whitfield, from his extensive knowledge of the island, was also able to afford very considerable help. To the Bishop of Kition and the Hegoumenos of Kykko the author begs to tender his warmest acknowledgments for like services most courteously and willingly given. With them he would wish to couple the names of other Cypriot ecclesiastics, alas! now no more, His Beatitude the late Archbishop of Cyprus, the late Bishop of Paphos and the late Archimandrite Hieronymos Myriantheus, formerly in charge of Hagia Sophia, Bayswater. To the Rev. J. H. Bernard, D.D., F.T.C.D., he is deeply indebted for much valuable assistance in the verification of references, as well as to J. B. Bury, Esq., F.T.C.D., for the keen interest he has taken in the progress of the work, and for his exertions in furthering its publication, also to W. W. Copland, Esq., C.E., for preparing the maps accompanying the volume.

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# THE CHURCH OF CYPRUS

## CHAPTER I.

CYPRUS, now so far removed from the great centres of modern life, once played a most distinguished part in the annals of the faith. It was one of the first of heathen lands to receive the Gospel message. Its inhabitants were some of the earliest to proclaim "the good tidings of great joy," for we read that among the first missionaries to Antioch were men of Cyprus. But what renders the island doubly interesting to Christians is that it was the scene of one of the most striking of the many triumphs, which the great Apostle of the Gentiles gained in the cause of Christ. A native chronicler, himself a Latin, when recounting the exploits of Barnabas at Antioch, thus exultingly sums up the services, which Cyprus has rendered to Christianity:—

Special importance of the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus.

Acts xi. 19, 20.

Acts xiii. 12.

Lusignan, pp. 23 (b), 24 (a)

"Under what an obligation then should the city of Antioch be towards the Cypriots! Under what a debt, too, are Christian people in being called Christian through the instrumentality of Cyprus! But what shall we say of thee, O holy Rome? Whence hast thou received the first beginning of our holiness but from Barnabas? And Milan, Bergamo, and Brescia, what thanks do ye not owe? Behold, then, how Cyprus is a true friend of Christ and in the truest sense a part of the Holy Land, since it was the first cause that Rome was consecrated head of the world."[1]

Acts xi. 26.

The subject of this work falls naturally into three main divisions, corresponding to the threefold change of ownership,

Threefold division of the subject.

[1] Quanto obligo dunque deve havere la città di Antiochia alli Cipriotti? Et il popolo christiano quanto obligo ha d'esser chiamato christiano per opera di Cipro? Ma che diremo di te, Santa Roma: onde hai il primo principio della nostra santità havuto se non da Barnaba? et tu Milano quante gratie, Bergamo et Brescia? Eccovi dunque come Cipro è vera amica di Christo, et Provincia veramente di terra santa, poscia che fù causa primiera, che fosse santificata Roma capo del mondo (!).

which the island has undergone within comparatively recent times.

I. From the arrival of the Apostles to the final extinction of the Byzantine supremacy (A.D. 45-A.D. 1191).

II. From the establishment of the Latin Kingdom under the Lusignans to the expulsion of the Venetians by the Turks (A.D. 1191-A.D. 1571).

III. From the incorporation of Cyprus into the Ottoman dominions to the Convention with Great Britain (A.D. 1571-A.D. 1878).

**Characteristics of each of these divisions.**

Each of these periods is marked by varying fortunes in the life of the island Church.

The first comprises not only its foundation and gradual development, but also the attacks made upon its ancient liberties, from which it at length emerged, with its independence secured and its privileges increased and confirmed.

The second is the story of one long and continuous struggle of nearly 400 years with an unscrupulous assailant on behalf of its dearly cherished prerogatives.

In the third its lowest ebb appears to have been reached. Contemptuously tolerated by the professors of an alien creed it has fallen from its former high estate, retaining only the shadow of its ancient glory.

**Scarcity of early records.**

Unfortunately of its earliest records scarcely anything remains. Most of the notices of this period still extant are drawn from external sources. Nor is this surprising, since Cyprus formed for some centuries after the introduction of the faith the battle-ground between the Cross and the Crescent, when the fierce warriors of the Prophet destroyed both churches and monasteries alike with their precious contents.

**Arrival of Paul and Barnabas.**

The first important event in its religious history, of which we have any definite knowledge, is the arrival of the two Apostles (A.D. 45). Though the names of Paul and Barnabas must ever stand foremost in the ecclesiastical annals of the island, they were not the earliest pioneers of Christianity to reach its shores. St. Luke informs us that in the persecution, which succeeded the death of Stephen, some of the fugitive disciples carried the knowledge of the Gospel as far as Cyprus. But their preaching was confined entirely to the Jews. The message of salvation was only proclaimed without distinction of race or creed at the coming of the Apostles.

**Acts xi. 19.**

It was no mere chance which had brought these two men together for the great work, in which they were associated. Holy Scripture clearly indicates that their intimacy was of long standing. It was Barnabas, for example, who had vouched for the sincerity of Paul's conversion. It was Barnabas, too, who had sought him out in his retreat at Tarsus. An early tradition represents them as being fellow disciples under Gamaliel. But may we not perhaps assign to their friendship an even earlier date? Tarsus, as we know, lies at no great distance from Cyprus. Its celebrated schools were the resort of students from all the adjacent countries. Is it so very improbable to suppose that in Tarsus itself began that acquaintance, which was to have such important results for Cyprus?

Early intimacy of the two Apostles.

Acts ix. 27.

Acts xi. 22.

The motive, which led Paul and his companions to choose this island as the scene of their first missionary enterprise, is very obvious. Not only was Barnabas himself a native of Salamis on its eastern coast, but it contained at this period a large Jewish population. Their first appearance there seems to date from the reign of Ptolemy Soter, who is reported after the capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 320 to have transferred great numbers of them to Egypt and other parts of his dominions. Many more subsequently reached the island in the hope of finding employment in the copper mines, which were at one time farmed by Herod the Great. And the ranks of these later comers were constantly being recruited by the advent of others from the mainland, who were driven from their homes in Judæa by the disturbances so long prevalent there.

Probable reasons for the selection of Cyprus as the scene of their labours.

1 Maccab., xv. 23.

Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. xvi., c. 4.

The account of their journey, so far at least as Cyprus is concerned, is recorded very briefly in the Acts. The writer merely states that the Apostles, after landing at Salamis, crossed the island to Paphos, where they converted the representative of the Roman government. According to local tradition Paul had, previous to this event, received from the Jews of this town the customary forty stripes save one.[1] A column of white stone about seven feet high is still pointed out to travellers as the one, to which he is said to have been tied on the occasion. Possibly this may have been one of the instances of ill-usage at the hands of his compatriots, to which the Apostle himself alludes. The conversion of so influential a person as Sergius Paulus could

St. Luke's account very brief.

Acts xi. 12.

Local tradition of St. Paul's ill-treatment. Hierides, p. 117.

2 Cor. xi. 24.

Favourable results of Sergius Paulus' conversion.

[1] This tradition is noticed by Le Huen (1487) as follows:—

"Dessoubz lesglise qui fust aux Cordeliers a une chartre ou Sainct Paul fust lie et detenus par aulcun temps avec Sainct Bernabe en preschant levangille".

not fail to have a most favourable effect upon the success of their mission. No one would lightly venture to assail a faith, which counted him among its adherents. From the Jews the Apostles would naturally meet with the most determined opposition. Their converts, however, were chiefly drawn from the heathen population, who would not have the same prejudices of early training to overcome. One modern writer, indeed, as a proof that the new doctrines did not meet here with the same resistance as in other places, asserts that the Gentile Christians of the island even after their conversion continued to call themselves Greeks, a name elsewhere regarded as equivalent to idolater. But, since he has given no authority for this statement, we are unable to judge of its accuracy.

Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., p. 6.

Other sources of information as to the doings of the Apostles.

Though the Acts themselves are silent as to the subsequent doings of the Apostles in the island, there are other sources of information available, which must, however, be received with considerable caution. Alexander, a Cypriot monk, in his encomium on Barnabas asserts that the Apostles founded churches in various parts of Cyprus, appointing to them such of their disciples as were pre-eminent for their zeal and courage. In an apocryphal work of the fifth century, generally ascribed to Mark, but based most probably either on the records, or traditions, of the native Church, it is stated that at Kition they met with one Herakleon, whose name Paul changed to Herakleides. Him they consecrated first bishop of the island and placed in charge of the congregation, whose place of meeting was in a cave near the city of Tamasos. At Paphos they would inevitably be brought in contact with the national cultus of Aphrodite, whose principal shrine was situated in that district. In connection with this subject various legends are told. A very late writer mentions, without, however, stating the source of his information, that they urged the Proconsul to destroy the celebrated temple at Old Paphos. But this improbable story is sufficiently refuted by the testimony of Suetonius and Tacitus. These historians inform us that, when Titus some years later visited the sanctuary on his way to join Vespasian on the eve of the Jewish war, he was greatly struck by the display of wealth which he saw. Even without such evidence we might safely assume that the Paphians would not quietly have submitted to the destruction of a building, which brought them such profit and renown. One of the mediæval chroniclers of the island relates a somewhat similar legend. He says that Barnabas on his subsequent visit was so moved with indignation at the abominations committed in the temple, and

Alexandri Monachi Laudatio in Apostolum Barnabam.

Acta et Passio Barnabæ.

Le Quien, O.C., tom. ii., coll. 1039-40.

Jauna, tom. i., p. 48.

Suetonius in Tito., c. v. Tacitus, Hist., lib. ii., cc. 2, 4.

Lusignan, p. 6 (b), cf. Cotovici Itinerar., p. 100.

the throng of naked worshippers collected there, that he prayed for its speedy destruction. In answer to his prayer the building is reported to have been shattered by lightning and all within destroyed. But this story may be dismissed as being equally as improbable as the other. In fact its utter improbability is well attested by the scene of the occurrence being placed at New Paphos. As a German writer very aptly remarks, Luke would certainly not have omitted the circumstance had it been as true as the adventure with Elymas.

Reinhard, tom. i., lib. ii., sec. 5.

No second visit of St. Paul is recorded. Barnabas is known to have returned after the rupture with his fellow Apostle, bringing with him the cause of the quarrel, his kinsman Mark. From the apocryphal work bearing his name already quoted we further learn that in the neighbourhood of Cape Krommyon he converted two temple slaves, Timon and Aristion. After traversing Cyprus in company with Mark and Timon he returned to Salamis. There he again met Herakleon, whom he urged to build churches everywhere and to ordain ministers for them. Shortly afterwards he fell a victim in that town to his own zeal and the fanaticism of the Jews.

No second visit of St. Paul recorded.

Acts xv. 39.

Return of Barnabas and Mark.

Acta et Passio Barnabæ, c. 42.

Ibid., c. 46.

Ibid., c. 47.

In the year A.D. 115 occurred one of the most terrible events in the island's history, which for a time threatened the very existence of the Church. The Jews throughout the Roman Empire had long borne with impatience the insults and indignities heaped upon them by the Gentile world. At length in the reign of Trajan, exasperated beyond endurance, they broke out into open rebellion. Insurrections took place in Cyrenaica, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. The numerous Jews living in Cyprus did not long remain mere passive spectators of the struggle. Under the leadership of Artemion they flew to arms and committed incredible atrocities, massacring some 240,000 of their fellow-citizens, and reducing the flourishing town of Salamis to ruins. This rebellion was only suppressed after a severe struggle, in which great excesses were committed on both sides. Thousands of the insurgents perished in the rising and the survivors were banished from the island. So great, indeed, was the prejudice excited in consequence against this unhappy people that for centuries afterwards no Jew was allowed under pain of death to land in Cyprus. In fact, with such merciless severity was this cruel law applied that, if a member of the hated race was even cast by the winds and waves upon its inhospitable shores, he was at once put to death. That they returned at a later

Jewish revolt favourable to the spread of Christianity.

Eusebios, H. E., iv. 2. Chronicon, ad ann. 119. Dio Cassius, lib. lxviii., tom. ii. Synkellos.

Dio Cassius, Epitom. Xiphil. (Edit. Stephani, Paris, 1551, p. 241).

period is quite evident from the accounts given us by travellers of their presence in the island. They appear at any rate to have been fairly numerous when Benjamin of Tudela wrote (A.D. 1160), for he says :—"Besides the rabbanitic Jews in this island, there is a community of heretic Jews, called Kaphrossin, or 'Cyprians'. They are Epicureans and the Jews excommunicate them everywhere. The evening of the Sabbath is profaned and that of the Sunday kept holy by these sectarians." The archimandrite Kyprianos in his history cites this law and the circumstances, which gave rise to it, as reasons why the Jews have ever since been comparatively strangers in Cyprus. He urges his fellow-countrymen to bear it in mind and to tell it to their children, assuring them that, though no longer of any effect, other means still existed for preventing the detested race from settling among them.[1] The worthy ecclesiastic is very properly taken to task by a later writer for such sentiments, as ill-befitting that religion of love, which he was supposed to profess.

Benjamin of Tudela, Asher's translation, vol. i.

Kyprianos, p. 95.

Sakellarios, tom. i., p. 163, note γ.

But what seemed at first the most terrible misfortune, that could have happened to the Church of Christ, eventually proved the greatest blessing, which could have befallen it. The banishment of its most determined foes was the one thing needed to ensure the advancement of Christianity. On their departure it spread with much greater rapidity than it had ever done before. New teachers came from Syria to replace those, who had lost their lives in the late troubles. Whole families, too, already converted passed over into the island from the same regions. These, with the numerous hermits and recluses, who began to flock thither from all parts, helped to confirm the faith of the native Christians. Though the records of this period have almost all perished, we possess enough to know that civil commotions were not the only evils, from which unhappy Cyprus had at this time to suffer. Frequent earthquakes destroyed its fairest cities, while the effects of famine and other causes contributed largely to the decrease of its population. That the Christians in Cyprus did not escape the persecutions, which their brethren in other parts of the Roman Empire had then to endure, is shown by the long list of martyrs and confessors, whose names the island Church still hold precious.

Cyprus visited by earthquakes and famines.

Synkellos, Eusebios, S. Jerome, Vita Sti. Hilarion, Kedrenos.

[1] Ας εὐθυμοῦνται οἱ συμπατριῶται αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον, καὶ ἂς τὸν διηγοῦνται καὶ εἰς τὰ τέκνα των· καὶ ἂν τὴν σήμερον δὲν ἔχει κἀμμίαν ἰσχὺν, πλὴν εἶναι τρόποι ἄλλοι διάφοροι, καὶ μέσα, νὰ μὴν ἀφησουν ποτὲ νὰ μολύνουσι τὴν Πατρίδά τους ἐρχόμενοι Ἑβραῖοι νὰ κατοικήσουσι. Γένος τόσον ἄπιστον καὶ ἐχθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν, ὁποῦ οἱ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῖς, τοὺς ἔχουσι μὲ μεγάλας φυλαξεις χωρισμένους, καὶ περικλεισμένους, μὲ νόμους ἀξίους διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν των.

The first and most famous of the Councils, that of Nicæa (A.D. 325), was attended by representatives from Cyprus as well as from other parts of the Christian world. The existing lists of subscriptions are admittedly very defective, which may account for the names of only two Cypriot bishops being recorded—*viz.*, Kyrillos of Paphos and Gelasios of Salamis. But from other sources we know that a third, the famous miracle-worker Spyridon of Trimythus, was also present. With the exception of these three, ecclesiastical history is silent as to any others. Kyprianos, however, asserts that twelve took part in the proceedings, yet their names as given by him amount to fourteen, *viz.*, Kyrillos, Gelasios, Auxibios, Photios, Gerasios, Aphrodisios, Irenikos, Nunechios, Athanasios, Makedonios, Spyridon, Triphyllios, Norbanos, and Sosikrates. But, except in the case of the first two, he has not mentioned the sees, over which they presided. Though he has omitted to state the source of his information we can form a tolerably certain guess whence he derived it. For he asserts that these same prelates were also present at the much later Council of Sardica (A.D. 343 or 344). Of this Council there are several contemporary documents still extant, which tell us of whom it was composed. We have (1) the Council's letter to the Bishops—(2) another copy of the same in Athanasios' Apology against the Arians—and (3) Hilary of Poictiers' list of those, who were present and subscribed the decrees, which follows his version of the Council's letter to Pope Julius. The Council and Athanasios record the names not only of those who attended, but also of those who, though absent, afterwards subscribed the decrees. Their lists include those given by Kyprianos, with the exception of Kyrillos and Gelasios, and in the same order. Hilary, who gives an imperfect list of those only actually attending, does not mention them at all. That Kyprianos merely took the first two of these lists and attached to them the names of the two prelates, who are mentioned in the Nicene catalogue, seems highly probable. And what strengthens the supposition is the fact that not only are the names for both Councils given by him in exactly the same order, but the sees also of the two first on the list alone are added. For, while the Nicene records give the names of the bishoprics as well as of their occupants, those of Sardica mention the bishops only. Another circumstance, which greatly confirms this conjecture, is to be found in the fact that, though Kyprianos gives the number as twelve, he enumerates fourteen names, showing that when counting those, who figure in the Sardican lists, he omitted to include the two

Cypriot Bishops attend the first General Council.

Mansi, tom. ii., col. 696.

Sokrates, H.E., lib. i., c. 12. Rufinus, i. 5. Athanasios, Apol., ii. Nikeph., viii. 15. Sozomen, i. 11.

Kyprianos, pp. 131, 357.

Mansi, tom. iii., col. 69.

Athan., Apol. c. Arian. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl., ii. 7.

Hil. Pict., lib. ii., c. 6.

taken from the Nicene. Even had all these bishops been present, as represented, at the earlier Council, it is inconceivable how they could all have figured at the later Conclave also, which was held some twenty years afterwards. Many of them must have been very old men even in A.D. 325—and thus in the natural order of things it is well-nigh impossible they could have survived to A.D. 343 or 344. These considerations, therefore, cannot fail to excite doubts as to the accuracy of Kyprianos' list.

**Cyprus visited by a severe drought in the fourth century.**

In the fourth century A.D. Cyprus was visited by a drought of unusual severity, a scourge to which at all times it is very liable. The earlier chroniclers represent it as lasting for thirty-six years. One of them even hints that it was sent in retribution for the martyrdom of St. Catharine. The inhabitants, they inform us, were so distressed by the want of water and the famine, which ensued in consequence, that they were obliged to entirely abandon the island.[1] But Kyprianos, though admitting the severity of the visitation, assigns to it a period of seventeen years only, at the same time denying that the island was so utterly deserted by its inhabitants, as described. He admits that large numbers of the poorer classes may have been forced to leave, but he thinks it impossible that a country so long inhabited could be so entirely abandoned, or that the well-to-do would so generally consent to relinquish their homes and property. He bases his contention on the fact that at the first Council of Nicæa there were present from Cyprus twelve bishops, who would represent a considerable population still remaining. We know from other sources that this famine, which occurred in A.D. 324, was not confined to Cyprus, but was fairly general throughout the East, causing great misery and frequent riots in various places. In Antioch itself the price of wheat went up to 400 denarii the modius. Constantine the Great did what he could to alleviate the universal distress by causing corn to be distributed gratuitously to the Churches for the relief of the

Machæra, 1 (Sathas, ii., p. 54). Lusignan, 2, p. 40 (a).

Kyprianos, p. 96.

Kedrenos (Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cxxi., col. 565).

[1] Ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ βαπτιστῆναι εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ δική μας χώρα ἡ Κύπρος ἔμεινεν χωρὶς τινὰν χρόνους λς', διατὶ ἐγίνην πεῖνα μεγάλη ἀπού ἀβροχίαν, καὶ οὖλη ἡ σπορὰ ἐχάθηκεν· καὶ ἡ πεῖνα ἐγίνην μεγάλη, καὶ οὖλα τὰ νεοὰ τῶν βρύσων ἐξεράναν, καὶ ἐπηγαῖναν οἱ ἀνθρῶποι ἀπού τόπον εἰς τόπον μὲ τὰ κτηνά τους νὰ εὕρουν νερὸν, νὰ ζήσουν καὶ τὰ κτηνά τους· καὶ οὖλα ἐστεγνῶσαν, καὶ λάκκοι καὶ βρύσες, καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὴν πανθαύμαστον Κύπρον καὶ ἐπερᾶσαν ὀδῶ καὶ κείω ὅπου πᾶσα εἶς ηὗρεν ἀνάπαυσιν· καὶ τὸ νησὶν ἔμεινεν χωρὶς τινὰν χρόνους λς'.

[2] Il Re di Cipro per il peccato forse di Catherina fù castigato esso et tutto il Regno insieme, perche stette 36 anni che non piovvè: onde non solamente il Re fù costretto di fuggire, ma anchora molti anzi quasi tutti li habitanti fuggirono dall 'Isola, et cosi hebbe di nuovo fine il Regno di Cipro.

poor and needy. It is on record that the inhabitants of Antioch received in this way some 36,000 modii.[1] A modern writer, Sathas, quotes Theophanes to show that Cyprus suffered even less than some of her neighbours from the affliction, as the latter reports that the famine-stricken wretches from other parts of the Empire in their destitution attacked it and carried off the corn there by force.[2]

Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., p. 8, n.1. Theophanes., A. C., 324. (Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cviii., col. 117).

Visit of St. Helena. Machæra (Sathas, ii., pp. 55, 56).

It was in the midst of this all-prevailing misery that there appeared upon the scene a woman, whose name the Church of Cyprus has always held in the greatest reverence. The mother of the first Christian emperor, St. Helena, returning to Constantinople after her successful quest for the true cross at Jerusalem (A.D. 327), touched at the island. She landed at its eastern coast near the modern village of Mari. Carrying with her on shore some of the treasures she had lately so miraculously acquired in the Holy City, she made her way to the monastery of St. George near the river Tetios, which in honour of her visit has since received the name of the Vasilipotamos, or Royal river. The presence of these precious relics soon became apparent in the island. The wrath of Heaven was at length appeased and the long withheld rain descended. The news of this speedily becoming known induced many of the exiles to return to their native land. But the good offices of the Saint did not cease with the removal of the drought. She was excited to compassion on beholding the universal misery and desolation, into which the country was plunged. Observing the fertility of the soil and the temperate nature of its climate, she resolved that a region so eminently adapted to support a large population should no longer remain so thinly inhabited. Accordingly she invited settlers from all the surrounding countries, from Arabia, Syria and Anatolia, and to induce colonisation bestowed estates upon them with exemption for a certain time from all

Proves a great benefactress to the island.

[1] τῷ κη' ἔτει λιμὸς μέγας ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σῖτον πολὺν ἀποστείλας τοῦτον ἤμβλυνε· μόνη δὲ ἡ Ἀντιόχεια λς' χιλίαδας σίτου κατ' ἔτος ἐλάμβανε.

[2] τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μελλούσης ἐβδόμης ἰνδικτίωνος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι λιμὸς ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἐπικρατήσας σφοδρότερον, ὥστε κώμας κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ συναγομένας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας Ἀντιοχέων καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐπέρχεσθαι κατ' ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἁρπάζειν μὲν ὡς ἐν νυκτὶ ταῖς ἐφόδοις, ἔσχατον δὲ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπεισιέναι εἰς τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποθήκαις, καὶ πάντα πραιδεύοντας ἁρπάζειν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. γενέσθαι δὲ τὸν μόδιον τοῦ σίτου τετρακοσίων ἀργυρίων. ὁ δὲ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος σιτομέτριον ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ πόλιν ἐχαρίσατο εἰς διατροφὴν διηνεκῶς χήραις καὶ ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ξενοδοχείοις πένησί τε καὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς. ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησία ἐλάμβανεν σίτου μοδίους λς'.

taxation. Many of these new comers are reported to have been natives of Telos and others of the Sporades. Their descendants are still to be met with in the western parts of the island, and have given their name to the district of Tylliria. While continuing her journey to Constantinople Helena is said to have shown yet further proof of her regard for Cyprus by throwing one of the nails of the true Cross into the gulf of Satalia. These waters, which had previously borne a very bad reputation for storms, became in consequence less formidable to sailors. The traveller Drummond thus alludes to the legend: "Had she not thrown one of the nails of it"—*i.e.*, the Cross "(which our heralds call passion-nails) into the sea, when she was overtaken by a dreadful storm in Satalia Bay, her imperial majesty would undoubtedly have gone to view the wonders of the deep: but the holy nail bore down the waves, smoothed the surface of the sea, and procured her a safe landing. Though I do not find that either she or any of her beatified historians tell us whether or not the nail, after having knocked down the tempest, was pleased to return to its former station."

Drummond, Letter xiii., p. 259.

New era of prosperity for Cyprus.

The visit of this saintly woman seems certainly to have brought with it a new era of prosperity for the sorely tried island. The inhabitants, so we read, partly by agriculture and partly by commerce, made rapid advances in material prosperity. This was to be seen in the erection of stately edifices and the rebuilding and fortifying of ruined cities. The numbers, too, of those, who confessed the faith of Christ, kept daily increasing. The growing importance of the new religion might be observed in the numerous shrines and churches, which sprung up on every side. Schools were also established for the cultivation of both sacred and profane learning, from which have proceeded many, whose fame for piety and wisdom shines brightly in their Church's history.

The place of Cyprus in the division of the Empire.

On the death of Constantine the Great his extensive dominions were divided among his three sons, Constantine (II.), Constantius (II.), and Constans. To the second of these princes was assigned the sovereignty of the East, Cyprus being included in his share. After the deaths, however, of his two brothers the Roman world became once more united in his person. This Emperor, who was an ardent champion of the Arians, bitterly persecuted their opponents. As the heretics were everywhere in the ascendant, Cyprus doubtless witnessed those same acts of oppression against the Orthodox, which occurred in other parts

of the Empire. His successor in power was the remarkable man known as Julian the Apostate. Though nothing positive is stated, we may affirm with tolerable certainty that the revival of Paganism under this Emperor could not fail to affect Cyprus also. By his orders the temples, which the Christians had destroyed, were rebuilt at their expense, and the old rites and superstitions, which had been gradually losing ground before the steady advance of the new faith, restored. In an island so noted for the worship of one of the chiefest among the heathen deities, where, too, her most famous shrine was placed, such an attempt must have been especially felt. The result could only have been transient after all. It was the last expiring protest of the old order against the new, and ended with its originator's death in A.D. 363. But the Church, though now freed from the most formidable of her external foes, speedily became once more the prey of internal enemies. In A.D. 364 Valens was declared Emperor of the eastern division of the Empire. Originally orthodox in his views he is said to have become an Arian through the influence of his wife and to have displayed the greatest animosity against his former co-religionists. Among other barbarous acts he is reported to have caused many of the Catholics at Antioch to be drowned in the Orontes, while by his orders the monks were dragged from their retreats in the Egyptian deserts, and under pain of death compelled to perform their duties as citizens. While such cruel measures were adopted in other parts of his dominions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Orthodox in Cyprus felt the sharp sting of persecution also.

Probable revival of Paganism under Julian.

By the close of the fourth century Christianity may be regarded as firmly established in the island. Perhaps to its growing importance as much as to Hadrian's orders we may ascribe the abolition[1] of the human sacrifice to Jupiter at Salamis, which had been brought about during that emperor's reign (A.D. 117-A.D. 138). Its final supremacy, however, was mainly due to the great Epiphanios, Archbishop of Constantia. According to his disciple and biographer, Polybios, Bishop of Rhinocorura, the Valentinians were then specially numerous in the island.

Christianity firmly established at the close of the fourth century.

Lactantius, Div. Inst., lib. i., c. 21; ad Pentad., c. 23.

Porphyr., De Abstin., lib. ii.

Eusebios, De Præp. Evang., lib. iv., c. 16.

Heretical sects numerous in the island.

Polybius, Vita Sti. Epiphanii, c. 89.

[1] In the month Aphrodision it was customary to offer there a human sacrifice at first to Agraulos, the daughter of Agraulos and Cecrops, and afterwards to the deified Diomedes instead. Diphilos, a legendary King of Cyprus, is reported to have substituted an ox for the man. The human sacrifices in honour of Jupiter are said to have been instituted by Teucer.

Their leader was a bishop named Aetios, with whom Epiphanios had many disputations on matters of faith. In addition to the Valentinians there were representatives also of various other sects, the Ophites, Sabellians, Nicolaitans, followers of Simon Magos, Basilidians, and Carpocratians. Finding himself unable to contend successfully with so many opponents, Epiphanios was forced to invoke the assistance of Theodosius I. who was a staunch upholder of orthodoxy. The Emperor in reply to his appeal issued an edict, threatening with banishment all who opposed the Archbishop, but permitting to remain such as were willing to renounce their errors. In consequence of the imperial intervention many were converted to the true faith, while those, who still continued obdurate, were compelled to leave the island.

Their final extinction due to Epiphanios.

Epiphanios, Archbishop of Salamis.

Epiphanios, as one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical personages of the age in which he lived, deserves more than a mere passing notice. Hardly a religious event of any importance occurred during the period of his long life, in which he did not play a conspicuous part. It is a singular fact that in the list of those attending the Second General Council (A.D. 381), while the names of other prelates from Cyprus are to be found, as Julius of Paphos, Theopompos of Trimythus, Tychon of Tamasos, and Mnemonios of Kition, no mention is made of the Metropolitan himself. Though these lists are known to be imperfect, the omission can be accounted for otherwise than by defectiveness or absence. As Epiphanios was present at the council held in Rome the following year (A.D. 382) under Damasus, when the Apollinarian heresy was yet further condemned, he may have left the Imperial city before the decrees were actually signed. In his later years he was distinguished by the animus, which he displayed against the memory and writings of the great Origen. His violence on this subject frequently hurried him into the commission of acts unbecoming one of his exalted reputation. While on a visit to Palestine in A.D. 394 it led to an unseemly quarrel between him and John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, whom he charged with favouring the doctrines of the heresiarch. But the greatest blot on his fame was the part he took in the persecution of the saintly Patriarch of Constantinople, which also arose out of the Origenistic controversy. Theophilos, the crafty Patriarch of Alexandria, had long cherished a secret grudge against Chrysostom. This question, which was then agitating the religious world, seemed to present a favourable opportunity for gratifying it. At his suggestion Epiphanios, who fell an easy victim to his wiles, summoned the

Mansi, tom. iii., col. 570.

Sokrates, lib. vi., c. 10. Sozomen, lib. viii., c. 14.

island Synod at Constantia (A.D. 399 or 402), when the reading of Origen's works was condemned. The Archbishop thereupon wrote to Chrysostom, directing him to do the same. On the latter ignoring the request Epiphanios, though nearly 100 years of age, proceeded to Constantinople in A.D. 402, where he was guilty of the same lawless acts as at Jerusalem. Becoming convinced after a while that he was merely the tool of Theophilos, he dissociated himself from that Patriarch's proceedings and set out to return to his own province, but died at sea when almost within sight of Constantia.

The ecclesiastical independence of Cyprus threatened by the See of Antioch.

The second great danger, which the Church of Cyprus had to face, was an attack upon its independence by a neighbouring Christian community. The subject, unquestionably one of the most difficult in its history, is involved in much obscurity.

Tillemont, Memoires, tom. xiv., art. 73, p. 441.

Among the prerogatives of the Patriarchs of Antioch was the right of consecrating their subject Metropolitans. For years before the question came to a crisis attempts had been made to extend the practice to Cyprus also. The political condition of the age, it must be admitted, greatly favoured this pretension. The island was at that period included in the civil diocese of the East and administered by an official sent from Antioch.[1] It was this circumstance which prompted the demand of the Patriarchs for its ecclesiastical subjection to Antioch also. One of these prelates, Alexander, in a letter on the jurisdiction of his patriarchate, which he addressed to Innocent I., actually pretended that such a right had formerly been exercised by his predecessors, but had lapsed during the Eustathian schism. The Pope, without making any inquiries, accepted the statement of his correspondent as correct and wrote to the Cypriots, exhorting them to conform to the canons and return to their obedience.[2] But they

Hefele, Councils, vol. iii., p. 374.

Kyprianos, p. 68.

Balsamon in Canon viii., Concil. Ephesini.

Sathas, tom. ii., Prol., p. 12.

Zosimos, lib. v., c. 33.

Pancirolli, Notit. Dignitat., cc. 104, 109.

Constant. Porphyr., De Them., lib. i., c. 15.

Balsamon and Zonaras in Can. viii., Concil. Ephes. Beveridge, tom. i., pp. 1045.

Epist. Innocent I., No. 24. c. 2, sec. 3.

[1] Kyprianos conjectures that the revolt of Kalokairos was the cause of the island becoming subject to the Dukes of Antioch, who sent a representative to administer its affairs, as Balsamon says in his comment on the Eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus. But Sathas on historical grounds shows both these writers to be incorrect in their statements, as on the reorganisation of the Empire by Constantine the Great Cyprus was never given a separate government, but always included in the Diocese of the East, which was the first of the five divisions of the prefecture of the East, having its capital at Antioch. According to the Notitia Dignitatum this diocese, after originally comprising the proconsulships of Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus, was subsequently re-divided into fifteen, of which Cyprus was one, and administered by officials called consulars.

Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiastique, bk. xxv., c. 57, p. 114, Newman's translation, pp. 113-14.

Fleury, bk. xxv., c. 57, p. 114, Newman's note.

[2] "St. Innocent's testimony resolves itself into that of Alexander's since he merely decided on the strength of Alexander's assertions (. . . sane asseris

continued to resist what they regarded as an unwarrantable encroachment with the same vigour as before. Either they refused to relinquish their ancient liberty even at the bidding of a Pope, or succeeded in persuading him of the justice of their action.[1]

Tillemont, Memoires, tom. xiv., art. 73, p. 444.

Testimony of the Arabic Canons of the First General Council untrustworthy.

If the testimony of the Arabic canons[2] of the first General Council could be trusted the matter would not allow of a moment's doubt. For the thirty-seventh of that collection once admitted closes all further discussion on the point. "If the bishop (*i.e.*, archbishop) of Cyprus die during the winter, and the people be unable by reason of the roughness of the sea to send to Antioch that the Patriarch of Antioch may appoint them an archbishop in the room of the deceased, they are to write to the Patriarch and request him to allow them to appoint whom they will, nor shall the Patriarch refuse after they have written to him—but rather let him permit the thirteen bishops to assemble and appoint an archbishop in the room of the deceased, lest, if the archbishop die at the beginning of winter, they remain by reason of the weather without a head, and lest perchance any of the thirteen bishops die, and there be no archbishop to appoint a bishop in the room of the deceased, and thus it happen that they be deprived of an archbishop that whole year. Wherefore this decree has been made, and whoso gainsays it, the Council excommunicates him."[3] But the gravest doubts exist

Labbe, tom. ii., p. 302.

Mansi, tom. i., p. 964.

Hefele, i., p. 355 sqq.

. . . ). We may therefore say with Constant (Rom. Pont. Ep., t. i., p. 853) that his advice to the Cyprians was only hypothetical, that is, it went on the supposition that the information forwarded to him was correct. The question is thus reduced to a balancing of evidence, and there seems to be no reason for preferring Alexander's statement to the clear and explicit testimony of Zeno."

[1] Innocent supposant que ceux de Chypre violaient les canons de Nicée, en refusant à l'Eglise d'Antioche la soumission qu'ils luy avoient rendue autrefois, leur en écrivit. Mais ou ceux de Chypre ne crurent pas devoir préférer son autorité à leur ancien usage, ou ils le persuadèrent luy mesme de la justice de leur cause.

[2] La Geographie sacrée (Geographia Sacra Caroli a Sancto Paullo, Amstel, 1711) pretend qu'elle estoit soumise á l'Antioche dans les premiers temps et qu'elle se rétira peu á peu de cette soumission. Mais elle n'en allegue point d'autre preuve que les canons arabiques.

[3] Concilii Nicæni lxxx Canones Arabici.

Can. 37. De electione archiepiscopi Cypri subjecti patriarchæ Antiochiæ. Si episcopus Cypri diem suum in hieme obierit, et non potuerint populi propter tempestatem maris mittere Antiochiam, ut patriarcha Antiochenus constituat ipsis archiepiscopum loco mortui, debent scribere ad patriarcham et petere ab eo ut permittat eis constituere quem voluerint; neque prohibebit hoc patriarcha, postquam ad eum scriptum fuerit: sed potius concedat 13 episcopis, ut congregentur et constituant archiepiscopum loco mortui: ne defuncto archiepiscopo principio hiemis, sine capite propter tempestatem remaneant, et ne

as to their genuineness. There is no mention of them in any of our earliest authorities on the history of the Council, nor are they to be found in the most ancient collections of the canons. Those, who defend their authenticity, ascribe the more frequent occurrence of the universally acknowledged twenty to their superior utility to the Church. According to them Alexander, the then Patriarch of Alexandria, caused the Greek copy, which he brought back with him from Nicæa, to be translated into Arabic, the vernacular of his Church, and the Arians, when they subsequently burnt the Greek original, overlooked the Arabic translation through their ignorance of the language.[1] These canons were certainly unknown to Western Christendom till the pontificate of Paul IV., when the Jesuit, J. Baptista Romanus, copied them from a MS. which he found in the house of the Patriarch at Alexandria. This copy he afterwards translated into Latin at Rome. Another member of the same order, Franciscus Turrianus, published an emended Latin version in 1578, in the preface to which he endeavoured to prove that the Council of Nicæa issued more than the number of canons, with which it is usually credited. Though all the compilers of the canons since Turrianus' time have on the strength of his statements accepted them as genuine, later critics[2] have conclusively proved them fictitious from internal evidence. In fact the commonly received opinion is that this particular one—the thirty-seventh—was expressly manufactured to support the claim of Antioch. Had these canons been really extant at the time of the third General Council it is inconceivable how all recollection of them

Their origin.

Mansi, tom. ii., p. 947.

Hefele, i., pp. 360-1.

Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., p. 16.

Beveridge, Pandectæ, tom. ii., Annotat., p. 212.

aliquis fortassis ex 13 episcopis a vita recedat et non sit archiepiscopus qui constituat episcopum loco mortui: atque ita fiat, ut toto eo anno archiepiscopo careant: ob hanc causam constitutum est hoc; et qui contradixerit, synodus eum excommunicat.

[1] Surely Coptic was the language used by the local Church at this period, the Arab invasion not taking place till A.D. 638?

[2] Beveridge's reasons for rejecting these Arabic canons may be thus briefly summed up.

i. The action of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 450-1), in quoting and confirming the ancient code, in which the recognised twenty canons alone are ascribed to the Council of Nicæa.

ii. Kyrillos of Alexandria, in reply to the request of the African bishops (A.D. 418) to be supplied with the most genuine copy of the canons of Nicæa, sent the one containing twenty canons only, which had been deposited in the archives of the Patriarchate by his predecessor Alexander, who had been present at the Council.

iii. The absolute identity of the information contained in the letter sent on the same occasion by the Patriarch Attikos of Constantinople with the contents of Kyrillos' copy of the canons.

should have so completely disappeared in the short space of a hundred years, for it was on the basis of the Canons of Nicæa that the assembled fathers at Ephesus acknowledged the independence of the Cypriot Church.

Hostile attitude of John, Patriarch of Antioch.

The Patriarchs of Antioch were at first content merely to assert their claims, without taking any active steps to enforce them. But when John became head of the see more aggressive measures were adopted. The tendency of the age, which was to increase the powers of the more important Churches at the expense of the smaller, may have suggested a more adventurous policy. The death of Theodoros, Archbishop of Constantia, in A.D. 431, seemed a fitting opportunity for making the long meditated attempt. Exerting all his influence with Flavius Dionysius, then Count of the East, John persuaded him to write on the 21st May of that year to Theodoros, the Consular of Cyprus, requiring him to use every possible means, even to the employment of force, to prevent a fresh election till the question at issue between the two Churches had been submitted to the General Council about to assemble at Ephesus. In case the letter arrived after the election, Theodoros was to order the newly appointed archbishop to proceed with his colleagues to Ephesus and explain their conduct before the Council. To ensure greater attention to these directions Theodoros and his officers were threatened with a heavy fine should they fail to carry them out. At the same time Dionysius addressed the chapter of the metropolitan Church to the same effect, threatening them also with severe penalties in case of disobedience. Two military officers and a deacon of the Church of Antioch were also sent into the island to see that these orders were duly carried out.

Tillemont, tom. xiv., art. 73, p. 444.

Mansi, tom. iv., pp. 1465-68.

Letters of Flavius Dionysius.

Action of the Cypriots.

The Cypriots, nothing daunted by the threats which they received, proceeded to elect a successor to their late Archbishop. Their choice fell upon Rheginos, who immediately after his consecration set out for Ephesus in company with four other ecclesiastics, Saprikios, Bishop of Paphos, Zeno, Bishop of Kurion, Evagrios, Bishop of Soli and the Protopapas Cæsarios, to lay before the Council an account of these irregular proceedings.

Circumstances which led to the Council of Ephesus.

The Patriarch of Antioch could not have chosen a more unpropitious occasion for the prosecution of his schemes. The Eastern division of the Church was then agitated by the heresy of Nestorios, Patriarch of Constantinople, whom the Orthodox charged with denying the union of the two natures in Christ. At the head of the opposition, which his doctrines excited, was Kyrillos of Alexandria. The bishops of that city had shown a

strange hostility to the see of Constantinople since its elevation to the patriarchal dignity in A.D. 381. His uncle and predecessor, Theophilos, had already rendered himself conspicuous for his persecution of the saintly Chrysostom. And now the nephew was following closely in his relative's footsteps. It has been suspected, and not without reason, that personal animus rather than religious zeal prompted his conduct. To allay the excitement caused by the dispute the Emperor Theodosius the Younger in November A.D. 430 ordered in the joint names of himself and his Western colleague, Valentinian III. the assembling of a General Council at Ephesus in Whitsuntide of the following year. John, while at first equally as emphatic as the rest in his condemnation of the alleged errors, was averse to extreme measures. He dreaded the scandal likely to arise from the condemnation of so important a personage as Nestorios. The enemies of the latter, however, ascribed quite a different motive to his moderation. They accused him of being unwilling to condemn one, who had formerly belonged to his own diocese. Despite the request of some of the bishops that the proceedings might be stayed until all, who were to take part in the deliberations, were present, the Council was formally opened on 22nd June under the presidency of Kyrillos in the church called St. Mary's from its being the supposed burial-place of the Virgin. The sequel may easily be imagined from the unseemly haste with which matters were conducted. Nestorios, who declined to appear, was deposed and his opinions condemned. But Candidian, the Emperor's commissioner, refused to endorse the sentence from the irregular manner, in which it had been procured. Among the absentees, when it was passed, was the Patriarch of Antioch, whose arrival had been delayed by various causes. Five days after the opening of the conclave he appeared at Ephesus. On learning what had occurred he not only refused to identify himself with these irregularities, but in turn summoned a Council composed of the fourteen bishops, who had accompanied him from Antioch, and of twenty-nine others, who subsequently joined them. Kyrillos was by them pronounced guilty of turbulence and with his abettor, Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, sentenced to be deposed; while the 198 prelates, who had sided with them, were refused all communion with John and his party until they had withdrawn the anathemas pronounced against Nestorios. When Kyrillos and his partisans heard of these proceedings they in turn, as was to be expected, condemned the Patriarch of Antioch to excommunication.

Proceedings of the Council.

Arrival of the Cypriot Bishops at the Council.

It was under such circumstances as these that the Cypriot deputation presented themselves to the assembled fathers in their seventh session. Rheginos, who acted as spokesman, requested

Presentation of their petition.

that a memorial, which he had brought with him, bearing the signatures of himself and his suffragans, might first be read.

Mansi, tom. iv., pp. 1465-68.

Le Quien, O.C., ii., coll. 1039-42.

This list of grievances began with an account of the harsh treatment which two former archbishops of Cyprus, Troilos and Theodoros, the latter being even subjected to the indignity of blows, had suffered, when in Antioch, at the hands of the clergy there, to force them to acknowledge the supremacy of that patriarchal see. It next charged them with instigating Dionysius to interfere in the election of a successor to Theodoros, which he would never have done but for their misrepresentations. It offered the letters and other documents connected with the case for inspection, as the perusal of them would show the illegality of the late proceedings. It prayed the assembled fathers not to allow themselves to be duped by men, who were endeavouring to introduce an innovation contrary to the canons and constitutions of Nicæa. And it ended by an earnest appeal to them to uphold by their decision the independence of the island Synod.

Inquiry by the Council into the complaints of the Cypriot Bishops.

After the reading of the memorial Rheginos further asked that the letters of the Count might also be read. The Council next proceeded to question the bishops on several points connected with the business that had brought them to Ephesus. In reply to the request that they would state clearly the motive, which had induced Dionysius to issue such letters and orders, Zeno declared that it was due to the suggestion of the Patriarch and clergy of Antioch. On being asked what was the object of the Patriarch in so doing Evagrios answered: "To subjugate our island and to secure to himself the prerogative of ordaining our bishops contrary to canon and custom". As the result of these statements the assembly on 31st August pronounced the decision known as the eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus, which effectually secured the Church of Cyprus from all further molestation by the Bishop of Antioch.

Eighth Canon of the Council secures the independence of the Cypriot Church.

Labbe, tom. iii., p. 801.

"Our fellow-bishop, Rheginos, most beloved of God, has, together with the most reverend bishops of the province of the Cypriots, who are with him, Zeno and Evagrios, reported an innovation, which is contrary to the customs of the Church and the canons of the holy fathers, and affecting the liberty of all. Wherefore, since diseases that are common to all require the greater care, as being attended by the greater danger, if it be

not in accordance with ancient custom for the Bishop of Antioch to hold consecrations in Cyprus, as the most religious men, who are in attendance at this holy Council, have assured us in their memorials and orally, the presidents of the holy Churches, which are in Cyprus, shall enjoy, freed from molestation and hindrance, the right of performing by themselves the consecrations of the most holy bishops, according to the canons of the holy fathers and ancient custom."[1]

Remarks on the Eighth Canon.

Hefele, vol. iii., pp. 71-2.

Bright, Notes on Canons of First Four Councils, pp. 113-120.

Bishop Hefele calls this decree a resolution, and Bright remarks that the word "canon," by which it is generally known, is loosely applied. Both question the accuracy of the date, on which it is said to have been passed, and mention that Garnier and other commentators are in favour of 31st July instead, as John, Count of the Sacred Largesses, the Emperor's new Commissioner, only reached Ephesus at the beginning of August, when no further meetings took place. Beveridge says that this canon was not recognised by Photios, for in the preface to his Nomocanon that Patriarch declares seven only were framed by the Council, while in the first chapter of his first Title he cites the one immediately preceding as the seventh. John of Antioch himself, however, in the preface to his collection of the canons, though agreeing with Photios as to the number, mentions this one as the eighth. This apparent discrepancy Beveridge ascribes to the fault of the copyist, as John in the first Title of his Nomocanon distinctly calls it the seventh, while saying that the whole number was seven. As he never refers to the one, which is generally known as the seventh, he must have intentionally omitted it.

Beveridge, Annotat. in Canon viii., Pandectae, tom. ii., p. 106.

Action of the Cypriot Church condemned by some ecclesiastical writers.

Tillemont, Memoires, tom. xiv., art. 73, p. 444.

Neale Eastern Ch., vol. i., p. 125.

Some distinguished ecclesiastical historians maintain that the Church of Cyprus was wrong in opposing what they regard as the just claims of the Patriarch of Antioch. It has been said, moreover, that the evidence, upon which the decision rested, was

[1] Πρᾶγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων καινοτομούμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἁπτόμενον προσήγγειλεν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος συνεπίσκοπος ὁ Ῥηγῖνος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας, Ζήνων καὶ Εὐάγριος, ὅθεν ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη μείζονος δεῖται τῆς θεραπείας, ὡς καὶ μείζονα τὴν βλάβην φέροντα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μηδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον παρηκολούθησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων Πόλεως τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας, καθὰ διὰ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν ἐδίδαξαν οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἄνδρες, οἱ τὴν πρόσοδον τῇ ἁγίᾳ Συνόδῳ ποιησάμενοι, ἔξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον Προεστῶτες, κατὰ τὰς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι.

false.[1] Neale, for example, writes that "the island of Cyprus, which had formerly been in the Antiochene Diocese, was (it seems under a false impression), declared autocephalous by the Council of Ephesus at a time when John of Antioch, through his support of and presence at the pseudo-Council, was not at hand to maintain his own rights". It is to be regretted that the learned author did not live to produce in his unfinished history of the Patriarchate of Antioch the evidence, which alone could justify such a statement. But to pretend that the rights of Antioch were sacrificed merely out of spite to an individual appears a most unwarrantable assertion. Though the Council, it must be admitted, was actuated by no friendly feelings towards John, there is nothing to indicate that it had quarrelled with his See also, but rather the reverse. When Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, taking advantage of the general hostility to John, tried to advance the claims of his See to supremacy over Antioch, his attempt was so forcibly opposed by Kyrillos, the president of the Council, that he was obliged to abandon it. The history, too, of the proceedings prior to the publication of the decision shows that it was the result of careful investigation, and not due to mere impulse. The assembled fathers, mindful of the injunction of the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nicæa, confirmed, too, by the Second Canon of Constantinople, that "the rights, which they formerly possessed, must be preserved to the Churches of Antioch and the other Eparchies," were careful not to pronounce their verdict until the alleged independence of the Cypriot community had been conclusively proved. Many of them occupied the highest positions in the Church themselves, and to have acted from mere prejudice might have created a most dangerous precedent in case of resistance to their own rights and privileges. The bishops of Cyprus, as we cannot fail to observe, were subjected by the Council to the most searching examination. They were most distinctly asked whether the Patriarch of Antioch had ever been known to have exercised the right of consecration in Constantia. To this question Zeno of Kurion made answer equally as emphatically that from the times of the holy Apostles it could not be shown that either he, or any other prelate, had

Robertson, Ch. Hist., bk. iii., ch. 4, p. 233.

Decision of the Council defended.

Robertson, Ch. Hist., bk. iii., ch. 4, p. 228.

Hefele, vol. iii., p. 72.

Bright, Notes on Canons of First Four Gen. Councils, pp. 118-20.

Le Quien, O.C., tom. ii., coll. 1041-42.

[1] Le Père Garnier croit que Rhegin ne fut pas fort fidèle dans le rapport des faits, et que le Concile ne se mit pas beaucoup en peine d'examiner les droits de l'Église d'Antioche, à cause du peu d'union qu'il avoit avec Jean. Mais il ne nous allegue point de preuve de ce qu'il croit. Zonare ne trouve rien que le juste dans ce decret, dont il fait le 8e canon du Concile d'Éphese, et Balsamon même, quoique Patriarche d'Antioche reconnoist encore plus formellement que les faits alleguez par Rhegin estoient veritables.

ever conferred consecration in their metropolis, or any other city, or had ever conceded to the island the right of consecration. On the Council next requiring proof that the Patriarch did not by ancient privilege possess such a custom, the same prelate replied that it was the local Synod, which appointed the archbishop. Still seemingly unconvinced, the Council further enquired whether the three metropolitans, whom it named, Epiphanios, Sabinos, and Troilos, had been appointed elsewhere than in the local Synod. Zeno again answered that these bishops, as well as their predecessors in office, were from apostolic times appointed solely by the Cypriots. It has been conjectured that these three archbishops may have been consecrated locally in accordance with the pseudo-Canon already cited. But the baselessness of this supposition is sufficiently shown by the fact that Epiphanios' death took place not in the winter, but on 12th May, 403.[1] In the face of this accumulated evidence refusal to accede to the request of the deputation was no longer possible.

Tillemont, Memoires, tom. xiv., art. 73, p. 444.

The very form, however, in which the decision commences: "if it be not in accordance with ancient custom," shows that, like Innocent's reply to Alexander, it was simply conditional. It depended entirely upon the truth of the evidence offered by the Cypriots. Had any Patriarch of Antioch in subsequent times proved the falseness of that evidence, who can doubt that the decision would have been reversed and its rightful jurisdiction restored to the patriarchal See? But no such attempt was ever made. And there is only one possible way of accounting for such an omission. Because those most interested in doing so knew very well that they had no rebutting evidence to offer.

Decision of the Council conditional.

Leo Allatius, De Ecclesiæ Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consensu, lib. i., c. 25, p. 430.

There is, moreover, a very curious circumstance connected with the question, which ought not to be lost sight of. John himself seems not to have considered Cyprus as being really among the provinces subject to him. In a letter to Proklos, Patriarch of Constantinople, which has been preserved by Irenæos of Tyre, when enumerating the other provinces of the Eastern diocese dependent upon Antioch, he never once makes mention of its

Curious omission of John, Patriarch of Antioch.

Le Quien, O.C., ii., coll. 681-82.

Ad Ephesinum Concilium Varior. Patrum Epistolæ, Christ. Wolff, tom. vii., p. 356.

[1] La Géographie sacrée semble vouloir dire que ces trois (Epiphane, Sabin, et Troilus) avoient été ordonnez par ceux de l'isle, conformément au canon arabique, qui ordonne que si l'Evesque de Constancie meurt en hiver, on se contentera d'avoir le consentement de l'Evesque d'Antioche pour ordonner son successeur, sans qu'il soit besoin en ce cas qu'il l'ordonne luy mesme, à cause du danger de la mer. Mais cette conjecture qui ne pourroit pas etre considerable quand rien ne la dementiroit, se trouve combatue par la mort de S. Epiphane, qui selon toutes les apparences mourut non en hiver, mais le 12 de May en l'an 403.

name.[1] What does such an omission amount to but a tacit acknowledgment that the island was never actually within his jurisdiction? That he would have accepted as final the decision of a Council, whose proceedings he had already questioned, is not to be believed. The attempt of one of his successors, Peter the Fuller, to revive the claim shows that the Church of Antioch did not regard the decree as binding. And, therefore, the omission cannot be accounted for as a mere act of acquiescence on his part.

It is true that Wolff in his scholion on the above letter identifies Paralia, one of the provinces mentioned, with Cyprus. But his reason for doing so appears to be a very fanciful one. He asserts that the word Paralia is connected with the name of the celebrated state trireme of the Athenians, which he calls Paralos Salaminia, whence all islands were named Paralia. There seems to be a trace of some confusion in his mind between Salamis in Cyprus and Salamis in Attica, while he appears also unaware that there were two of these vessels, the one known as the *Paralos* and the other as the *Salaminian*.[2] Le Quien more correctly regards Paralia as Phœnicia Maritima.

History not favourable to the claims of the Antiochene Church.

From historical considerations, too, we can clearly see that no such claim, as the Patriarchs of Antioch advanced, could be reasonably based upon the political divisions of the period.

Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 6.

When the notorious Publius Clodius Pulcher, to gratify a personal grudge against Ptolemy, the last independent sovereign, transferred the ownership of the island to the Republic (B.C. 58), the government was administered by a prætor responsible to the central authority at Rome. This arrangement continued until

Dio Cassius, lib. xlii. Strabo, lib. xiv.

[1] John in his letter to Proklos enumerates the provinces of his patriarchate as follows:—1. Paralia (Phœnicia Maritima); 2. Phœnicia Secunda; 3. Cilicia Prima; 4. Cilicia Secunda; 5. Arabia (annexed to Jerusalem by Fifth G. C.); 6. Mesopotamia; 7. Osrhoena; 8. Euphratesia; 9. Syria Secunda; 10. Isauria; 11. Syria Prima.

Labbe, Concil., tom. iv., coll. 611-618 (Actio Septima).

Palæstina Prima, Palæstina Secunda, Palæstina Tertia, which once belonged to the same patriarchate, had then transferred themselves to the See of Jerusalem. At the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) they were formally resigned by John's successor, Maximos, to Juvenal of Jerusalem.

Neale makes his list of the provinces of the Antiochene Patriarchate to exactly correspond with John's, with the addition of Cyprus.

Pancirolus in Notit. Imperii Orient., p. 169.

The civil diocese of the East contained the following fifteen provinces: 1. Palæstina; 2. Phœnice; 3. Syria Prima; 4. Cyprus; 5. Cilicia; 6. Palæstina Secunda; 7. Palæstina Salutaris; 8. Phœnice Libani; 9. Eufratensis; 10. Syria Salutaris; 11. Osrhœna; 12. Mesopotamia; 13. Cilicia Secunda; 14. Isauria; 15. Arabia.

[2] Paralos Salaminia erat famosissima triremis species, ideoque ab illâ omnis insula accepit nomen Paralia.

the time of the first Triumvirate, when it reverted for a while to the Ptolemies, its former owners. Augustus on becoming sole master of the Roman world at first included Cyprus in his own dominions, but afterwards exchanged it and Gallia Narbonensis with the Senate for Dalmatia. Cyprus, from being an imperial, now became a Senatorial province, under the administration of a proconsul. But it continued to possess a separate government of its own, and was in no way dependent upon any of the neighbouring provinces. During the reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-A.D. 337) the Empire was divided for convenience of administration into thirteen dioceses. The first of these, called the East, with its capital at Antioch, was further subdivided into fifteen provinces (eparchies), of which Cyprus formed one. The island by this arrangement lost the political autonomy, which it had enjoyed since the time of Augustus, but no alteration in its ecclesiastical status took place. The Church still remained independent and self-governing, as before. Christianity had been introduced (A.D. 45), long prior to the administrative changes established by Constantine. Though it is well known that the ecclesiastical divisions of the Empire, when first constituted, were generally made to correspond with the civil, yet it was contrary to custom to alter them for any political changes, which might subsequently occur. That such changes did occasionally take place cannot be denied, but their rarity only serves to prove the careful observance of the general rule. Innocent I. in his already cited letter to Alexander of Antioch distinctly states that "the Church does not follow all the changes of the temporal power". But this rule would have been plainly disregarded, had the Patriarch been allowed to establish his claim in consequence of the after incorporation of the island into the civil diocese of the East.

Dio Cassius, lib. liv.

Epist. Innocent I., No. 24.

The decision of the Council of Ephesus, though tacitly disregarded by the Antiochene Church, was not openly disputed until the reign of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-A.D. 491), when the Monophysite, Peter the Fuller, occupied the Patriarchal throne. The grounds, upon which he proceeded, were entirely different from those of John. He asserted his title to supremacy not on ancient rights, but on the plea that, as Cyprus had originally received the faith from Antioch, which was an apostolic foundation, it ought, therefore, to be subject to that See. There is little doubt the attack against the liberties of the island Church would this time have succeeded, but for the opportune intervention of its

Peter the Fuller renews the attack upon the Cypriot Church.

patron saint. The Emperor favoured the cause of the heresiarch, whom he had restored to his diocese after being twice expelled during the reign of Leo. Though Anthemios, then in possession of the archiepiscopal See, resisted the pretension to the utmost of his power, he must eventually have succumbed to the powerful influences brought against him. But assistance came from a most strange and unexpected quarter. The Apostle Barnabas, suddenly appearing in a vision to the archbishop, urged him to lay his case in person before the Emperor at Constantinople, and at the same time revealed the place of his sepulture. On the morrow, accompanied by his clergy and a great concourse of people, Anthemios went in procession to the place, which had been so miraculously indicated. After engaging in prayer they commenced to dig beneath a carob-tree, which marked the supposed site of the burial. They soon came upon a cave, in which they found a chest containing the remains of the saint, with a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Barnabas' own handwriting upon the breast, where it had been placed by Mark. The most sceptical could no longer doubt that the Church of Cyprus was equally as apostolic as that of Antioch, and, therefore, of equal rank. Overjoyed at the discovery Anthemios set off at once with the precious relics for Constantinople, where he reported the marvellous occurrence, and requested the Emperor's protection against the Patriarch's tyranny. Zeno, on hearing what had taken place, ordered Akakios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to convene a meeting of his Synod to decide the matter in dispute. The opponents of Cyprus began the discussion by claiming the pre-eminence for Antioch from its having been the first See of the Apostle Peter. Instructed by Barnabas, Anthemios retorted that his Church was equally as apostolic, as it also possessed an Apostle for its founder. The Antiochenes, struck with the cogency of this reasoning and being unable to urge anything in reply, retired from the contest in confusion, leaving the archbishop master of the situation. Zeno, to mark his sense of the importance attaching to the discovery, conferred upon the Cypriot primates certain privileges, which they have most jealously guarded ever since. Among others they received the right of signing in red ink, a mark of distinction only otherwise enjoyed by the Emperors, wearing a purple cloak at the festivals of the Church, and carrying an imperial sceptre in place of the ordinary pastoral staff. The copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, which Anthemios presented to the Emperor, was sumptuously adorned with precious stones and metals, and conveyed to the

Opportune appearance of the Apostle Barnabas.

Alex. Monachi Laudat. in Apost. Barnab., c. 30.

Discovery of his relics.

Action of the Emperor Zeno.

Kyprianos, p. 103.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 28.

Joelis Chronographia (P. G., cxxxix., col. 364).

chapel of St. Stephen in the imperial palace, where it was read annually on Good Friday. By the Emperor's commands Anthemios on his return to Cyprus constructed on the spot, where the body was found, a magnificent church furnished with cells for monks, and with chambers for such pilgrims, as might be attracted thither by the sanctity of the place. The box, too, in which the sacred relics were laid, he deposited on the right of the altar, in a place adorned with silver ornaments and marble columns.

Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 673). Theodore Lector, lib. ii., sec. 2 (P. G., lxxxvi. (1.), col. 184). Laudatio in Apost. Barnabam, c. 33.

Well might a native historian, remembering all the benefits said to have resulted to Cyprus from this fortunate discovery, thus apostrophise their author :—

Eulogy of the Apostle Barnabas.

"I doubt whether any other Apostle so defended his native land and proved himself such a patriot as our Barnabas, who during his life freed his fellow-countrymen from the abominable worship of idols by teaching them the true faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and after his death delivered the holy Church of his native land from the oppression of the ambitious and grasping clergy of Antioch, and raised it to such an eminence that it was the envy even of those of the highest rank in the hierarchy. Truly and without doubt the veritable Son of Consolation he, I mean Barnabas, fulfilled in all respects the injunction : 'Fight for faith and Fatherland'. Under what an obligation then are we Cypriots to the deliverer of our souls, to the benefactor and originator of our Church's renown, let each decide for himself; and let us celebrate the patron and protector of his native land both in the present life and in the one to come."

Kyprianos, p. 164.

The date of this occurrence is a matter of some uncertainty. Kedrenos places it in the fourth year of Zeno's reign, which would correspond to A.D. 478. But against this is opposed the fact that Peter was not then in occupation of the See of Antioch. Victor Tununensis assigns it to the year A.D. 488.[1] Yet, if Baronius is right in his conjecture that the Patriarch died in A.D. 486, this date is equally as impossible. Nikephoros Kallistos, indeed, refers the discovery to the reign of Anastasios (A.D. 491-A.D. 518), but, since Peter is known to have flourished under Zeno, the inaccuracy of this statement is very evident.

Probable date of the occurrence. Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 673). Baronius, Ann. Eccl. ad ann. 486. Nikeph. Kallist., Hist. Eccl., lib. xvi., c. 37.

[1] Post consulatum II. Longini V. C. (a. 488) corpus sancti Barnabæ apostoli in Cypro et Evangelium secundum Matthæum ejus manu scriptum, ipso eodem revelante, inventum est. Chron. Vict. Episc. Tununensis (Migne, P. L., lxviii., col. 947).

Varying details of the discovery.

Those, who have described the finding of the saint's body, differ somewhat, too, as to the details. Kedrenos, Joel, and Theodore Lector report that the tree, which grew over the place of interment, was a cherry, while Kallistos describes it as a carob. Lusignan, following the Roman martyrology, declares that the copy of the Gospel found in the grave was from the pen of St. Matthew himself, which is distinctly opposed to the generally received accounts.[1]

Kedrenos, lib. i.

Joelis Chronographia.

Theodore Lector, lib. ii.

Lusignan, p. 12 (b).

Martyrolog. Rom. (11 June).

Various opinions as to the origin of the independence of the Cypriot Church.

These historians, it will be observed, have represented the ecclesiastical independence of Cyprus as being entirely due to this fortunate discovery, and in no way the result of the decision of the Council of Ephesus. They report that in consequence of the occurrence, which confirmed the tradition of its apostolic foundation, Constantia was promoted to the dignity of a metropolis, and all further interference on the part of the Patriarchs of Antioch prohibited. But the worthlessness of these statements is proved both from the letters of Flavius Dionysius written in A.D. 431, wherein Constantia is styled a metropolis, and also from the fact that its bishop, when present at the Second Council of Ephesus in A.D. 449, describes himself indifferently in his signature as Bishop of Constantia and Bishop of the metropolis of Cyprus.

Cf. Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., pp. 26-28.

Mansi, tom. iv. 1126.

Kedrenos' opinion.

Kedrenos, indeed, after declaring Cyprus to have been created for this reason a metropolis, independent of Antioch, proceeds to add that it was made subject to Constantinople instead.

[1] *τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Βαρνάβα λείψανον εὑρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ ὑπὸ δένδρον κερασέαν ἱστάμενον ἔχον ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἰδιόγραφον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα. ἐξ ἧς προφάσεως ἔκτοτε γέγονε μητρόπολις ἡ Κύπρος, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τελεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλιν.*

Kedrenos, lib. i.

Joelis Chronographia. *Καὶ Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ λείψανον εὑρέθη ὑπὸ δένδρον κερασίαν, ἐχὸν ἐπὶ στήθους τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἰδιόγραφον τοῦ Βαρνάβα. Ἐξ ἧς προφάσεως παραγεγόνασι Κύπριοι τοῦ μὴ τελεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς μητρόπολιν.*

Theodore Lector, lib. ii. *Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸ λείψανον εὑρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ ὑπὸ δένδρον κερατέαν, ἔχον ἐπὶ στήθους τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον ἰδιόγραφον τοῦ Βαρνάβα. ἐξ ἧς προφάσεως καὶ περιγεγόνασι Κύπριοι τῷ αὐτοκέφαλον εἶναι τὴν κατὰ αὐτοὺς μητρόπολιν καὶ μὴ τελεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχειαν.*

Kallistos, lib. xvi., c. 37. *Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Ἀναστασίου) ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὸ λείψανον Βαρνάβα τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὑρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ, ὑπὸ δένδρον, ὃ κεράτιον λέγεται, κείμενον. οὗ ἐπιστέρνιον τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον Ματθαίου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, χερσὶν οἰκείαις τῷ Βαρνάβα γραφέν. ἐκ ταύτης τοίνυν προφάσεως καὶ Κύπριοι τὸ καταρχὰς περιεγόνασιν αὐτοκέφαλον ἔχειν τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς μητρόπολιν, καὶ μὴ τελεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀντιόχειαν, ᾗ καὶ πρότερον ὑπέκειτο.*

Lusignan, p. 12 (b). Col libro di San Mattheo degli Evangelii, scritto con la propria mano di esso Mattheo Apostolo.

Martyrolog. Roman. (11 June). Corpus (Sancti Barnabæ) tempore Zenonis Imperatoris, ipso revelante, repertum est, unà cum codice Evangelii sancti Matthæi, sua manu descripto.

Allatius in commenting on this statement remarks that such a transference would constitute an act of the grossest injustice, and that, if this is the only result of the discovery, he fails to see the advantage of it, unless Kedrenos regards subjection to the See of Constantinople as the highest form of ecclesiastical liberty. He imagines, and very plausibly, that an error has crept into the text through the abbreviation used by the first copyist not being understood, and that Constantia should be read for Constantinople. This emendation seems most probable, as Constantia was in reality the metropolis, to which all the other island Sees were in subjection.

Allatius' comment on it.

Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consensu, lib. i., c. 25, p. 424.

On the other hand a modern writer, who has devoted some considerable attention to this question, asserts that the ecclesiastical independence of Cyprus was not actually established until the time of the Council in Trullo, A.D. 691. He declares that the Eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus only secured to the island Church the ancient right of electing its metropolitan, free from the interference of the Patriarch of Antioch, who in all other respects continued to exercise his former supervision over it. In support of this statement he cites the concluding part of the Canon, which directs that "the same rule also shall be universally observed in the other dioceses and provinces, *viz.*, that none of the most religious bishops may lay hands upon another province, which has not been originally and from the very first subject to him, or his predecessors, and that if any have so done, and subjected a province to himself by violence, let him restore it, that the Canons of the fathers be not transgressed, nor the lust of worldly power under the pretence of religion be introduced, nor through inattention we gradually lose that liberty, which Jesus Christ, the liberator of all men, purchased for us with His blood. It has seemed good, therefore, to this holy and Œcumenical Council that to every province shall be preserved pure and intact the rights, which it possessed from the beginning and for many years past, every metropolitan being authorised, according to the custom, which has now for a long time obtained, to receive copies of the acts for his own protection. If, however, any one shall introduce any constitution contrary to the decisions, which have now been passed, the holy and Œcumenical Council decrees it to be null and void." [1] He

Sathas' opinion.

Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., p. 19.

[1] τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν· ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ κατέλαβε, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται βιασόμενος, ταύτην ἀποδιδύναι, ἵνα Concil. Ephesin., Can. viii.

declares that had this Canon established beyond dispute the independence of the Church of Cyprus, as Balsamon erroneously says, the other metropolitans would, by appealing to it, have been able to secure the same privilege also, while the Patriarchs of Antioch must have desisted from all further interference, which we know they did not.

Philippos Georgiou's comment on it.

Philippos Georgiou, pp. 22-27, note (a).

Another writer,[1] who may be regarded as holding a brief for the Cypriot Church, while agreeing with that part of the above statement, which deals with the election of the archbishops, objects to the assertion that the Patriarchs of Antioch continued in all other respects to exercise their former supervision. He remarks that, though on first reflection the Canon may not appear to expressly recognise such independence, yet the prohibition against the subordination by bishops to themselves of provinces not originally subject to them conclusively establishes the independence of those, which had been independent from the first. The failure of the other bishops to avail themselves of the protection afforded by the Canon furnishes in his opinion no argument against the recognition by it of the autonomy of the Church of Cyprus. He maintains that from no source can it be unquestionably proved that the Church of Cyprus was ever subject to the See of Antioch. On the contrary the replies of the bishops to the Council furnish indisputable proof that it was from the first entirely independent. Moreover the Patriarch could have no object in trying to bring it under his jurisdiction, if it were already subject. That the bishops of the other Churches were not able to check intrusions from without is to be explained by the fact that the occupants of the larger Sees were often aided by the civil power in subjecting the smaller and less important. This action was partly due to the desire of making the ecclesiastical and civil divisions of provinces and dioceses coincide, and was partly the result of court influence. Thus it came to pass that provinces were either divided, or united, insignificant cities promoted to the

*μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβαίνωνται, μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τύφος παρεισδύηται, μηδὲ λάθωμεν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ἣν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερωτής. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σώζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄνωθεν, κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατήσαν ἔθος, ἄδειαν ἔχοντος ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τις μαχόμενον τύπον τοῖς νῦν ὡρισμένοις προσκομίσοι, ἄκυρον τοῦτον ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ.*

[1] He is described as "Ὁ ἐλλογιώτατος ἱεροδιδάσκαλος καὶ γραμματεὺς τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κυρίος Φίλιππος Γεωργίου".

rank of bishoprics and metropolises, and patriarchates established by imperial decrees. The fourth Œcumenical Council, recognising this growing intrusion of the state in ecclesiastical matters, endeavoured to check it by the publication of its Twelfth Canon: "It has come to our notice that certain persons, having recourse to force, contrary to ecclesiastical customs, have divided one province into two, so that as a result there are two metropolitans in one province. The Council accordingly has decreed that no such attempt is for the future to be made by a bishop, and that he who does is to be deposed from his dignity. Such cities, however, as have been honoured by imperial decrees, may, with the bishop who is placed at the head of their Church, enjoy the rank, while its proper privileges are reserved for the real metropolis."[1] This Canon, nevertheless, failed to check these innovations, as we learn from Zonaras, who informs us that it was not observed, as certain bishops in his time had been promoted to the dignity of metropolitans by imperial decrees. As instances of these irregularities we have (1) the elevation of Constantinople to the patriarchal rank by the Second General Council of Constantinople, with the subsequent bestowal upon the See of the metropolises of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace by the Council of Chalcedon; and (2) the further elevation of the Church of Jerusalem to the same rank by the Emperor Theodosius II. on the personal application of its bishop, Juvenal, with the bestowal upon it of the provinces of Palestine, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which had been previously refused by the Council of Ephesus. The Thirty-eighth Canon, too, of the Council in Trullo, by placing the imperial pleasure in certain circumstances above these Canons and giving it, so to speak, the force of law, favoured this tendency. "If any city has been restored, or shall be restored, by the imperial authority, let the order of its ecclesiastical affairs follow the civil and public."[2] It was the imperial power then which, by its bestowal of privileges upon some cities and its promotion of others to the rank of bishoprics, or metropolises,

Concil. Chalcedon, Can. xii.

Concil. Trullan., Can. xxxviii.

[1] Ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὥς τινες παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς προσδραμόντες δυναστείαις διὰ πραγματικῶν (τουτέστι γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν) τὴν μίαν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς δύο κατέτεμον, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δύο μητροπολίτας εἶναι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ· ὥρισε τοίνυν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδὲν τοιοῦτον τολμᾶσθαι παρὰ ἐπισκόπου· ἐπεὶ τὸν τοιοῦτο ἐπιχειροῦντα ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ ἰδίου βαθμοῦ. Ὅσαι δὲ ἤδη πόλεις διὰ γραμμάτων βασιλικῶν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐτιμήθησαν ὀνόματι, μόνης ἀπολαύετωσαν τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτῆς διοικῶν ἐπίσκοπος, δηλονότι σωζομένων τῇ κατ' ἀλήθειαν μητροπόλει τῶν οἰκείων δικαίων.

[2] Εἴ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινίσθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη, τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων τάξις ἀκολουθείτω.

or even patriarchates, hindered the general application of the Eighth Canon of the Council of Ephesus and the Twelfth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon. Bishops did not dare to protest against the imperial decrees, and, even if they had ventured to do so, they would have been powerless to prevent their execution. As instances of futile resistance Philippos Georgiou calls attention to two cases mentioned by Balsamon, which occurred in A.D. 1087 during the reign of Alexios Komnenos. Vacancies having occurred in the metropolitan Sees of Basilæon and Madytos, which were properly within the jurisdiction of Ancyra and Herakleia respectively, the Patriarch of Constantinople claimed the right of appointment in virtue of his being the patriarchal Church. An imperial decree was accordingly published, directing the bishops of Ancyra and Herakleia to abstain from all interference in the matter. They protested against this order, representing that the appointments should be made by them, since these two bishoprics, though honoured with the title of metropolis, were in reality dependent upon their Sees. And in support of their contention they appealed to this Twelfth Canon of the Council of Chalcedon. In consequence of their representations an imperial rescript was published, stating that the Emperor had the power to bestow precedence upon Churches, and to promote bishoprics and archbishoprics to the rank of metropolises, and to settle all matters connected with their elections and government according to his good pleasure, since the Canon preserving to the original metropolis the rights it anciently enjoyed over the more recently created did not prevent him from so doing.

Balsamon in Canon xxxviii. Concil. Trullan. (Migne, P.G., cxxxvii., col. 644).

Here then, according to Philippos Georgiou, we have the reason why no bishop was able by an appeal to the Canon about Cyprus to check outside intrusion into his Church. And so the conclusion drawn from it by Sathas that the Council of Ephesus did not recognise the absolute independence of the Church of Cyprus, but that the Patriarch of Antioch continued to supervise it, since it was still subject to him, comes to nothing. Even though Zeno may have been the first to assign the title of autocephalous to the Archbishop of Cyprus, which is a matter of doubt, yet this fact does not preclude us from holding the opinion that the actual independence was long prior to the bestowal of the title. No argument, too, can be based upon the fact that the Patriarchs of Antioch did not cease even after the publication of the Canon to prosecute their designs upon Cyprus. Their action in so doing does not prove

the validity of their claims, but only testifies to the obstinacy, which possessed them.

Our own canonist, Beveridge, from his remarks on the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nicæa is clearly of opinion that it was to that Council alone Cyprus owed the preservation of its independence. Commenting on the words: "the rights, which they formerly possessed, must also be preserved to the Churches of Antioch and the other eparchies,"[1] he says that they prove the Nicene fathers to have confirmed their privileges not only to the metropolitans of Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch, but to all other metropolitans also, and to them alone, since they only are set over provinces. He quotes de Marca as holding the view that only three provinces, or dioceses, are to be understood by the expression, "the other eparchies," *viz.*, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, since they alone, in addition to Alexandria and Antioch, are enumerated in the Second Canon of the Second Œcumenical Council. Beveridge, however, is opposed to this opinion on the ground that in that Canon the question was not about provinces, but dioceses, while in the Sixth Canon of Nicæa the fathers were speaking generally. Accordingly he asserts that their words are not to be restricted to this, or that, particular province, but are to be taken as applying to all without exception. The correctness of this opinion he claims to be shown by the action of the Council of Ephesus in the matter of Cyprus. For that Council on its own authority reaffirmed the Sixth Canon of Nicæa, which the Patriarch of Antioch had endeavoured to set aside, and, moreover, issued a decree ordering that ancient privileges should be preserved unimpaired both in Cyprus and in all the other provinces. By so doing the Ephesine fathers showed they understood this Sixth Canon of Nicæa as referring not to Rome only and those five Churches, which are enumerated in the Second Canon of the Second Œcumenical Council, but to all the provinces generally. In consequence Cyprus has always preserved its privileges intact even after the erection of the Patriarchal Sees, since it was always autocephalous from the first.

Beveridge's opinion.

Beveregii, Pandectae, tom. ii., Annotat. in Can. vi., Concil. Nic. Primi.

A modern writer cites as a proof of its former subjection to Antioch the circumstance that even afterwards the Church of Cyprus continued to receive the Chrism from the Patriarchs of

L. de Mas Latrie, Hist. de Chyp., i., p. 81.

[1] Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· κ.τ.λ.

that See.[1] He is evidently unaware that, as the consecration of this holy oil is in the Orthodox Communion reserved to the Patriarchs, the Archbishops of Cyprus, being of an inferior grade, could not prepare it for themselves. What more natural then than that they should receive it from Antioch, the nearest Patriarchate? Philippos Georgiou says that this custom, which was not obligatory on the island archbishops, continued in force until 1860, when it ceased, consequent on the disturbances which then took place at Damascus, where the Patriarchs of Antioch now reside. Archbishop Makarios accordingly applied for it in 1864 to the Church of Constantinople, as all the other independent Churches of the East are in the habit of doing, with the exception of Russia.

Philippos Georgiou, pp. 28-29.

The Monophysite controversy.

The peace, which the Church secured by the condemnation of Nestorianism, was not of very long duration. A new controversy known as the Monophysite was destined soon to arise, having as its author, Eutyches, abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. After the dispute occasioned by his doctrines had continued for some time a Council, called from the violence of its proceedings the Latrocinium, or Robber Council, was assembled at Ephesus in A.D. 449 under the presidency of Dioskoros, Patriarch of Alexandria. The orthodoxy of Eutyches, chiefly through the threatening attitude of his partisans, was acknowledged, while his accusers, who had already procured his condemnation at Constantinople the previous year, were in turn anathematised. This Council was attended among others by Olympios, Archbishop of Constantia. But matters changed considerably on the sudden death in A.D. 450 of Theodosius II. who favoured the heresiarch's party. Marcian, his successor, was a strong advocate of the orthodox views. By his orders a Council, known as the Fourth Œcumenical, was summoned in A.D. 451 at Chalcedon. The opinions of Eutyches were condemned and his chief supporter, Dioskoros, deposed. Among the prelates from

Mansi, tom. vi., col. 609.

Mansi, tom. vi., 568.

[1] Seulement, comme souvenir et dédommagement honorifique de leurs anciennes obligations vis-à-vis des patriarches d'Antioche, dont ils avaient reçu quelque temps l'investiture, les métropolitains chypriotes consentirent à leur demander de temps à autre le saint chrême nécessaire aux ordinations épiscopales. C'est là encore aujourd'hui le seul indice qui reste de l'ancienne suprématie du siège d'Antioche.

Kyprianos, p. 104.

Kyprianos writing in 1788 comments as follows on this custom: Δὲν ἔχει ἄλλο δ' Ἀντιοχείας μέχρι τῆς σήμερον νὰ ποιῇ εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, παρὰ ὁποῦ στέλλει κάθε τόσους χρόνους τὸ ἅγιον Μῦρον, καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ θελήσεως τῶν Ἀρχιερέων τῆς Νήσου, οὐχὶ δι' ἐντολῆς ἢ νόμου.

Cyprus, who attended, were Epiphanios of Soli, Epaphroditos of Tamasos, and Soter of Theodosiana. Epiphanios also represented the Archbishop Olympios, while Soter acted for Heliodoros of Amathus and Proechios of Arsinoë, and Epaphroditos for Didymos of Lapithos. Photinos of Chytri sent as his representative the deacon Dionysios.

In little more than a century afterwards another General Council, the Fifth Œcumenical, was assembled by Justinian I. at Constantinople, A.D. 553, when the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon were confirmed and the guilt of Nestorios and Eutyches reaffirmed. But in the lists of signatures no names of Cypriot bishops occur.

Rise of Mohammedanism.

But misfortunes were now about to befall Cyprus almost greater than any it had ever yet known. Before the meeting of the next General Council in A.D. 680 an enemy more formidable than any heresiarch appeared, threatening the very existence of Christianity itself. In A.D. 609 began at Mecca that strange religious upheaval, which eventually transformed the illiterate camel-driver of the Koreish into the Prophet of God. For more than two hundred years the island became the battle-ground between the opposing forces of the Cross and the Crescent, in which only after a severe struggle victory finally declared for the former. During that disastrous period the ruthless warriors of Islam are reported to have carried fire and sword into it on more than twenty-four[1] occasions, rasing populous cities to the ground, burning churches and monasteries with their precious contents, destroying the venerable monuments of antiquity, and dragging the population wholesale into captivity.

Lusignan, p. 88 (b).

First Mohammedan Invasion.

It was in the year A.D. 632 during the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, that unfortunate Cyprus is said to have first felt the stern fanaticism of the Arabian sectaries, when the Caliph Abubekr, the father-in-law and immediate successor of Mohammed, obtained temporary possession of Kition.[2] A memorial of this

Constant. Porphyr., Them. Orient., c. 15.

[1] Molte destruttioni hebbe (l'isola) al tempo delli descendenti di Cethin, delli Assirij, et massime dal Re Amasis, il qual totalmente destrusse Cipro: poi li Argivi, li Dei, li nove Re, li Megaresi, gli Ateniesi, et Persi, Ptolomeo, et Macedoni: e da Sarraceni in piu fiate da 24 volte.

[2] The passage, in which the Imperial historian describes this supposed invasion, is as follows:—

Τοῦ χρόνου δὲ παραδραμόντος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὅπλων κακωθέντων ἐξ ἀμελείας, ἐκράτησαν αὐτῆς οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἡρακλείου· καὶ πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ

invasion exists to the present day on the borders of the salt lake near Larnaka in the Mosque of Umm Ḥarám, where the daughter of the Caliph, who took part in the expedition, is said to be buried.[1] But the attempt was really made fifteen years later (A.D. 647) when Moawiyeh, the son of Abu-Sophian, attacked the island with a fleet of 1700 sail, which he had collected in the harbour of Alexandria. The troops of the Emperor Constans II. being too weak to resist the invader the whole country fell an easy prey to the Moslems. The wretched inhabitants, refusing the terms offered to them, felt the full fury of the storm. Constantia was levelled to the ground, great numbers of the citizens massacred, and the famous metropolitan Church, which had been erected by the great Epiphanios, profaned. On hearing, however, of the approach of an overwhelming Byzantine force under the Chamberlain Kakorizos, Moawiyeh retired to Alexandria, bearing with him a rich booty. But the tide of invasion had only ebbed to return with increased force. In the following year, while Moawiyeh was engaged in an expedition

**Invasion of Moawiyeh.**

**Elmacin, Hist. Saracen., lib. i., c. 4.**

**Abul Pharag, Chron. Syriacum.**

**Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 701).**

**Paul Diaconus, lib. xix.**

**Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 825).**

**Chronique de Michel le Grand, traduit de l'armenien, par v., Langlois, Venise, 1868, p. 225 (quoted by Sathas, tom. ii., Præf., p. 22, note (1)).**

**Abul Pharag, Chron. Syriac.**

διαπεράσας Ἀβουβάχαρος, οὗ καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τάφος ἐν αὐτῇ φαίνεται, ταύτης ἐκράτησεν.

One consideration alone will show the utter worthlessness of this statement. It was not until the conquest of Syria, after Abubekr's death (A.D. 634), had put them in possession of a navy that the Moslems were able to attempt any expeditions over sea.

[1] This female was in reality the daughter of Milḥan the Anṣárí, one of the contemporaries of the Impostor. The following details of her career are derived from the "Story of Umm Ḥarám," published by Mr. Cobham in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, January, 1897. She was twice married, her first husband being 'Amr bin Qeys, who fought at Badr (A.D. 623), and was killed at Ohod (A.D. 623), her second, 'Ubáda, one of the XII. and of the LXX. at 'Aqaba, fought at Badr, became first Qází of Palestine and died at Jerusalem, A.H. 34. His surname was Abu'l Walid and his nickname Al Hubla (the pot-bellied).[2] According to the Arab chroniclers Umm Ḥarám took part with her husband 'Ubáda in Moawiyeh's expedition to Cyprus, where she met with her death by being thrown from her mule. The Turkish biography of this Moslem worthy makes the curious statement that the Arabs were attacked on the site, where the mosque now stands, by Genoese (!) infidels when, "falling from her beast, she broke her pellucid neck and yielded up her victorious soul and in that fragrant spot was at once buried". Her tomb, which is shrouded from profane gaze in black velvet, is composed of three huge stones, one at the head and another at the feet of the corpse, while the covering stone is believed to hang in mid-air above its companions. Mr. Cobham regards it as a prehistoric monument, bearing very close affinity to two other monolithic structures in Cyprus, known respectively as the Tomb of St. Catharine, near Salamis, and the Hagia Phaneromene, near Larnaka. The shrine containing this relic, which is held in great veneration by Moslems of every country, being saluted by vessels carrying the Ottoman flag as they pass, is known as "the Pious Woman's Grave". It possesses an endowment of 1800 donums of land, with a yearly subsidy of £58 and 3000 okes of salt.

[2] *Cf.* Physkon applied to Ptolemy V.

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against Arados, a part of the Moslem army was detached under Abu-Alur to operate against Cyprus. The work of destruction left unfinished by the previous invasion was now completed. The island was ravaged and the city of Paphos, for the resistance which it offered to the foe, destroyed, while the Arabs again retired laden with booty.

The Monothelite controversy.

Whilst the safety of the Eastern Empire was being threatened by the repeated attacks of these formidable enemies, a fresh religious controversy known as the Monothelite broke out. The Emperor Heraclius, who favoured the idea from the prospect it offered of healing the Monophysite schism, issued in A.D. 639 an edict, called the Ekthesis, or exposition of the faith, in which, after laying down what he considered as the correct doctrine, he for the sake of peace forbade all further discussion on the subject. But this attempt increased rather than diminished the troubles it was intended to allay. The Orthodox, who unanimously refused to recognise this imperial interference in matters of faith, rejected the Emperor's formulary. Among the malcontents was Sergios, Archbishop of Cyprus, under whose presidency it was condemned in the local Synod. The decree then passed was forwarded to Theodore, Bishop of Rome, a staunch opponent of the Monothelites.[1] Constans II. who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 641, renewed with no better success the attempt at reconciliation made by his predecessor. In A.D. 648 a new formulary, called the Type, or model of faith, was issued by his orders. This document, more peremptory and less theological in its tone than the Ekthesis, imposed silence on the disputants under the severest penalties for disobedience. The harshest measures were adopted against all, who ventured to oppose the imperial will, and the persecution of the recalcitrant did not cease until the Emperor's murder, which occurred at Syracuse in A.D. 668. His son and successor, Constantine IV., laboured earnestly to put an end to the divisions, which had so long rent the Church. With this object a Council,

The Ekthesis of Heraclius.

The Type of Constans II.

[1] A copy of the letter said to have been sent on the occasion is to be found in Baronius (Annal. Eccl., tom. viii., p. 407, ad ann. 643). But its genuineness may well be questioned, as the language in places is such as an Orthodox prelate can scarcely be supposed to have used towards a Pope, *e.g.* :—

"Firmamentum a Deo fixum et immobile, atque tituli formam lucidissimam fidei, vestrum Apostolicam Sedem constituit (o sacer vertex) Christus Deus noster. Tu enim es Petrus (sicut divinum veraciter pronuntiat Verbum), et super fundamentum tuum Ecclesiae columnae confirmatae sunt. Tibi et claves cælorum commisit, atque ligare et solvere potestative, quae in terra et in cælis sunt, promulgavit"!

Mansi, tom. xi., col. 639, etc., col. 688.

the Sixth Œcumenical, was by his orders summoned at Constantinople (A.D. 680), when the Monothelite heresy was finally and decisively condemned. Among the delegates from Cyprus were Tychon of Kition, Stratonikos of Soli, and Theodoros of Trimythus. The last named also represented his archbishop, Epiphanios, as well as signed the Synodical letter to Pope Agatho.

Services of the Mardaites to the Eastern Empire.

Meanwhile the Moslems had been advancing unchecked in their career of conquest, until it seemed that the Byzantine Empire must have eventually succumbed to their victorious arms. But deliverance appeared from a most unexpected quarter. Constantine Pogonatos, despairing of being able to cope successfully with such terrible foes, who were even then threatening the safety of his capital, besought assistance from the Mardaites of the Taurus range. These mountain tribes, in response to the imperial appeal, assembled their forces, and establishing themselves upon Mount Lebanon, carried on from that commanding position an incessant and sanguinary warfare against the Arabs. So fierce was their attack that the haughty Moawiyeh was glad at last to conclude a truce of thirty years with the Greek Emperor, by which he agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 pieces of gold, 100 slaves, and fifty well-bred horses. The wise policy, however, which had opposed so effectual a barrier to the further progress of Islam, terminated with its originator's death. Justinian II. the son and successor of Constantine Pogonatos, succeeded to the throne almost at the same time that Abd-al-Melek was proclaimed Caliph at Damascus. The latter, beset by enemies on all sides and confronted by powerful rivals at home, proposed in A.D. 686 a treaty for ten years, even more favourable to the Christians than that, which had been previously concluded between Constantine and Moawiyeh. He stipulated to pay a daily tribute of 1000 dinars, one horse, and one slave, to the Emperor, who in turn agreed to divide with the Caliph the revenues and provinces of Cyprus, Armenia, and Iberia. But the treaty contained a further condition, which proved fatal to the future security of the Empire. The Arabs had long been anxious to rid themselves of the dreaded Mardaites. At the Caliph's request Justinian in an evil hour consented to withdraw these formidable troops from their mountain fastnesses in the Lebanon, and to restrain their forays into the Arabian dominions. But his treatment of these faithful allies was marked by the blackest ingratitude. Being unable to remove them by force he had recourse to treachery. After assassinating their leaders he divided them into two bodies, one of

Kedrenos.
Theophanes.

Abul Pharag, Hist. Dynastiarum.
Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 737).
Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 841).
P. Diaconus, lib. xix.
Abul Pharag, Chron. Syriacum.
Finlay, Greece under the Romans, vol. i., p. 483.

Treachery of Justinian II. towards them.

which he dispersed throughout Greece and Epirus, while the other was incorporated in the Kibyrraiot Theme. The consequences of this senseless proceeding were soon apparent. Abd-al-Melek having now established his authority on a firm basis, and being no longer in dread of an attack from the Mardaites, resolved to renew the war on the first favourable opportunity. Under such circumstances peace was not likely to be of long duration. The immediate cause of the war, which broke out in A.D. 691, was the refusal of Justinian to receive in Arabic money the tribute, which had hitherto been paid in the Roman coinage. As the new currency bore upon it the legend, "God is the Lord," he pretended to regard it as an attack upon the Trinity. Hostilities began by the Emperor carrying off as prisoners the Moslem settlers in Cyprus. But he soon afterwards sustained in person a crushing defeat near Cæsarea in Cilicia. Aware of his inability to protect the Christians of that part of Cyprus, which owned his authority, he resolved to withdraw them rather than allow them to become accustomed to the Arab rule. In obedience to the imperial commands John, who was then Archbishop, migrated with a considerable following to a new settlement, which had been assigned to the Cypriots in the province of the Hellespont. Multitudes, however, having perished on the journey from shipwreck, disease, and other causes, the survivors returned to Cyprus, where they kept up the succession of the bishops, and conducted ecclesiastical matters as before.[1]

Renewal of hostilities between the Moslems and the Eastern Empire.

Paul Diaconus, lib. xix.

Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 741).

Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 841).

Abul Pharag, Chron. Syriac.

Elmacin, Hist. Saracen.

Finlay, Greece under the Romans, vol. i., p. 438.

Zonaras, lib. xiv., c. 33.

Withdrawal of the inhabitants from Cyprus.

New colony on the Hellespont.

Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 741.)

While these events were taking place in Cyprus, there assembled at Constantinople that council known in ecclesiastical history as the Quini-Sext, or Trullan, from the domed hall of the palace, where its sessions took place. The assembled fathers compassionating the fugitive Archbishop endeavoured, by direction of the Emperor, to compensate him in their thirty-ninth Canon for the rights and privileges, which he had lost. "Since our brother and fellow-minister, John, president of the island of Cyprus, has, by the providence of the merciful God and the care of our Christ-loving and pious Emperor, removed with his people from the said island, on account of the attacks of the barbarians, and to escape the thraldom of the heathen, and to place himself entirely under the sceptre of the most Christian power, we decree, that the privileges bestowed by the holy

Quini-Sext Council.

Its Thirty-ninth Canon.

[1] πλῆθος δὲ Κυπρίων περώντων κατεποντίσθη, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀῤῥωστίας ὤλοντο· καὶ οἱ λοίποι ἐστράφησαν εἰς Κυπρον.

fathers formerly assembled at Ephesus upon the throne of the before named man may be preserved intact, that Nova Justinianopolis shall have the right of Constantinople, and that the most reverend bishop appointed over it shall preside over all those of the province of the Hellespontines, and shall be consecrated by his own bishops according to ancient usage. For our divine fathers have also decreed that the customs in each Church shall be observed, the bishop of the city of the Cyzicenes being subject to the president of the said Justinianopolis, for the imitation of the rest of the bishops, who shall all be under the said most reverend president, John, by whom, when necessity arises, the bishop also of the city of the Cyzicenes itself shall be consecrated."[1]

**The Canon considered.**

There are several points in connection with this canon, which need elucidation. The explanations of the Greek commentators, Balsamon, Zonaras, and Aristenos, whom we should naturally have expected to shed the clearest light upon the subject, leave much to be desired. They are content, for the most part, to repeat the statements of the canon itself. The western interpreters, however, Le Quien, Allatius, and Beveridge, are much more satisfactory in the information they supply.

This canon, be it observed, created no precedent, nor was it ever appealed to as establishing any rule. A circumstance unparalleled in the annals of the Church had just happened, which required to be met by exceptional measures. An entire Christian community, under the guidance of its spiritual head, had left its ancient home to escape an attack from the enemies of the faith, and transferred itself with its whole system of ecclesiastical government within the jurisdiction of another Church. It seemed unreasonable to require a prelate, who occupied so unique a

[1] Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς Κύπρου νήσου προέδρου, ἅμα τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλησπόντιον ἐπαρχίαν, διά τε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἐφόδους, διά τε τὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερωθῆναι δουλείας, καὶ καθαρῶς τοῖς σκήπτροις τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου κράτους ὑποταγῆναι, τῆς εἰρημένης μεταστάντος νήσου, προνοίᾳ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ, καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν Βασιλέως, συνορῶμεν, ὥστε ἀκαινοτόμητα διατηρηθῆναι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ πρότερον συνελθόντων θεοφόρων πατέρων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἀνδρὸς παρασχεθέντα προνόμια, ὥστε τὴν Νέαν Ἰουστινιανούπολιν τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καθιστάμενον θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον, πάντων προεδρεύειν τῶν τῆς Ἑλλησποντίων ἐπαρχίας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν. Τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθη καὶ οἱ θεοφόροι πατέρες ἡμῶν παραφυλάττεσθαι διεγνώκασι, τοῦ τῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπισκόπου ὑποκειμένου τῷ προέδρῳ τῆς εἰρημένης Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως, μιμήσει τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λεχθέντα θεοφιλέστατον πρόεδρον Ἰωάννην, ὑφ' οὗ χρείας καλούσης, καὶ ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς Κιζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθήσεται.

place in the hierarchy, and who was, moreover, the head of an independent Church, to submit to the authority of another. Accordingly the Emperor Justinian Rhinotmetos, commiserating the wretched plight of the fugitive Archbishop, thus bereft of his rights and prerogatives, by an arbitrary exercise of imperial authority detached the province of the Hellespont from the See of Constantinople and, erecting it into an independent archbishopric, installed John into it, at the same time bestowing upon him all the powers and prerogatives, which he had previously enjoyed in Cyprus. Whether the fathers of the Trullan Council, if left to themselves, would have consented to such a spoliation of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, it is impossible to say. As they were merely required to give an ecclesiastical sanction to the Emperor's action they had no choice but to obey, knowing well the danger of opposition.

Beveridge's explanation.

Beveridge claims that this indulgence was entirely a personal favour to John, and in support of this statement he asserts that it expired with him, or at least lapsed after his return to his original See.[1] Allatius, however, says that it was bestowed upon the Bishop of Cyprus in perpetuity by the Synod out of compliment to the Emperor Rhinotmetos, but that on the tyrant's death, when his wishes were no longer respected, the island primate lost the jurisdiction, which he formerly possessed over the Hellespontine province, as well as became himself subject to the See of Constantinople.[2] Archbishop Philotheos, in an essay published in 1740 on the prerogatives of his Church, strenuously combats the idea that the grant was merely temporary and personal. He remarks that the decree of the Council gives these privileges, as its language denotes, not to the then Archbishop John, for any personal honour, but to his See, Justinianopolis, and to the most reverend bishop

Beveridge, Annotat. in Canon xxxiv., Concil. Trull., tom. ii., pp. 154-5.

Allatius' explanation.

Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consensu., lib. i., c. 25, p. 430.

Archbishop Philotheos' explanation.

Kyprianos, pp. 373-76.

[1] Cautum est igitur hoc canone, ut Joannes eadem in Hellesponto retineret jura, quæ in Cypro antea habuerat. Et hanc sane veriorem esse canonis hujus expositionem exinde quispiam suspicetur, quòd egregium hoc privilegium Joanni Constantiensi indultum cum ipsius personâ, vel saltem cum restitutione ejus ad Cypriam Provinciam, extinctum fuit: utpote ex quo illud in ipsius solius gratiam indultum esse manifestum est.

[2] Alterum privilegium de jure in Hellespontiacam Provinciam dicunt personale fuisse, soli Joanni concessum, unde factum, ut cum ipsius personâ jus quoque illud extinctum fuerit. Verosimilius est, illud a Synodo in gratiam Rhinotmeti, cujus aliàs beneficia in eandem Insulam exstabant, Cyprio concessum in perpetuum fuisse; sed defuncto Rhinotmeto, exoso omnibus nomine, neque aliis de illius fama sollicitis, et quod magis est, Patriarchis Constantinopolitanis ad se omnia quacunque ratione raptantibus, jus quoque in Hellespontiacas Metropoles Cyprium amisisse, et quod gravius est, ipsum quoque Constantinopolitani ditionem subire coactum.

appointed over it, and not as a mere temporary arrangement until Cyprus should be delivered from the hands of the barbarians. These privileges, he declares, were bestowed unconditionally upon the Cypriots in place of those, of which they had been deprived, as will appear evident to all who examine the canon calmly and impartially.[1]

Duration of the privilege conferred by the Canon.

Balsamon.

The extent of their duration is a matter of some uncertainty. Balsamon in his notes on this canon admits that they had ceased to exist when he wrote. But, instead of assigning a reason, he merely suggests an inquiry into the circumstances, under which they had come to an end, as though he were himself ignorant of the cause.[2]

Zonaras.

Zonaras uses language very similar, remarking that that part of the canon concerning Cyzicos was no longer in force, nor over the other districts and cities of the Hellespont had Cyprus any jurisdiction.[3]

Aristenos.

Aristenos, however, offers the true explanation when he says that, on Cyprus becoming free from the thraldom of the heathen, the metropolises of the Hellespont returned to the throne of Constantinople.[4] That these privileges, indeed, lasted less than a century is evident from a comparison of the signatures of the Quini-Sext Council with those of the Second Nicene. At the former, A.D. 691, this same John signs as Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, whereas at the latter, held in A.D. 787, the then Metropolitan, Constantine, describes himself as Bishop of Constantia. The date, too, at which the deliverance alluded to by Aristenos took place, admits of some doubt. Le Quien regards it as having occurred during the reigns of the Isaurian Emperors, especially during that of Constantine Kopronymos (A.D. 741-A.D. 775), after the victory gained over the Arabs by the Kibyrraiot fleet, when the Christian Church of

Mansi, tom. xi. 989.

Ibid., tom. xii. 994.

Le Quien, O. C., tom. ii., coll. 1041-51.

[1] Καὶ γὰρ ἡ συνοδικὴ αὕτη ψῆφος, προνοίᾳ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς βασιλέως, ὥς φησιν, οὐ τῷ τότε Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Ἰωάννῃ προσωπικῆς τινος τιμῆς ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τούτου θρόνῳ τῇ Ἰουστινιανουπόλει, καὶ τῷ ἐπ' αὐτῇ καθισταμένῳ θεοφιλεστάτῳ Ἐπισκόπῳ ταῦτα δίδωσι, καὶ οὐ πρὸς καιρὸν καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐς τ' ἂν δῆθεν ὁ Κύπρος τῆς βαρβαρικῆς ἐλευθερωθείη χειρὸς, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑστερήθη προνομίων ταῦτα χαριζομένη πεφιλοτίμηται τοῖς Κυπρίοις, ὡς ἐπὶ λέξεως φαίνεται τοῖς ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἀδεκάστως τὰ τοῦ Κανόνος κρινοῦσι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς διαληφθεῖσι τούτοις ἐξηγηταῖς ἐναργῶς δηλοῦται.

[2] Σήμερον δὲ οὐδὲ μία ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τούτων τῇ Ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ Κύπρου ὑπόκειται, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἔχει. καὶ ζητητέον ὅπως τοῦτο γίνεται.

[3] Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἦλθεν ἡ περὶ τῆς Κυζίκου ψῆφος ποτὲ, οὐκ οἶδα. τέως δὲ οὐ κρατεῖ τὰ τῆς ψήφου ὅσον πρὸς τὴν Κύζικον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἑλλησποντίων χωραις καὶ πόλεσι πρόσεστί τι τῷ Κύπρου δίκαιον.

[4] Ἐπεὶ ἡ Κύπρος τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερωθῇ χειρὸς, ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις αἱ καθ' Ἑλλήσποντον Μητροπόλεις πρὸς τὸν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον.

Cyprus was restored to its ancient position. Leo Allatius is of opinion that the commentators have confused the periods connected with the migration of the Cypriot Church. He says that on the island being conquered and occupied by the Moslems the Archbishop of Cyprus was placed in charge of the Hellespont, but that afterwards, on the expulsion of the enemy by Rhinotmetos, he recovered his ancient rights over his former See, retaining at the same time his newly acquired ones over the Hellespont. On a fresh invasion of the Arabs he again retired to the Hellespont, where he remained until the second deliverance of the island by Nikephoros Phokas (A.D. 963-A.D. 969), when he finally returned to his own province, the metropolises of the Hellespont being again transferred to their original diocesan.[1]

Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Con., lib. i., c. 25, p. 429.

In connection with this subject much discussion has arisen with regard to the proper interpretation of the words: "the right of Constantinople".

Various interpretations of the expression "the right of Constantinople".

Beveridge seems to imply that Archbishop John during his absence from Cyprus exercised a twofold jurisdiction. Over his own people and clergy he continued to enjoy the same powers, which he had possessed when Metropolitan of Constantia, while over the province of the Hellespont and its Metropolitan at Cyzicos he wielded the authority previously exercised by the Patriarchs of Constantinople. He asserts that the fathers of the Trullan Council by their Thirty-ninth Canon decreed that John, the president of Nova Justinianopolis, should henceforth so have in subjection to himself the province of the Hellespont that the rights of Constantinople were to be entirely transferred, and that whatever privileges the Patriarchs of Constantinople formerly claimed there the Bishop of Constantia, or Justinianopolis, was in future to possess.[2]

Beveridge's interpretation.

Beveridge, Pandectae, Annotat. in Canon xxxix. Concil. Trull., tom. ii., pp. 154-5.

Le Quien, though he makes no direct allusion to this double

Le Quien's interpretation.

Le Quien, O. C., tom. i., col. 748.

[1] Tempora præterea, quæ confundunt Interpretes, distinguenda sunt, ut Canonis sententia, quæ verborum importunissima scriptura confunditur, exsculpatur. Primum, victa expugnataque Insula a Saracenis, Episcopus extorris in administrationem Hellesponti admittitur: ejectis deinde Saracenis Justiniani Rhinotmeti auspiciis, cum novo nomine jus sibi antiquum in Insulam recuperat, novumque in Hellesponto retinet. Invaditur denuo a Saracenis et occupatur, et Episcopus in Hellespontiacam Provinciam se recepit: cum vero tandem sub Nicephoro Phoca a Saracenorum tyrannide esset liberata, Episcopus in ditionem suam regreditur: sed Hellespontiacæ Metropoles, cum jam cessasset furor demortui Imperatoris, ad propriam suam sedem convertuntur.

[2] Joannes in Hellesponto degens quatenus ad Episcopos Cyprios τὸ δίκαιον τῆς τῶν Κωνσταντινέων πόλεως, quatenus ad Hellesponticos τὸ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως δίκαιον habere potuit.

jurisdiction, says Rhinotmetos decreed that the Bishop of Cyzicos, with his suffragans of the Hellespontine Province, should be subject to the Archbishop of Constantia, or Justinianopolis, in the same way as they had formerly been to the Patriarch of Constantinople.[1]

Allatius' interpretation.

Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consensu., lib. i., c. 25, p. 428-29.

Allatius offers an entirely different explanation. He doubts the accuracy of the generally accepted reading, "to possess the right of Constantinople," which he is inclined to regard as a misreading for: "to possess the right of the Constantians". He declares that to Nova Justinianopolis were transferred, not the privileges of Constantinople, but of Constantia, the metropolis of Cyprus. He questions whether the prerogatives of the imperial city were ever accustomed to be so granted.[2] That this conjecture is correct seems highly probable. The Patriarchs of Constantinople were at all times so jealous of their prerogatives and privileges, that it is impossible to believe they would ever have allowed them to be transferred to another, however exalted his rank in the hierarchy might be.

Beveridge, Pandectae, Annotat. in Can. xxxix., Concil. Trull., tom. ii., p. 154.

Beveridge, though admitting that the reading, "to possess the right of Constantinople," is found in most of the collections of the canons, both MS. and printed, declares that the Codex Amerbachianus contains another reading, "to possess the right of the city of the Constantians," which in his opinion renders clearer the meaning of the canon, *viz.*, that the Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis shall enjoy the same privileges, which had been already confirmed to him by the Council of Ephesus, when his See was known as the city of the Constantians, or Constantia. He regards it as very unlikely that the privileges of Constantinople would ever have been conferred upon the Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, whom this canon does not create a Patriarch, nor invests with the prerogatives of Constantinople, but merely declares to be independent.[3]

[1] Sub Justiniano II. Imperatore expugnata a Saracenis Cypro, quum Johannes Constantiæ illius metropolis Archiepiscopus in Hellespontum multam Cypriorum turbam secum trahens migrasset, voluit Imperator, et Trullano canone 36 sancivit, ut Constantiæ, quam Justinianopolim de suo nomine appellari voluerat, archiepiscopo Cyzicenus cum aliis Hellesponti subderetur, velut prius Constantinopolitano.

[2] In hoc canone τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως "jura Constantinopolitana," quod omnes fere interpretes legunt, non placet quibusdam. Siccine vero celeberrima regiæ urbis πρεσβεῖα concedi solebant? Quare evellendum dico errorem, qui omnibus fere magni etiam nominis, et summæ eruditionis viris imposuit: cum in novam Justinianopolim transferantur, non Constantinopolis, sed Constantiæ Cypriorum Metropoleos privilegia; quod et vero simillimum est. Frustra namque apud Græcos Constantinopolitano æqualem quæsiveris.

[3] τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Ita quidem non modo in MS. nostro Bodleiano, verum etiam in plerisque aliis Codicibus tam MSS. quam impressis

Banduri has introduced into the text of this canon in his edition of Porphyrogennetos' "De administrando imperio" an almost identical reading, which he prefers to that of the Codex Amerbachianus. He, too, declares against the ordinary reading "to possess the rights of Constantinople".[1] His emendation appears to have been since very generally adopted. Agapios has admitted it into his collection of the Canons published at Venice in 1787, and it is to be found also in the edition of Ralli and Potli. These editors further state in a note appended to Balsamon's interpretation of this canon that it occurs in a MS. of Trebizond.

Banduri, Imper. Orient., tom. ii., p. 131.

With regard to the name Justinianopolis various conjectures are extant as to the place it is meant to designate. Le Quien asserts that it was bestowed by the Emperor Justinian II. upon that city on the Hellespont near Cyzicos, to which he removed the emigrants from Cyprus.[2] Allatius, however, refers it to Cyprus itself, after its alleged recovery from the Saracens by Rhinotmetos, and not to any other locality,[3] though from what he says in another passage he seems to infer that it may have

Le Quien, O. C., ii., coll. 1041-2.

Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consensu., lib. i., c. 23, p. 427.

Ibid., p. 429.

legitur. Sed Cod. Amerbachianus legit τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς τῶν Κωνσταντινέων πόλεως. Constantinopolis autem τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου quidem, sed non τῶν Κωνσταντινέων πόλις uspiam, ut opinor, appellatur. Et haud veri sane cuipiam simile videatur, ut novæ Justinianopoli, ipsius Constantinopolis privilegia concederentur. Etiamsi enim ex hujus Canonis præscripto novæ Justinianopolis Episcopus αὐτοκέφαλος esse asseratur: Patriarcha tamen non fit, neque iisdem propterea, quibus Constantinopolitanus, privilegiis gaudet. Ex alterâ autem lectione clarior sensus facile eliciatur.

[1] τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινέων πόλ εως. Nimirum¡" utque nova Justinianopolis jus habeat Constantiensium civitatis sive Constantiæ". Sic in MS. codice habetur; perperam vero in Editis, τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Sic legitur in eodem codice. Verum Beveregius in Codice Amerbachiano scriptum etiam reperit, τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς τῶν Κωνσταντινέων πόλεως, et hanc veram ac genuinam lectionem esse demonstrat,—sed nobis lectio Codicis MS. magis probatur.

[2] Constantia civitas, ad tempora usque Saracenorum stetit, quumque ex pactis conventis partem insulæ unam illi tenerent, alteram Romani: rupto a Barbaris fœdere, Justinianus II. Imperator male sano consilio urbis illius et reliquæ insulæ quam illi occupaverant incolas, quotquot voluere, in Hellespontum cum metropolitâ suo transtulit, quorum multi mare trajiciendo perierunt, alii pedestri itinere ærumnis variis consumpti, reliquos in urbem Cyzico proximam duxit, quam Justinianopolim appellavit, quam paribus ac Constantia juribus ornavit, præcipiens ut ipse quoque Cyzicenus metropolita Justinianopolitani archiepiscopi ordinationi subderetur.

[3] Occupata postea Cypro a Saracenis, et rebus ecclesiæ infidelium rabie atque immanitate summopere afflictis, illius Episcopus una cum populo fideli in Provinciam Hellesponti immissus est, illique in ea provincia jus supremum concessum est, ad Justiniani Rhinotmeti tempora, a quo in pristinam libertatem vindicata, nomen sibi ab eodem Justiniano assumpsit, Justinianopolis dicta.

Et forte etiam deductæ (coloniæ) nomen inde suum impartitur.

been conferred on the colony led from the island. He reports that the Emperor, having restored Cyprus to its former position in the Empire, called it after himself in commemoration of the fact. Beveridge, moreover, likewise regards the name as referring to the Metropolitan See of Cyprus, the title of which was changed to Nova Justinianopolis, instead of Constantia, by the Emperor Justinian.[1] Philippos Georgiou declares in favour of the opinion of Le Quien, and enters into a long argument to prove that the name could only have been bestowed upon the new city on the Hellespont built for the reception of the refugees from Cyprus. He declares that the commentators of the canons and their followers have misunderstood and misinterpreted this passage, as well as strained the meaning of the word: "city" of Justinian. The title "city," he asserts, has never been bestowed upon any province, island, or church, nor could it properly be so applied. If Cyprus, or any city in Cyprus, had been so called, why, he asks, did not the Archbishop on his return from the Hellespont retain the title of Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, which was the only one he bore while in exile? That he did not, however, retain it is amply proved by a reference to the acts of the Council of Trullo and the second Nicene. The title, he admits, is still used, but merely as an honorary distinction, and in remembrance of the time when the Archbishop of Cyprus was Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, just as there are many empty titles yet preserved in the styles of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Philippos Georgiou further contends that from the very order and arrangement of the names in the canon the city on the Hellespont alone can be intended. This part of the argument is best given in his own words: "Immediately at the beginning the canon, before it mentions the migration of Bishop John, calls him with chronological accuracy president of the island of the Cypriots, as in fact he was before he migrated. But after mentioning his migration and settlement on the Hellespont it no longer calls him president of the island of the Cypriots, because such he was not then, since he had quitted the island. Neither does it call him Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, as the See of Nova Justinianopolis had not yet been confirmed to him, though it is confirmed by this canon. Accordingly the Council, depriving him of the title of president of the island of the Cypriots, and not having any name by which to call him, passes from the individual to the city, on which it

Beveridge, Pandectae, Annot. in Can. xxxix. Concil. Trull., tom. ii., pp. 154-5.

Philippos Georgiou, pp. 33-35, note (a).

[1] Ista autem Cypri metropolis, quæ ante Constantia dicebatur, a Justiniano Imperatore suo de nomine nova Justinianopolis dicta est.

first bestows 'the right of the city of the Constantians,' and afterwards gives to him, that is appointed over it, the presidency of all the bishops of the province of the Hellespontines, and directs that 'the most reverend bishop that is appointed over it' (*i.e.*, Nova Justinianopolis), not, that has been appointed, nor, that was appointed, but, that is now appointed,[1] simply 'bishop,' without the title of any province until the See of Justinianopolis is confirmed to him, 'shall preside,' immediately after the See of Justinianopolis is given to him, and the rights of the city of the Constantians. Accordingly it is not the Bishop of Cyprus, who is to preside, but the Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis, since he was not then Bishop of Cyprus, neither in fact nor in name, though he had formerly been Bishop of Cyprus, for he was then appointed both in fact and in name Bishop of Justinianopolis."

Inaccuracy of Archbishop Philotheos. Kyprianos, p. 379.

Archbishop Philotheos in his above-mentioned essay on the prerogatives of his Church asserts that the island was subsequently known as Nova Justiniana. But he appears very confused in the explanation, which he offers to account for the change of name, stating that it was due to the great Justinian, who so called it after his Empress, Theodora, a native of Salamis. Even were the statement true, which it is not, it should have been called Theodorias, and not Nova Justiniana, the name bestowed upon Carthage after its capture by Belisarius in A.D. 533. This tradition seems to be derived from the unsupported assertion of Kallistos that Justinian I. called the Church of Cyprus, Secunda Justiniana, in honour of his celebrated consort, Theodora, whose native land was Cyprus. But the fact that it was Ulpiana in Illyria, which Justinian named Secunda Justiniana, shows how utterly devoid of foundation the story really is. Moreover, none of the Byzantine historians, with the exception of Kallistos, not even her contemporary Prokopios, to whom we owe so much of our knowledge concerning her, have ever said that Theodora was born in Cyprus. Her only connection with the island was through her father, Akakios, who, himself a Cypriot, was keeper of the wild beasts at Constantinople during the reign of Anastasios I. (A.D. 491-A.D. 518).

Origin of the mistake. Nikeph. Kallistos, lib. xvii., c. 28.

One of the distinguishing traits of Justinian's character was an absorbing passion for building. During the course of his long reign he is reported to have founded, or restored, in various parts of his dominions no less than eighteen cities, which, in

[1] λέγει δε τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ (τῇ νέᾳ Ἰουστινιανουπόλει) καθιστάμενον οὐχὶ καθεστηκότα, οὔτε καταστάντα ἢ κατασταθέντα, ἀλλὰ νῦν, νυνὶ καθιστάμενον.

commemoration of the achievement, he called after himself. But no city in Cyprus ever received its name from him. And the council in Trullo by its action admitted as much. For when in its Thirty-ninth Canon it confirmed the title of Justinianopolis, bestowed by Justinian Rhinotmetos, to the new city on the Hellespont, it added also the epithet Nova, to distinguish it from the many towns of the same name founded, or restored, by the first Justinian.

How long the island remained abandoned to the Moslems cannot, after this lapse of time, be determined with certainty. The imperial historian, Constantine Porphyrogennetos relates that Rhinotmetos, wishing to restore the exiles to their ancient home, sent a distinguished Byzantine official and three Cypriot nobles to the Caliph at Bagdad with a request for the release of the islanders, whom he held in captivity. The Caliph, acceding to the Emperor's prayer, is said to have caused such of them, as were dispersed throughout Syria, to be collected and sent back to their native land. Justinian further gave directions to transfer to Cyprus those of them, who had settled in Roumania, Cyzicos, Thrace, and among the Kibyrraiots.[1] Porphyrogennetos declares that this recolonisation of the island took place seven years after its abandonment, which would be in A.D.

Const., Porphyr., De Admin. Imp., c. 47.

[1] Τῆς νήσου ἀλωθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἀοικήτου μεινάσης, καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἰωάννου μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν βασιλευούσαν καταλαβόντος, ἐγένετο οἰκονομία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἕκτῃ συνόδῳ, τοῦ τὴν Κύζικον παραλαβεῖν μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς νήσου, καὶ ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χειροτονίας ἥνικα ἂν λείψῃ ἐπίσκοπος, πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπεσεῖν τὴν αὐθεντίαν καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Κύπριος ἦν, καθὼς καὶ παρὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Κυπρίων ὁ λόγος μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἐπεκράτησεν· ὥστε καὶ ὁρίσθη ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἕκτῃ συνόδῳ χειροτονεῖν τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κύπρου τὸν τῆς Κυζίκου πρόεδρον, καθὼς ἐν τῷ λθ' κεφαλαίῳ τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου ἀναγέγραπται. Μετὰ δὲ ἕπτα ἔτη θέλησει Θεοῦ ἐκινήθη ὁ Βασιλεὺς πάλιν οἰκῆσαι τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν ἀμερμουμνῆν τοῦ Βάγδαδ τρεῖς τῶν ἐνδόξων Κυπρίων, αὐτόχθονας τῆς αὐτῆς νήσου τυγχάνοντας, τοὺς λεγομένους Φαγγουμεῖς, μετὰ καὶ βασιλικοῦ τινος ἀγχίνου τε καὶ ἐνδόξου, γράψας τῷ ἀμερμουμνῆ ἵνα τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ ὄντα λάον τῆς νήσου Κύπρου ἀπολύσῃ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. Καὶ ὑπακούσας ὁ ἀμερμουμνῆς τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως γραφῇ, ἀπέστειλε κατὰ πάσης τῆς Συρίας ἐνδόξους Σαρακηνοὺς καὶ ἐπεσώρευσε πάντας τοὺς Κυπρίους, καὶ διεπέρασεν εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. Ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλικὸν, καὶ διεπέρασε τοὺς ἐν Ῥωμανίᾳ οἰκήσαντας, ἤγουν ἕν τε τῇ Κυζίκῳ καὶ τῷ Κιβυῤῥαιωτῶν καὶ τῷ Θρακησίῳ, καὶ ἐνῳκίσθη ἡ νῆσος.

Porphyrogennetos is mistaken in calling this council the Sixth Council. It was in reality that known as the Quini-Sext. The Sixth General Council was held during the reign of the Emperor Constantine IV., the father of Rhinotmetos, against the Monothelites.

Ἀμερμουμνῆς is a title, not a name, and is equivalent to "Commander of the faithful". The caliph in question was Abdalmelek (A.D. 684-A.D. 705). His successor was Walid I. (A.D. 705-A.D. 716).

698. But considerable doubts exist as to the historical accuracy of the statement. It is very unlikely, in the first place, that the Arabs would have been disposed to gratify the wishes of one, who had been the first to break the truce, while another, and more fatal, objection is based on historical grounds. In A.D. 698, when this alleged repeopling of the island is represented to have occurred, Justinian was no longer Emperor, having been exiled in A.D. 695 to Cherson in the Crimea. It is more probable that this event happened during the reign of the usurper Apsimar, admiral of the Kibyrraiot fleet, who on Justinian's deposition was elevated to the throne as Tiberius III. The hereditary enemy of the Arabs, his enterprises against them were marked by extreme vigour of action. Having entrusted the conduct of the war to his brother Heraclius, the latter defeated them with immense slaughter at Samosata, besides gaining further victories in Armenia and Syria.

Invasion of the Caliph Yezid.

P. Diaconus, Hist. Misc., lib. xxii.

These defeats, however, only temporarily disabled the power of the enemy. For in A.D. 743, during the reign of Constantine (V.) Kopronymos, the Caliph Yezid III., making an incursion into the island, carried off large numbers of the inhabitants, whom he settled in the adjacent districts of Syria. But the honour of the Byzantine arms was soon afterwards retrieved by an overwhelming disaster, which befell the Moslems on the scene of their former triumphs. In A.D 747, Kopronymos, hearing that the Arabs were preparing a fresh expedition from Alexandria, ordered the Kibyrraiot fleet to protect the coasts of Cyprus. The hostile vessels appearing off the coasts of Keramæa[1] were suddenly

Defeat of the Mohammedans by the Kibyrraiot fleet.

Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 853).

Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 888).

[1] The identification of the locality, where the encounter took place, has caused much discussion. Theophanes' words are "ἐν τῷ λίμένι τῶν Κεραμαία," which have been variously rendered, (1) by Paulus Diaconus "in portu Ciramea," and (2), by Lebeau, "au port du Céramée" (Hist., tom. xii., p. 202). De Mas Latrie (H. de Ch., tom. i., p. 88, n. 1), who seems to think that these writers refer to Kyrenia (Keraunia), remarks that a fleet about to invade Cyprus from Egypt would hardly sail round the island and effect a landing on its northern coast. He suggests that the invaders, as usual with the Arabs, disembarked most probably on the southern coast, and perhaps on the beach at Mazoto, between Kition and Amathus. As this is the great carob district of Cyprus, a fact indicated by the name of one of its headlands, Cape Caroubier, he proposes for the generally accepted reading to substitute "ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Κερατέων (κερατίων)"; since no such place as Keramæa is known in the island.

Sathas, tom. ii., Praef., pp. 58, 59, n (1).

Sathas, who criticises the above emendation, commences by a misquotation, representing De Mas Latrie as suggesting for the alternative reading ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Κεραταία. He himself regards the passage as defective, though he supports the original reading, accentuated slightly differently (των for αὐτῶν and Κεραμαία, dative in apposition to λιμένι. He explains that the Arabs, on seeing their adversaries keeping so strict a watch over Cyprus, to create a diversion sailed away to the Kibyrraiot Theme, the principal port of which was the

attacked by the defenders, who, blockading the port, captured and destroyed the entire armament of 1000 ships, with the exception of three, which they permitted to escape that they might carry the news to their friends. In A.D. 790 during the joint reigns of Irene and Constantine VI. another attempt was made by the same watchful foe. But it was again frustrated by the timely assistance of the Kibyrraiot fleet. On this occasion the admiral of the Kibyrraiots, Theophilos, a man of intrepid courage, outstripping the rest of the Christian forces, attacked the Arabs single-handed. Being captured in the unequal contest and brought before the famous Harun-al-Rashid, who commanded the enemy, he suffered a martyr's death rather than abjure his faith. But in A.D. 806 the Moslem arms were more successful. The Emperor Nikephoros (A.D. 802-A.D. 811), the successor of Irene, having rashly refused to continue the tribute, which had been paid by his predecessor to Harun, as well as broken the other conditions of the peace, which had been concluded between the two sovereigns, Cyprus, with other parts of the Byzantine dominions, experienced the resentment of the Caliph. The devastation wrought by this hero of the "Arabian Nights" exceeded anything that had previously taken place. Churches and monasteries were involved in one common ruin, while multitudes of the inhabitants were put to the sword, or carried off into captivity. Among others was the Archbishop of Constantia, who is said to have been obliged to pay a ransom of 1000 dinars for his liberty. That the Arabs did not permanently occupy the island after this invasion we may infer from the statement of Theophanes. He informs us that in the time of the Emperor Michael Rhangabe (A.D. 811-A.D. 813) great numbers of Christian monks and laity fled to Cyprus from Palestine and Syria, to escape the persecution of the Arabs. Many of these subsequently made their way to Constantinople, where they were hospitably received by the Emperor and the Patriarch Nikephoros, who assigned them a monastery in the imperial city for their habitation. To those, however, who preferred to remain in the island, a talent of gold was sent, as well as other

Further Mohammedan invasions.

Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 936).

P. Diaconus, lib. xxiv.

Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. Abulfeda, Annales Muslemici.

Theophanes (P. G., cviii., col. 969).

Kedrenos (P. G., cxxi., col. 917).

Finlay, Byzant. and Gk. Empires, bk. i., ch. 2, sec. 1, p. 121.

Theophanes (Pat. Græc., tom. cviii., col. 1001).

Karian city of Keramos (Keramo) or Keramia on the Keramic Gulf (Gulf of Kos). The Kibyrraiots on this issuing from Cyprus blockaded the mouth of the harbour, while the hostile fleet was within, and then destroyed it. He declares that the passage should run as follows: "*ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖς αἴφνης ἐν τῷ λιμένι των* (*τῶν Κιβυραιωτῶν δηλαδὴ*) *Κεραμαίᾳ.*" "And the general of the Kibyrraiots suddenly falling upon them in their (*i.e.*, the Kibyrraiots') harbour of Keramæa."

assistance.[1] In 824 A.D. the Kibyrraiot fleet under Krateros rendered yet further service. Crete having recently been captured by the Arabs of Spain, the same danger threatened Cyprus and the neighbouring Cyclades. By order of the Emperor Michael the Stammerer the fleet, sailing to Crete, reconquered it and released the other islands also from the perils, which threatened them. According to other testimony this expedition, though at first completely successful, was utterly destroyed at last by the enemy. After inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Arabs, the imperialists were so elated by their victory that they neglected the most ordinary measures of precaution. The Moslems, observing the carelessness of the victors, suddenly attacked them by night with such slaughter that scarcely a survivor escaped to tell the tale. Krateros himself, who had fled on board a merchant ship from the scene of carnage, was captured and hanged. Cyprus was destined yet again to fall under the yoke of Islam. For Porphyrogennetos informs us that his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867-A.D. 886), on expelling the infidels constituted it into the Fifteenth Theme of the Empire, under the administration of the famous Armenian general Alexios, who held it for seven years, when the Arabs resumed possession. But the exact date, when this temporary liberation by Basil took place, is unknown. That it was for a while at least recovered by the Byzantines, during the time of Basil's successor, Leo the Philosopher (A.D. 886-A.D. 911), we learn on the authority of the same imperial historian. He relates that Leo the Protospathary, or Captain of the imperial guards, while governor of the island (circ. A.D. 902), sent spies to the Gulf of Tarsus, as well as to Tripoli and Laodicea, to ascertain if the Arabs were meditating any hostilities. That it soon afterwards, however, changed hands is evident from the testimony of the historian John Kameniates who, after being captured by the Arabs at Thessalonica in A.D. 904, was carried off to Tripoli in Africa. He relates that during the voyage the vessel, in which he was being conveyed, put into Paphos to enable the Moslem crew to perform their customary ablutions in the adjacent rivers.

Constant. Porphyr., De Admin. Imp., c. 22. Simeon Magister.

Zonaras, Annal., xv., c. 24 (P. G., 134, col. 1392).

Constant. Porph., De Them., lib. i., tit. 3.

Constant. Porphyr., De Administr. Imp.

Kameniates, περὶ ἁλώσεως Θεσσαλονικῆς, sec. 77.

[1] τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Χριστιανῶν μοναχῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν καὶ ἐκ πάσης Συρίας τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβον φεύγοντες τὴν ἄμετρον κάκωσιν τῶν Ἀράβων—καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν μαρτυρικῶς, οἱ δὲ τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβον, καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τὸ Βυζάντιον, οὗ Μιχαὴλ ὁ εὐσεβὴς βασιλεὺς καὶ Νικηφόρος ὁ ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοναστήριον ἐπίσημον ἐδωρήσαντο, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἐναπομείνασι μοναχοῖς τε καὶ λαϊκοῖς τάλαντον χρυσίου ἀπέστειλαν, καὶ παντοίως τούτους ἐθεράπευσαν.

Final expulsion of the Mohammedans. Phranzes, lib. i., c. 37. Zonaras, Annal., lib. xvi., cc. 23-25 (Pat. Græc., cxxxv., col. 109). Kedrenos (P. G., cxxii., coll. 73, 74). Leo Diac., Hist., lib. ii., c. 8. Kedrenos (Pat. Græc., cxxi., col. 97).

The credit of finally expelling these enemies of the Cross from Cyprus belongs to the Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (A.D. 963-A.D. 969). In A.D. 961 during the reign of the Emperor Romanus II. (A.D. 959-A.D. 963) he had, as Grand Domestic, already signalised his prowess against the Moslems by wresting Crete from them after a servitude of 124 years. He had not long succeeded Romanus on the throne before he rendered yet further services to Christianity, by driving these profane intruders from the native land of Barnabas also. In the second year of his reign, A.D. 964, through the exertions of the patrician Niketas Chalkutzes, he recovered Cyprus for the Byzantine Empire, to which henceforth it remained firmly united, until the time of the tyrant Isaac Komnenos.

The Iconoclastic controversy.

Whilst a cruel and relentless enemy was threatening the destruction of the Empire, there occurred another of those unfortunate disputes, which were for ever disturbing the peace of the Church. This controversy, known in ecclesiastical history as the Iconoclastic, began by the Emperor Philippikos Bardanes (A.D. 711-A.D. 713) removing pictures from the churches with the consent of John, the Patriarch of Constantinople. But it acquired increased force during the reign of his successor, Leo (III.) the Isaurian (A.D. 717-A.D. 741). Originally a rude and illiterate peasant from the province of Isauria, this Emperor owed his elevation to the military talents he had displayed during the reign of Justinian II. Like most of his fellow-countrymen he was animated by an inveterate dislike for the worship of images, which had imperceptibly crept into the Church. On his promotion to the purple he determined to use the powers, with which he had been invested, for the suppression of this superstition. It is stated that he was induced to adopt this course by the prospect it offered of conciliating the Jews and Mohammedans, to whose conversion the adoration of images had proved an insuperable obstacle. The imperial decrees forbidding the use of religious pictures in churches excited from the first the most strenuous resistance, and gave rise to popular tumults, which were only suppressed after considerable bloodshed. But it was in Italy that the liveliest opposition to the Emperor's orders was encountered. The Pope, Gregory II., threw himself heart and soul into the movement. For years the ties, which had bound that country to its Byzantine rulers, had been growing steadily weaker. The quarrel, which now ensued, undoubtedly sowed the seeds of that gradual estrangement, culminating in its final separation in A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was crowned in St. Peter's

at Rome by Leo III. as Emperor of the West. On the death of Leo the Isaurian in A.D. 741 the work of suppression, which he had begun, was continued with unabated zeal by his son and successor, Constantine (V.) Kopronymos.

The iconoduli, as the patrons of the images were called, found him even more uncompromising than his father had been. In A.D. 754 a Council, calling itself the Seventh Œcumenical, was assembled by the Emperor's orders at Constantinople. This conclave, which was attended by 338 prelates from the imperial dominions, both condemned the worship of images, as a corruption of Christianity and a return to paganism, and decreed their destruction. Among those specially honoured with its strictures, as an ardent champion of the proscribed objects of popular veneration, was George, Archbishop of Constantia, whom it anathematised in company with Germanos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the famous John of Damascus. But this anathema was subsequently reversed by the Second Council of Nicæa, and the names of these holy confessors invested with peculiar honours. The monks, who from interested motives had been particularly active in their opposition to the imperial wishes, felt the full severity of the repressive measures, which were employed against the recalcitrant. In Leo's reign they had even ventured to direct a fleet, assembled among the islands of the Archipelago, against Constantinople, with the intention of deposing the iconoclast and appointing a more orthodox successor. But its destruction, through the agency of the dreaded Greek fire, caused the design to miscarry. Constantine Kopronymos, who had marked them out for signal vengeance, endeavoured to accomplish his purpose by the extirpation of the monastic order. The religious communities were dissolved, while the buildings, which sheltered them, were converted into magazines, or barracks. Michael Lachanadrako, the Governor of the Thracian Theme, zealously seconded the efforts of his sovereign. Having summoned to Ephesus all the monks and nuns within his jurisdiction he assembled them in the plain of Tzukanisterion, where he ordered all, who were disposed to obey the Emperor's commands, to assume a white dress in token of assent and immediately marry. At the same time he threatened all, who refused, with the loss of their eyesight and banishment to Cyprus. Some through fear of the consequences, if they ventured to disobey, hastened to comply, but many preferred to suffer the penalty rather than yield.[1]

Le Quien, O.C., ii., col. 1051.

Theophanes (Pat. Græc., tom. cviii., col. 897).

[1] τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει (A.D. 762) μιμησάμενος ὁ Λαχανοδράκων τὸν διδάσκαλον αὐτοῦ πάντα μοναχὸν καὶ μοναστρίαν τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸ θέμα τῶν Θρακησίων ὄντας συνῆξεν εἰς

Constantine Kopronymos was succeeded in A.D. 775 by his son Leo IV. The work of persecution, which had been so vigorously carried on during the two preceding reigns, was now abated. The laws against the champions of images, though unrepealed, were seldom put into force. Even the monks, the most active opponents of the iconoclastic emperors, were allowed to return from exile. On Leo's death in A.D. 780 the direction of affairs was entrusted to his widow Irene, as the guardian of their infant son Constantine VI. She belonged to an Athenian family conspicuous for its devotion to the cause of the images. Her own veneration for them was so well known as to have rendered her an object of suspicion both to her father-in-law and husband. On becoming sole mistress of the Byzantine world she resolved without delay to restore these objects of popular devotion to their ancient splendour. But it was necessary to proceed with great caution in the execution of her design. The iconoclastic faction, comprising within its ranks most of the bishops, with a very considerable following of the laity and military, was both numerous and powerful. She began by publishing an edict granting general liberty of conscience in the matter. But the resignation and death of the iconoclastic Patriarch of Constantinople, Paul, seemed propitious for making the attempt she contemplated. Having procured the promotion of her secretary, Tarasios, a layman, to the vacant dignity she no longer hesitated. In A.D. 787 after considerable opposition a general council, known to the Orthodox as the Seventh Œcumenical, was assembled at Nicæa and attended by about 350 bishops. After reversing the decrees of the previous Council of Constantinople, the Conclave unanimously pronounced the worship of images to be agreeable to Scripture and reason, the fathers and Councils of the Church. Among those present from Cyprus we find the names of Constantine of Constantia, Eustathios of Solea, Spyridon of Cythri (Chytri), Theodoros of Kition, George of Trimythus, and Alexander of Amathus. Marvellous tales and anecdotes were related in proof of the sanctity of images. In the fourth session of the council Archbishop Constantine especially distinguished himself by the accounts, which he gave, of several miraculous circumstances, that had occurred

Mansi, tom. xii., coll. 994-995.

Le Quien, O. C., ii., coll. 1041-42.

Ἔφεσον, καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς πεδίον λεγόμενον Τζουκανιστήριον ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὅτι ὁ μὲν βουλόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ πειθαρχεῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδυσάσθω στολὴν λευκήν, καὶ λαβέτω γυναῖκα τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ, οἱ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ποιοῦντες τυφλούμενοι εἰς Κύπρον ἐξορισθήσονται. καὶ ἅμα τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐτελέσθη, καὶ πολλοὶ μάρτυρες ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνεδείχθησαν.

in connection with them, both at Constantia and Kition, as also at Gabala in Syria. This question, though for a while happily allayed by the decision of the Council, was not yet completely appeased. It broke out again under the Emperor Leo (V.) the Armenian (A.D. 813-A.D. 820), and continued throughout the reigns of the iconoclasts Michael the Stammerer (A.D. 820-A.D. 829) and his son Theophilos (A.D. 829-A.D. 842). But the victory of the images was finally secured by Theodora, widow of the last-named Emperor, in A.D. 843. This fortunate event is still annually commemorated by the Greeks in the Festival of Orthodoxy (First Sunday in Lent). A further discussion on the subject arose at the close of the eleventh century, during the reign of Alexios Komnenos (A.D. 1081-A.D. 1118), while Nikolaos Grammatikos held the See of Constantinople. At that time it was debated whether these venerated objects of popular regard possessed any inherent sanctity of their own. At the Conclave, which decided the question in the affirmative, delegates from Cyprus, including the Archbishop, attended, but their names have not been recorded.

Le Quien, O. C., ii., col. 1052.

After its reunion with the Eastern Empire the island entered, for a while at least, upon an era of comparative peace. With the exception of two insignificant insurrections, which were easily suppressed, its history at this period presents little of interest. In the former of these risings the standard of revolt was raised by Theophilos Erotikos. This ambitious, but incapable, individual had been entrusted by Michael (IV.), the Paphlagonian (A.D. 1034-A.D. 1041), with the government of Servia. Being ignominiously expelled by Stephen Bogislav he was in A.D. 1040 appointed to Cyprus. Taking advantage of the confusion consequent upon the dethronement of Michael (V.) Kalaphates in A.D. 1042, he incited the Cypriots to murder the protospathary Theophylaktos, who had rendered himself odious to them by his exactions in the collection of the public revenue. But Constantine (X.) Monomachos (A.D. 1042-A.D. 1054) on his accession to the throne crushed the revolt without delay. The Patrician, Constantine Chages, being sent against the rebel, speedily captured and conducted him to Constantinople. So contemptible did the movement appear that Erotikos, after being exposed in female attire to the popular derision in the hippodrome, was merely deprived of his property and sent into exile.

Rebellion of Theophilos Erotikos.

Kedrenos (P. G., cxxii., col. 281).

Zonaras, Annal., iii.

Finlay, The Byzantine and Greek Empires, bk. ii., ch. 3, sec. 2, p. 506.

The second of these rebellions, which occurred about fifty

Zonaras, Annal., iii.

Glykas, Annal., iv.
A. Komnena, Alexiad., lib. ix. (P. G., cxxxi., col. 660).

Rebellion of Rhapsommates.

years later, during the reign of Alexios (I.) Komnenos (A.D. 1081-A.D. 1118), was due to the seditious conduct of another governor, named Rhapsommates. Having come to an understanding with Karykes, who occupied a similar position in Crete, they simultaneously renounced their allegiance to the Emperor in A.D. 1092. But the prompt despatch of a powerful fleet under the Cæsar, John Dukas, the brother-in-law of Alexios, disconcerted the conspirators' plans. The Cretans on hearing of Dukas' approach murdered Karykes, and quietly submitted to the imperial authority. In Cyprus, too, the revolt fared no better. Rhapsommates, after vainly attempting to oppose the advance of the Byzantine forces, which landed at Kyrenia, endeavoured to escape to Syria, but being foiled in his design fled for refuge to the Church on Stavro Vouni. Captured there, however, and brought to Nikosia, he suffered the penalty of his treason.

Deposition of John, Bishop of Amathus.

Balsamon, in Can. xii., Concil. vi., Carthag., Beveridge, Pandect., tom. ii., Annot., p. 204.

The only ecclesiastical event of any importance, which occurred at this period, took place during the reign of Manuel (I.) Komnenos (A.D. 1143-A.D. 1180). John, Bishop of Amathus, having been deprived of his See by his namesake, the Archbishop of Constantia, appealed to the Emperor for redress. By Manuel's directions the matter was referred to Lukas Chrysoberges, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the Œcumenical Synod. As the result of their investigations, in which the Senate also participated, the sentence was pronounced invalid on the ground that it had been irregularly procured. The Eleventh Canon of the First Council of Carthage (A.D. 348) expressly lays down that all charges against members of the episcopate shall be investigated by a court of twelve bishops, while the Fourth Canon of the Council of Antioch in Encæniis (A.D. 341) clearly shows by implication that the deposition of a bishop is a matter reserved exclusively for the action of a Synod. The decision of the Œcumenical Patriarch and his assessors on this occasion seems to have been based upon the Twelfth Canon of the Sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 419), which is evidently a compromise between the two statutes above quoted. It enacts that all such cases shall be referred to a court composed of at least twelve bishops, when circumstances render it impossible to assemble a greater number. The avowed intention of this legislation is to enable the accused to free himself without delay from any suspicion attaching to him. As in this instance the tribunal only comprised eleven members, exclusive of the Archbishop, though no apparent reason existed to prevent the assembling of the entire Synod, its proceedings were set aside. The interference

of the Œcumenical Patriarch, which at first sight seems to be an act of ecclesiastical intrusion, may perhaps be defended by an appeal to the Fifteenth Canon of the same Council in Encæniis, wherein it is laid down that "if a bishop accused of certain offences has been tried by all the bishops of the eparchy, and all have unanimously given sentence against him, he may not be tried again by others, but the unanimous decision of the bishops of the eparchy must hold good". In this case, as the entire Synod of thirteen was not present, it cannot be pretended that the sentence was pronounced in accordance with the above regulation. But whether the power of revising it was vested elsewhere than in the Cypriot Church depends upon the view taken of the extent of its independence and jurisdiction.

Isaac Komnenos.

Isaac Komnenos, as the last ruler of Hellenic race in the island, deserves more than a passing notice. He was connected with the imperial house of Komnenos, whose name he assumed, through his mother, a daughter of Isaac Sebastokrator, brother of the Emperor Manuel I. The name of his father is unknown, though Du Cange supposes him to have been a member of the family of Dukas. Entrusted by his grand-uncle, the Emperor Manuel, with the government of Tarsus, Komnenos became involved in hostilities with the Armenians of Cilicia. Being captured by them in battle he owed his release to the good offices of his maternal aunt, Theodora, widow of Baudouin III., King of Jerusalem. Through her influence with Andronikos I. (A.D. 1183-A.D. 1185) she, after much difficulty, persuaded the usurper to allow Komnenos to draw 60,000 besants from the revenues of Cyprus for the purchase of his liberty. Rupin, Prince of Cilicia, had transferred his captive to Boémond III., Prince of Antioch. On receiving half of the stipulated ransom Boémond permitted Komnenos to proceed to Cyprus and collect the remainder. But the latter, impatient at the thought of being subject to Andronikos, had formed a design for regaining his independence. On reaching the island he deceived the inhabitants by means of forged imperial letters purporting to appoint him Katapan or governor. No sooner, however, was he firmly established in possession and had gathered around him a body of mercenaries, than he threw off the mask, and openly proclaimed himself an independent sovereign, with the title of Emperor. Andronikos, on hearing what had occurred, was beside himself with rage. Unable to get the rebel into his power he directed his anger against Constantine Makrodukas and Andronikos Dukas, who

His family and early history.

Choniates, lib. i., c. 5 (P. G., cxxxix., pars 1, col. 644).

Du Cange, Fam. Aug. Byzantinæ, p. 133.

Choniates, ut supra.

Neophytos, De Calamit. Cypri.

Finlay, Byzantine and Gk. Empires, bk. iii., ch. 2, sec. 4, p. 262.

Isaac seizes Cyprus.

Rage of Andronikos at Isaac's conduct.

had induced him to advance the necessary sum for Komnenos' ransom by becoming sureties for his good behaviour. At the instigation of Stephen Hagiochristophorites, the ready instrument of the tyrant's vengeance, they were stoned to death and impaled. There was another reason, too, why the occurrence so greatly disturbed Andronikos. It had been predicted that some one, whose name began with I, should deprive him of his life and throne.[1] Aware of the detestation, in which his subjects held him, and of their readiness to welcome any deliverer, he was afraid lest the rebel in Cyprus should be encouraged by the popular discontent to make the attempt he so much dreaded. But that catastrophe was destined to be accomplished by Isaac (II.) Angelos, who in A.D. 1185 put an end at the same time to his life and blood-stained reign.

Choniates.

Komnenos feeling insecure in his new position, and conscious that the Empire would never tamely endure the loss of Cyprus, strengthened himself by an alliance with the Norman king of Sicily, William II., whose sister he married. The recovery of the island, which Andronikos was unable to effect, was attempted by his successor, Isaac II., in A.D. 1186. Finding that Komnenos was not to be cajoled into surrender, he despatched a fleet of seventy galleys with a numerous army, under the joint command of John Kontostephanos[2] and Alexios Komnenos,[3] to reduce him by force. But the undertaking ended most disastrously for the imperial arms. The Sicilian admiral, Magaritone,[4] who was returning from Tyre after a successful defence of that town against Saladin, suddenly attacked the invaders' fleet, and captured most

Isaac allies himself with William II. of Sicily.

Finlay, The Byzant. and Gk. Empires, bk. iii., ch. 3, sec. 1, p. 291.

Invasion of Cyprus by the Byzantines. Their defeat there.

Choniates.

[1] ἦν γὰρ ὑφορώμενος ἀεὶ τὸ ἰῶτα ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ παραλῦσον ἀρχήν.

Reinhard, tom. i., lib. ii. sec. 44, p. 103, notes b, c, d.

[2] The family of Kontostephanos was related by marriage with the imperial house of Komnenos, John's father, Stephen, having married the sister of the Emperor Manuel I. Komnenos, by whom he had three sons. The eldest, Alexios, assisted Stephen IV. to the throne of Hungary. The second, Andronikos, was one of the greatest warriors of his age, while John, the youngest, received the title of Sebastos.

[3] This Alexios was the son of Andronikos Komnenos, brother of Manuel I. who had borne the title of Sebastokrator and died in 1142. The tyrant Andronikos had put out his eyes and caused him to be shut up in a monastery. The Emperor Alexios withdrew him from this retreat and sent him as joint commander of the expedition against the rebel Isaac.

[4] Margaritone was a Spaniard by birth, though in the Sicilian service. He was regarded as one of the greatest seamen of his time. He was on his way back to Sicily, after compelling Saladin to raise the siege of Tyre, when he came so opportunely to the assistance of Isaac. He, as well as the tyrant, was related by marriage to the royal house of the Two Sicilies, having married a daughter of William I. Choniates describes him as "ὁ τῶν τότε κατὰ θάλατταν πειρατῶν (!) κράτιστος, ὁ Μεγαρείτης καλούμενος".

of their vessels. The land forces, which had disembarked near Amathus, also met with total defeat. The two Byzantine commanders, with many of their galleys, were carried off to Palermo by the victorious Sicilians, while of the remaining prisoners some were enrolled in the Cypriot army and others were put to death. As an instance of Komnenos' inhumanity it is recorded that he deprived Basil Rentakenos, his former instructor in oratory and the science of war, who took part in the expedition, of a leg, which was severed at the knee with an axe (*πελέκει ἐκ τοῦ γόνατος θάτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐκτεμών*).

Isaac's cruelty and tyranny towards the Cypriots.

Being no longer apprehensive for his safety Komnenos now gave free play to his cruelty. Of all the scourges Cyprus has ever known he proved himself the worst. Vinisauf among Western chroniclers has declared him to be "the most wicked of all bad men, and surpassing Judas in treachery and Guenelon in treason,"[1] while Niketas Choniates among the Orientals has furnished us with a most graphic personal description of this amiable tyrant. He says that he was the most irritable of men and when angry emitted strange noises resembling the bubbling of a kettle, his lower jaw trembling all the while with excitement. The same historian has also drawn the following terrible picture of his treatment of the unfortunate Cypriots. "Revealing the savageness of his disposition he behaved inhumanly to the inhabitants, and as much exceeded Andronikos in the harshness and cruelty of his character, as Andronikos surpassed in his wrath the most notorious tyrants, who ever existed. As soon as he thought himself securely seated in power, he ceased not to act with the most unbounded ferocity towards the Cypriots. He was hourly stained with the murder of innocent persons, and became a slayer of men, inflicting upon them, like an instrument of fate, penalties and punishments, which resulted in death. The shameless and abandoned wretch passed his time, moreover, in adultery and the seduction of young girls. Families once in affluent circumstances he deprived for no fault of their property, and natives, who but a short time before were noted for their wealth, when he did not put them to death, he dismissed naked and starving to beg their bread." We learn further from the letter of his contemporary, Neophytos, the recluse of Enklistra, that for seven years the island groaned under his tyranny. During that period

Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 29.

Choniates (P.G. cxxxix., col. 732).

Neophytos, De Calamit. Cypri.

[1] Hic omnium malorum nequissimus, Judam exsuperans perfidia, Guenelonem proditione.

*Ὀργιλώτατος δ' ὢν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατὰ λέβητα καχλάζων ἀεὶ τῷ θυμῷ, παραφορά τε φθεγγόμενος ἐν τῷ χολᾷν καὶ τὴν κάτω γένυν τρομαλέαν δεικνὺς.*

he reduced the Cypriots to such despair by his confiscations of the property of the well-to-do and his daily acts of oppression, that all were ready to welcome any means, which promised an escape from his intolerable yoke. The deliverance so earnestly desired came at last and from a most unexpected quarter. The events, which led to it, will, however, be told in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II.

The Third Crusade.

EUROPE was at this time in the throes of the third of those great movements, which had for their ostensible object the recovery of Palestine from the infidel. The news of the disastrous battle of Hittin and the capture of the Holy City filled all Christendom with consternation. Among those, who assumed the cross in defence of the faith, were Richard of England and Philip Augustus of France.[1] The two Kings, after joining forces at Messina in 1190, set out in the spring of the following year for their destination. A terrible storm overtook the English fleet on its way. Some of the ships were stranded on the coast of Cyprus and such of the crews, as escaped to land, were by Isaac's orders taken prisoners and their property seized. One of the vessels reached the harbour of Amathus, having on board Richard's sister, Johanna, the Queen Dowager of Sicily, and his affianced bride, Berengaria of Navarre. The tyrant, being informed of their presence, tried to get the two princesses into his power. But they, mistrusting the sincerity of his friendly advances, refused to land at his invitation. The tyrant, thereupon, sending four armed galleys attempted by force what he could not effect by artifice. Richard himself, who had meanwhile succeeded in reuniting most of his scattered fleet, appeared before that port on 6th May. Hearing of the outrages, which had been inflicted upon his shipwrecked subjects, and the insult

Chronique de Terre Sainte, Les Gestes des Chiprois, pp. 13-14.
Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 9.
Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 6.
Part of the English fleet wrecked on the coast of Cyprus.
Isaac's treatment of the survivors.
Insults Richard's sister and affianced wife.
Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 7.
Vinisauf, lib. ii., cc. 28-31.
Richard of Devizes, ann. 1191, sec. 60.
Richard reaches Cyprus, 6th May, 1191.

[1] En ce dit an l'an de M.C.XC. de Crist, le roy Phelippe de France & le roy Richart d'Engleterre passerent en Acre et asegerent Acre: & ses ij. rois ne passerent mye ensemble, car le roy de France passa y de poy de tens avant dou roy d'Engleterre, & le roy d'Engleterre en son venir espouza la fille dou roy de Cezille, & laissa le roy d'Engleterre sa mere en Sezille, quy li mena sa feme à Acre. Et sestuy roy Richart avoit proumis au roy Phelippe de France d'espouzer sa seur, & li failly; & prist seste fille dou roy de Sezille, & ja soit se que le roy de France l'eüt à grief, il ne li en fist nul senblant, ains il meymes le roy de France son cors entra en mer & se moullia, & prist la dame espouzée en ses bras & la mist de la barche en terre, & fu dit que à paser que seste dame fist par Chipre & la mere dou roy d'Engleterre, & furent j. jour devant Limesson, une ville de Chipre, que Qirsaquy tenoit; si se mist en say de prendre la dame, & si ne post, car il partirent selle nuit, & por ceste achaisson le roy Richart d'Engleterre ala en Chipre & la prist.

Demands satisfaction which is refused.

offered to his relatives, he instantly demanded satisfaction, as well as the liberation of his people and the restitution of the property.[1] Isaac, who had assembled all his forces to repel the new-comers, answered the demand with threats. Richard immediately determined on more active measures. There were other reasons why the English King was not reluctant to have recourse to arms. Since the island had passed into Isaac's hands it had ceased to be of the same value, as formerly, to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, while the tyrant was said to be a friend of Saladin. It was even reported that they had drunk each other's blood as a sign and testimony of mutual treaty.[2] Dashing into the sea at the head of his troops Cœur-de-Lion at once impetuously attacked the forces drawn up to oppose his landing. But the Cypriot levies were no match for Western valour. After sustaining a heavy loss in killed and wounded they fled precipitately from the field, bearing their Emperor with them. Encouraged by the small numbers of his assailants, the fugitive rallied his shattered forces a few miles from the scene of combat, with the intention of again trying the fortune of battle. But, being suddenly attacked by the invaders, he sustained a second and more crushing defeat, which compelled him to retire into the mountains.[3] A conference between the two sovereigns

Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 32.
Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 8.
Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 29.
Defeats the Cypriots before Amathus.
Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 33.
Brompton, col. 1198 (Twysden).
Second defeat of Isaac.
Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 36.

Chron. Slav., lib. iii., c. 37.

[1] Arnold of Lubec erroneously attributes Richard's attack upon Cyprus to Isaac's alleged apostasy from Christianity. "Invaluerat rex (Isaac) terrae illius divitiis et in superbiam elatus recessit a Constantinopolito, similiter et a fide catholicâ. Hujus rei gratiâ eum Anglicus impetebat."

Bartholomew Salignac, who visited the island in 1552, tells the following delightful story, which well illustrates the way history is occasionally perverted: "Regis Angliae quondam filia sanctorum locorum fruens amore Hierosolymam profecta est honesto sodalitio. Quæ cum Cyprum ingressa esset et Cypri regem salvi conductus gratia salutaret, voti quidem compos evasit, et a rege humaniter fuit recepta. Cæterum inter comedendum et colloquendum (ut fieri solet) impudicus rex speciosissimæ reginæ flagrans concupiscentiâ, et hospitalis juris oblitus, vi eam oppressit. Quæ probe dissimulata interim injuria, et peracta peregrinatione in regnum suum rediens, defuncto jam patre (*i.e.* Henry II.) fratri regnanti (Richard I.) turpe ludibrium exposuit, et de tanto scelere vindictam postulavit. Rex nil moratus, instructâ classe, navigavit Cyprum, et fugato rege Cypri, regnum demolitus est."

Nicole le Huen has the following remarks upon the same subject:—

"La cause de ceste destruction fust par la seur du roy dangleterre qui sen alloit par devotion en Jherusalem, le roy de Cypre la print et la viola, dont mal luy print & a tout le pais qui la vint en secours, & destruit, tout mectant a feu & a sang."

[2] Saladino dicebatur familiaris et mutuum singuli hausisse cruorem in signum et testimonium initæ invicem confœderationis, tanquam ex commixtione sanguinis exterius revera fierent consanguinei.

[3] The standard of Isaac, which was captured on this occasion, was deposited

was now proposed by the Master of the Hospitallers. At a meeting held "in a very large plain, between the sea and the highway, close by the city of Limozim," Isaac agreed to the following terms. Terms of peace.

(1) To recognise the King of England as his suzerain.

(2) To send 500 knights to the Holy Land to take part in the Crusade.

(3) To place all his fortresses in Richard's hands as a pledge of his fidelity.

(4) To pay 3500 marks in satisfaction to those of the English, who had lost their money, or had it stolen.

Richard on his part undertook at the close of the expedition to restore the island to its former owner, if his conduct in the coming campaign should prove satisfactory.

But the peace, which had been concluded, was of short duration. Isaac, being falsely informed that Richard meant that night to seize him, fled away in the darkness to Famagusta. Thither Cœur-de-Lion followed in hot pursuit, but finding that his enemy had left that city, marched with his forces to Nikosia, the capital. On the way a third and decisive engagement was fought, when the emperor, narrowly escaping capture, fled with all speed to his stronghold of Kantara. The conqueror continued his march without further opposition, the inhabitants of Nikosia on his approach coming out in a body to congratulate and admit him within their walls. Receiving them amicably the king caused their beards to be shaved, in token of their change of allegiance, and exacted homage from the nobles, who, like the rest of their compatriots, seemed to throw off the tyrant's yoke with joy. One by one the fortresses fell into his hands, until within fifteen days he had become master of the entire island. On the capture of Kyrenia, where he had placed for safety his daughter and treasures, Isaac resolved to throw himself upon the generosity of his conqueror, stipulating only that he should not be put in iron chains. Richard delivered up his captive to Guy de Lusignan for safe custody and, to fulfil his promise, loaded him with silver instead of iron fetters. His subsequent fate is a matter of some uncertainty. He is reported to have been carried by Richard to Acre, and there handed over to

Isaac's perfidy. Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 37. Richard of Devizes, ann. 1191, sec. 61.

Third and final defeat of Isaac.

Surrender of Nikosia.

Conquest of Cyprus effected in fifteen days. Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 40.

Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 38.

Surrender of Isaac. His subsequent fate. Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 39. Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 8; lib. xxv., c. 26; lib. xxvi., c. 13; (Recueil des Hist. des Croisades, tom. ii., pp. 169-200).

by Richard in St. Edmund's Abbey, Suffolk, formerly known as Bedericsworthe or Edmundestow.

"Sir James Burrough's Collections say that in 1191 Richard gave to the Church of St. Edmund the Standard of Isaac, King of Cyprus" (MS. Col., vol. xlv., p. 29). Dodsworth and Dugdale, Monast. Anglic., vol. ii., pp. 104,105.

the Hospitallers, who confined him in their castle at Margab until his death.[1] Another account represents him as having regained his liberty, when he was ultimately poisoned by his cup-bearer at the instigation of the Emperor Alexios Angelos, against whom he was plotting. Though Isaac himself now finally disappears from history, another member of his family comes yet again before our notice in connection with the island story. His daughter, who had been entrusted by Richard to the care of his queen, Berengaria, is said to have been restored to freedom on the demand of her kinsman, the German Emperor, who made it one of the conditions, on which the English King himself regained his liberty. She became the wife of Raymond (VI.) de Saint-Gilles, Count of Toulouse, who subsequently divorced her. When the fleet bearing the Flemish contingent of the Fourth Crusade entered Marseilles towards the end of 1202, the Cypriot princess was living in that town. One of the knights, a relative of Baudouin, Count of Flanders, marrying her there resolved to demand the restitution of the island in her name. Being promised the support of his compatriots he was bold enough to appear before Amaury with his request. The king, though he affected to treat the matter as a jest, ordered the claimant to leave his dominions at once under pain of death.

Arnold Lubec. Chron. Slav. lib. iii., c. 37. Brompton, col. 1250. Hoveden, p. 759. Choniates, De Alexio. Is. Angeli. Fr., lib. i., c. 3 (P. G., tom. cxxxix., p. 837). After career of Isaac's daughter. Hoveden (Savile), p. 732. Coggeshale, ann. 1193 (Martene, Ampl. Coll., tom. v., col. 833). Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 38 (P. L., ccl., p. 967). Claims the throne of Cyprus through her husband. Sanutus. Secret. Fid. Cruc., lib. iii., pars xi., c. 1.

The Cypriots had, it is true, by the late events been delivered from a tyrant of their own race and faith, but they were soon made aware that they had only exchanged one kind of servitude for another. Recognising the value of his conquest Richard was by no means inclined to relinquish the rich prize, which had fallen so easily into his grasp. After collecting a considerable quantity of booty he crossed over with his forces to Acre, leaving garrisons in various parts of the island, with two representa-

Richard garrisons Cyprus and departs to Palestine. Vinisauf, lib. ii., c. 41. Brompton, p. 1200. Hoveden, p. 692. B. of Peterb., p. 651.

[1] Accounts vary considerably as to Isaac's subsequent fate. Vinisauf and one continuator of Guillaume de Tyr report that Richard, at Isaac's singular request, placed him in fetters of silver instead of iron. The former further states that the King gave him in charge to Guy de Lusignan, while the latter says he carried him off to Acre. According to other authorities he was committed to the care of Richard's Chamberlain. Neophytos distinctly asserts that Isaac was placed by the English King in iron fetters and imprisoned in the castle of Markappos (Margab) near Latakia in Syria, then the head-quarters of the Hospitallers. Other chroniclers also represent Isaac as having been first placed in iron fetters, which were afterwards at his entreaty changed to silver ones. Choniates, another contemporary Greek writer, merely states that Isaac was placed in fetters, without specifying the metal, of which they were made. According to him Richard deported the usurper from Cyprus and gave him as a slave to one of his compatriots in Palestine.

Brompton, col. 1200. Hoveden, p. 692 (Savile). B. Peterb., tom. ii., p. 650. (Twisden and Selden, Script. Anglic). Choniat., De Alex. Isaac Angeli, lib. i.

tives, Richard de Canville and Robert de Turnham, to administer the government.[1]

Invasion of Cyprus by Renaud de Chatillon, A.D. 1155. Guil. Tyr, lib. xviii., cc. 19-23. Kinnamos, lib. iv., c. 17 (P. G., tom. cxxxiii., col. 521).

This was not the first occasion, upon which unfortunate Cyprus had felt the might of a Western conqueror. In the year 1155 it had been cruelly ravaged by a French adventurer, Renaud de Châtillon, chief of the Latin principality of Antioch.[2] The cause of the misfortune was as follows. During the reign of Manuel I. an Armenian chieftain named Thoros, taking advantage of the weakness of the Empire and his own remoteness from the seat of power, made an incursion into Cilicia, inflicting grievous losses upon the inhabitants. Unable to oppose him in any other way Manuel applied to the Prince of Antioch, offering him a large sum of money if he would expel the invader from the imperial territory. Renaud responded readily to the appeal and, inflicting a severe defeat upon the Armenian, freed the province from his presence. But the payment of the reward was so long delayed that he at last lost patience and, fancying he had been deceived, resolved upon revenge. Selecting Cyprus as the object of his resentment he made a sudden descent upon

[1] Accounts are equally divergent as to the manner in which Richard disposed of his new conquest. According to (*a*) Vinisauf he sold it to the Templars, though the price is not mentioned. (*b*) One of the continuators of Guillaume de Tyr represents Cœur-de-Lion as wishing to bestow it as a gift upon the Knights, who refused to accept it, though they promised to be responsible for its safe custody. (*c*) Other continuators of the same historian state that the island was sold by Richard to the Order for 100,000 Saracen besants, 40,000 of which were to be paid immediately, while the balance was to be raised from the local revenues. The price paid has been variously stated also as (*d*) 25,000 silver marks and (*e*) 100,000 gold ducats.* (*f*) Neophytos, the Cypriot chronicler, puts the amount at 200,000 pounds of gold.† On the other hand (*g*) Choniates asserts that the English king retained it in his own possession.‡

(a) Vinisauf, lib. v., c. 37. (b) Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 8 (Migne, Pat. Lat., tom. cci., col. 942). (c) Hist. de Chyp., tom. ii., p. 7; iii., p. 593. (d) Rigord, Ann. 1191 (Du Chesne, Script., tom. v.). (e) Machæra, pp. 63, 323. (f) De Calamitat. Cypri. (g) De Isaac Angelo, lib. ii., c. 8 (P. G., cxxxix., col. 784).

The (*h*) "Gestes des Chiprois" § declare that Guy bought the island from the Templars, who had purchased it from Richard, while (*i*) Sanutus || says that they were merely its custodians.

(h) Chronique de Terre Sainte (Les Gestes des Chiprois, p. 14). (i) Sanutus, lib. iii., pars x., c. iv., p. 198.

[2] Renaud de Châtillon sur Loire, Seigneur de Gien sur Loire, was the second husband of Constance, widow of Raymond de Poitiers, Prince of Antioch. He was captured at the battle of Hittin (A.D. 1187) by Saladin, who beheaded him with his own hand.

* Ὁ ποῖος (ὁ ῥήγας τῆς Ἐκλετέρας) ἐπουλησέν την (τὴν Κύπρον) τοῦ ῥὲ Οὔγγκε (!) τοῦ ῥηγὸς τῶν Ἱερουσολύμων διὰ ρ' χιλιάδες δουκάτα χρυσᾶ, κ.τ.λ.

† διαπράσας τὴν χώραν Λατίνοις χρυσίου χιλιάδων λιτρῶν διακοσίων.

‡ Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Παλαιστίνην κατεπλευσεν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Κύπρῳ καταλείψας στράτευμα ὡς οἰκείας ἤδη τῆς νήσου ἀντεποιεῖτο, κ.τ.λ.

§ "En se dit an (M.C.XCII.) acheta le roy Guy de Lezegniau, quy estoit roy de Jerusalem, Chipre des Templiers qui l'avéent achetée dou roy Richart."

|| Dismissaque insula sub Templariorum custodia.

it. But the islanders, being forewarned, were prepared for resistance. In the only battle which took place, the Cypriots were so completely defeated that no further opposition was attempted. Renaud, being now in undisputed supremacy, committed horrible atrocities upon the unfortunate inhabitants. "Going through the whole island where he would, he overthrew cities, destroyed towns, broke open convents, male and female, wantonly; exposing to insult the holy women and tender virgins. So for some days they raged about the entire country, without finding any to oppose them, sparing neither age nor sex, and subjecting all alike to the same treatment. At length, having got together their spoil from all quarters, infinite both in kind and quantity, they betook themselves to the coast: and having got their ships together, crossed over to Antiochian territory."[1]

Ffoulkes, Christendom's Divisions, pt. ii., c. ii., pp. 121-122.

Abul. Pharag., Chron. Syriac. (Bruns & Kirsch, p. 355).

Far-reaching effects of the conquest of Cyprus by Richard.

The conquest of Cyprus by Richard had, however, a much more important result than its conquest by Renaud. Its consequences were more far reaching. It meant more than a mere addition of territory to the already extensive dominions of the English king. As a modern historian has well remarked it was an event, which affected the whole future relations of the East and West with one another. "The subjection of the Greeks to the Franks was commenced by an English King. Richard Cœur-de-Lion by conquering Cyprus and subjecting its inhabitants to the domination of the Latin Christians, struck the first serious blow at the national independence of the Hellenic race on the part of the Crusaders." That the lesson was well laid to heart we must admit, when we remember that less than fifteen years afterwards men of the same race captured the Queen of Cities herself, and parcelled out the dominions of the eastern Emperor into feudal fiefs.

Finlay, Mediæval Greece, c. iii., sec. 2, p. 88.

Revolt of the Cypriots.

The Cypriots had looked on with apparent unconcern at the late events, thinking no doubt that the strangers would soon depart and leave them in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom. But, when they saw their hopes so rudely dispelled and perceived that they had merely passed under the yoke of a foreign King, they resolved to strike a blow for their independence. The

Brompton, col. 1203.

[1] Anno Græcorum 1468 (A.D. 1157) Princeps, Antiochiæ dominus, insulam Cyprum, Græcorum imperio subjectam, invasit totamque diripuit, homines, oves, boves, equos et omnes divitias abduxit; Cyprii cum ad maris littora venissent, multo auro pro se gregibusque suis promisso, a Francis dimissi sunt, qui tamen cum aliis divitiis episcopum, abbates et populi magistratus Antiochiam secum obsides abduxerunt, donec aurum persolutum esset.

dwellers in the mountainous districts of the south-west were the first to raise the standard of revolt. Proclaiming as emperor a monk, who was said to be a relative of the deposed Isaac, they proceeded to levy war against their new masters. The movement had not escaped the vigilant eye of Richard's lieutenant, Robert de Turnham. Making a sudden attack upon the insurgents before their plans were matured, he captured the mock sovereign and hanged him.[1] The news of the insurrection reaching Cœur-de-Lion in Palestine caused him to regard his new possession in a less favourable light. He now recognised that it lay too far from his European dominions to be of any permanent value, while he could ill spare the troops from Syria necessary to ensure its safe keeping. These considerations led him soon afterwards to sell the island to the Templars for the sum of 100,000 besants.

Richard sells Cyprus to the Templars.

Severe though the rule of the English King might have been, it was mildness itself when compared with that of the Knights. Their sway had always been marked by great cruelty towards their subject populations, and their conduct now in Cyprus was no exception to the rule. Their arrogance, coupled with their exactions, soon alienated the goodwill of the natives. At length, goaded to desperation by the harsh treatment which they had received, and encouraged by the fewness of their tyrants, the Greeks resolved to avenge themselves by a general massacre, which was fixed for Easter Day, 1192. The Knights, apprised of the plot, yet unable from their lack of numbers to meet the insurgents in the field, shut themselves up in their castle at Nikosia, where they were soon besieged by a crowd of infuriated enemies.[2] Their offer to retire to Syria, if their lives were spared, being contemptuously rejected, they resolved to meet death sword in hand rather than perish slowly by famine. Accordingly, after passing the previous night in confessing and receiving the Communion, they sallied out one morning at daybreak and, taking their foes unawares, cut them to pieces. The Knights bent on slaughter ran about the streets killing all whom they met, irrespective of age and sex. In their fury they even pursued the wretched fugitives into the churches, whither they had gone for

Harshness of the Knights towards the Cypriots.

The natives again revolt. Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 13. Amadi, p. 83 sq. F. Boustron, lib. i., p. 50 sq.

They besiege the Knights in Nikosia.

Defeat and slaughter of the besiegers.

[1] Quo defuncto (*i.e.*, R. de Camville) Griffones et Herminii, qui in Cipro ad pacem regis nondum venerant, novum imperatorem quemdam monachum consanguineum Isaac imperatoris sibi constituerunt, sed Robertus de Thornham qui solus in Cipro Regis Justiciarius remansit, illum cum gente sua vincens cepit et in patibulo suspensit.

[2] Amadi gives the exact number of the garrison of Nikosia as follows :— Amadi, p. 84.

"Quelli che vi entrono nel castello (di Nicosia) erano quatordise cavaglieri, settanta quatro pedoni, et altri vinti nove a cavallo."

sanctuary, and sprinkled the altars with their blood. The Order saw that it would now be impossible to hold Cyprus any longer. They had been in possession for nearly twelve months, during which period they had rendered themselves thoroughly detested. They resolved, therefore, to get rid of their troublesome purchase, and requested Richard to receive it back at their hands. This he agreed to do, restoring to them the sum which they had paid for it.

The Order restore the island to Richard.

From the Templars the island passed into the possession of a dynasty, which was destined to exercise a more permanent influence over its fortunes. Guy de Lusignan, its new master, a younger son of Hugues VIII. Count de la Marche, was the scion of a family, whose founder, Hugues I., had held the office of imperial chief huntsman in the tenth century.[1] He was one of five brothers, two others of whom, Geoffroy and Amaury, also left their paternal home for a life of adventure in the Holy Land. Banished from Poictou in 1168 for the murder of Patrick, Earl of Salisbury, he came to Palestine, where he entered the service of Baudouin IV. the Leper, the seventh Latin sovereign of Jerusalem. What his own relatives thought of him can be well inferred from the remark of his brother Geoffroy on hearing of his

Origin of the Lusignan family.

Du Cange, Familles d'outre mer, p. 24.

Early history of Guy de Lusignan.

Hoveden,[2] ann. 1168, p. 514.

W. Neubrig,[3] lib. iii., c. 16.

His career in Palestine.

[1] The reigning family of Cyprus derived its name from the Castle of Lusignan in Poictou, said to have been built in the tenth century by its then head, Hugues II., and to have existed till the year 1574, when it was demolished by the Duke de Montpensier during the religious troubles of that period. The Lusignans became vassals of the English crown on that province coming into possession of Henry II. by his marriage in 1152 with Eleanor, heiress of the last Duke of Aquitaine. It was wrested for a while from the English sovereigns by Philip Augustus, restored at the Peace of Bretigny in 1360, and united finally to the French crown by Charles V. The elder branch of this family became extinct in 1303 by the death of its then representative, Hugues XIII.

Hugues VIII., the father of Guy, had four other sons, *viz* :—

i. Hugues IX., who succeeded him.

ii. Geoffroy, surnamed à la grande dent, who, after distinguishing himself at the siege of Acre and being appointed Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, returned to France in 1192.

iii. Amaury, the first Latin King of Cyprus, who had previously been Constable of Jerusalem and also Count of Jaffa.

iv. Raymond, who became a monk.

[2] Eodem anno Gwido de Leszennam interfecit Patricium Comitem Salesbiriensem redeuntem in peregrinatione a Sancto Jacobo. Unde Henricus rex Angliæ plurimum iratus expulit eum de Pictavia. Qui accepta cruce peregre profectus est Jerosolymam et ibi remansit in obsequio Baldewini leprosi regis Jerusalem, et propter probitatem illius a rege et principibus regni plurimum dilectus est et honoratus.

[3] Nam tempore fratris Regis voto proprio secundas contraxerat nuptias cum homine peregrino, Guidone scilicet quodam Pictaviensi, qui a facie regis Anglorum Henrici Secundi de Aquitania fugerat, et Regi Jerosolymorum egregie militabat.

elevation to the throne. "Since they have made him a king, surely they would have made me a god."[1] He owed his advancement entirely to a fortunate marriage with Sibylle, elder sister of Baudouin. Her first husband had been Guillaume Longue-Épée, son of the Marquis of Montferrat, created on his marriage Count of Jaffa and Ascalon. On his death, leaving an only son, Baudouin IV., whose disease daily more unfitted him for the cares of government, as a protection against two of his most ambitious vassals,[2] married her to Guy, whose only recommendation was a handsome person. Lusignan, after being in turn created Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, was appointed regent of the kingdom. The feelings of Baudouin towards his new brother-in-law seem soon afterwards, however, to have undergone a complete change. Guy was deprived of the regency and, to remove all chance of his ever succeeding to the throne, the King caused his nephew, Guillaume's son, a child of five years of age, also called Baudouin, to be crowned and homage paid to him.[3] Civil war seemed now on the point of breaking out between the disputants, when the death of Baudouin IV. averted the danger. After a reign of eight months Baudouin V. followed his uncle to the tomb, when the crown fell to Sibylle as the next heir. With the assistance of the two Military Orders she procured the coronation of her husband and herself by the patriarch Heraclius. The accession of Guy to the throne caused the greatest dissatisfaction among the already discontented nobles. But a great and pressing danger from without turned the thoughts of all for a while from internal dissensions.

Bernardi Thesaurarii, De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ (Muratori, t. viii., p. 783).

Guil. Tyr. lib. xxi., c. 13.

Guil. Tyr. lib. xxii., c. 1.

Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxii., cc. 7. 8. 9.

Guy is created King of Jerusalem.

[1] De hoc Guidone fertur fratrem ejus Gaufridum, quum audivisset eum coronatum in Regem, dixisse, quod ejus agnoscebat ignaviam, "Si Rex est, meritò futurus est Deus".

[2] Boémond III. surnamed Le Bègue, or Le Banbe, Prince of Antioch, the eldest son of Raymond de Poictiers and Constance, daughter of Boémond II. Prince of Antioch.

Raymond III., Le Jeune, the son of Raymond II. Count of Tripoli and Odiarte, daughter of Baudouin II. King of Jerusalem.

[3] 38. A.M.C.LXXXI. le roy Bauduyn, mezel, si fist en sa vie encoroner à(u) roy de Jerusalem j. enfant, son nevou quy avoit à nom Bauduinet, quy n'en estoit que de vij. ans d'aage, le quel dit enfant fu fis de marquis Guillaume Longue Espée & de Sebille, seur dou dit Bauduyn, le roy meziau, la quele Sebille estoit au jor espouze d'un haut home de France, qui avoit nom Guy de Lezigniau, & avoit le roy Bauduyn, mezeau, doné à suer Sebille & au dit son mary la contée de Jaffe, mais sestu franc home Guy de Lezegniau estoit si très orgueillous que le roy & tous les barons dou royaume se tenoient mal apaié de luy, & le haoient mout, & por ce en sa vie fist il encorouner Bauduin son nevou à(u) roy de Jerusalem; & por ce que l'enfant fust bien veü de la gent, messire Balian d'Eyblin, quy estoit le plus grant chevalier, de persone le porta sur sa espaule le jor de son corounement.

Chronique de Terre Sainte (Les Gestes des Chiprois, p. 10).

Guil. Tyr. lib. xxii., c. 25.

Guil. Tyr. lib. xxii., c. 29.

Guil. Tyr. lib. xxiii., c. 1.

Increasing power of Saladin.

While the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was declining in power, Egypt, under the guidance of its able Sultan, Saladin,[1] had been increasing in strength. In an ill-advised moment the Christians now broke the truce, which alone had preserved them from destruction, and commenced hostilities. They soon had reason to repent their temerity. Saladin at once accepted the challenge, and pouring his troops into Palestine gained a crushing victory at Hittin, near the Lake of Tiberias, in which Guy was taken prisoner, while the flower of his chivalry was either captured or left dead upon the field. After an imprisonment of one year at Damascus he was set at liberty, on the promise that he would renounce all rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem, never again bear arms against his captor, and retire from the Holy Land. But Guy, who could not reconcile himself to the loss of his dominions, instead of observing the compact persuaded his clergy to absolve him from his oath, on the double plea that it had been given under compulsion and that Saladin also had broken the compact. While he was engaged in the siege of Acre, his wife Sibylle and the children, whom she had borne him, died. The opposition to his rule became in consequence greater than ever. A competitor to the throne now appeared in the person of one of the most romantic characters of the age. Conrad of Montferrat,[2] taking advantage of Lusignan's unpopularity, claimed it in right of his wife Isabelle, younger sister of Baudouin IV. As Guy refused to acknowledge the justice of the claim, it was decided to refer the dispute for arbitration to the Kings of England and

Defeats the Latins at Hittin and captures Guy, whom he shortly releases.

Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiii., cc. 12, 13, 18, 35.

Vinisauf, lib. i., c. 25.

Terms of Guy's freedom, which he breaks.

Vinisauf, ut supra.

Conrad of Montferrat disputes the throne of Jerusalem with Guy.

Vinisauf, lib. i., c. 64.

Dispute referred to Kings of England and France.

[1] Yusef was his real name, Salâh-ed-Dîn being merely an epithet meaning "honour of the faith".

[2] Conrad came of a family which played a conspicuous part in the history of the period. He was the youngest of four sons of Guillaume III., Marquis of Montferrat. The eldest, Boniface, was created King of Thessaly by Baudouin, Count of Flanders, after the capture of Constantinople. The second, Guillaume, surnamed Longue-Epée, was the first husband of Sibylle, elder sister of Baudouin IV., King of Jerusalem. The third, Reinier, who married a daughter of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos, died in Palestine a few years previous to the capture of the Holy City by the Saracens. Conrad first distinguished himself in Italy in the disputes between the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III. When subsequently journeying to the East he had been driven by stress of weather to Constantinople, where he assisted in placing Isaac (II.) Angelos upon the imperial throne in opposition to a rebel general named Branas. For his conspicuous services he was created a Cæsar and given the emperor's sister, Theodora, in marriage. But, growing weary of a life of splendid inactivity at the imperial court, he secretly left Constantinople and his Greek wife and, proceeding with some troops to Tyre, undertook its defence against Saladin on condition that the town should become his if he succeeded. By virtue of his marriage with Isabelle, younger sister of Baudouin IV., he claimed the kingdom of Jerusalem on the death of Sibylle and her children.

Choniates, De Isaac Angelo, lib. i., c. 7.; lib. ii., c. 1.

Contin. de G. de Tyr., lib. xxii., cc. 3, 7; xxiii., cc. 17, 18, 29, 30, 31.

France. Philip Augustus showing himself, however, a warm partisan of Conrad, Guy appealed for assistance to Richard, then engaged in the conquest of Cyprus, coming to the island to urge his suit. The English King lent a ready ear to his petition and promised to champion his cause. Through his powerful influence an agreement was come to on the following terms. Guy was to retain the crown for life, with reversion to Conrad and his children by Isabelle, Conrad meanwhile to have half the revenues of the kingdom, with the addition of Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout. It was further stipulated that, in the event of the marquis and his wife dying, while Richard was in Palestine, the kingdom was to be placed absolutely at the latter's disposal. This arrangement was soon disregarded by the Crusaders themselves, who, on the rumoured return of Richard to Europe, resolved to elect the marquis as King. But death removed Conrad from the scene before he could be invested with the royal dignity. On the very day on which he received the news of his elevation to the throne, he was waylaid in a narrow street of Tyre by two emissaries of the Sheik of the Mountain, as he was returning from supping with the Bishop of Beauvais, and slain. The murder was really prompted by revenge for an act of pillage committed by Conrad in the harbour of that town upon a trading vessel belonging to the tribe. But the French insinuated that the deed was committed at the instigation of Cœur-de-Lion, who was known to have quarrelled deeply with the murdered man.[1] And the suspicion was strengthened by the story of the two assassins themselves, who on being put to the torture confessed that the King of England had sent them. Montferrat being thus out of the way, the choice of the army next fell upon Henri, Count of

Richard champions Guy.

Settlement of the dispute.

Vinisauf, lib. iii., c. 20; lib. v., c. 23.

Murder of Conrad at Tyre.

Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 15.

Vinisauf, lib. v., c. 26.

Chomiates, De Isaac Angel., lib. ii., c. i. (P.G., cxxxix., col. 760).

Richard suspected of being the author of the deed.

Vinisauf, lib. v., c. 27.

Contin. G. de Tyr, ut supra.

Richard of Devizes, ann. 1192, sec. 95.

Sanutus, Lib. iii., pars x., c. vii.

Arnold, Lub. Chron. Slav., lib. iii., c. 37.

Bohadin, c. 144 (Ed. Schultens, p. 225).

Henri, Count of Champagne, elected King of Jerusalem.

[1] Though the name of the author has never been revealed, it is undeniable that his contemporaries mainly suspected Richard of the crime from his compromising behaviour in marrying Henri to the victim's widow only three days after its commission. There is still extant a letter from the Sheik to Leopold VI. Duke of Austria, generally, however, regarded as a forgery, in which the writer exculpates Cœur-de-Lion from all participation in the murder. The King of France is also reported to have questioned the Sheik as to Richard's alleged complicity, and to have received an answer in the negative. The Moslems indeed cite, as a proof of his guilt, the confession of the assassins that they had been sent by the English King for the purpose, but against this may fairly be set the statement of Vinisauf that one of them before his death acknowledged they had acted by the command of their superior. The same chronicler, moreover, represents the whole affair in a very different light. According to him the marriage was really suggested by the populace of Tyre and the French Crusaders, while Richard showed himself strongly averse to it. The Count of Champagne's singular conduct in subsequently visiting the president of this guild of murderers would rather seem to indicate him as the actual culprit.

Rymer, Act. Publ. Anglic., tom. i., p. 71.

W. Neubrig, lib. v., c. 16.

Rigord (Du Chesne, Script., tom. v., p. 36).

Vinisauf, lib. v., cc. 26, 28, 34, 35.

Contin G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 27.

Vinisauf, lib. v., cc. 28, 37.

Champagne, Richard's nephew, who with his uncle's consent was duly elected King. The English monarch, pitying the condition of Guy, who was now a King without a kingdom, bestowed upon him the unconditional sovereignty of Cyprus as a set-off for the loss of Jerusalem.[1]

Richard bestows Cyprus upon Guy.

Measures taken by Guy to ensure the stability of his new kingdom.

Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 14.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. ii., p. 8; tom. iii., p. 594.

The first care of Guy was to render his new acquisition secure. Those of his followers, who had lost their estates in Palestine during the recent troubles, were compensated by fresh grants in Cyprus. Due provision was also made for the widows and orphan daughters of those who had fallen by the hands of the infidel. The public domain, largely increased of late years by

[1] The terms, upon which the island was acquired by Guy, is another of the vexed questions of Cypriot history. Vinisauf represents it as a free gift from Richard in compensation for the loss of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been bestowed upon his nephew, Henri of Champagne, a statement which agrees with Choniates' account of the transaction,* while Hoveden asserts that Guy was only a life owner. But other English chroniclers report that is was obtained by purchase, and in this they are supported by the various continuators of Guillaume de Tyr. Of these latter one represents that Guy, on hearing of its surrender by the Templars, bought it on the advice of the Master of that Order. Another states that he agreed with the Knights to repay them the 40,000 besants they had already advanced and to make himself responsible for the 60,000 still owing, and on these terms received possession from them. A third asserts that Guy went to Richard in person and offered to purchase the island at the same price as the Templars had agreed upon, and that Richard accepted the offer. Guy, thereupon, consulted with his chancellor, Pierre d'Angoulême, Bishop of Tripoli, as to the raising of the money, which it seems had to be found within two months. But a discrepancy occurs here in the account. It is represented that Pierre borrowed 60,000 besants of the required sum from the citizens of Tripoli, which Guy paid over to Richard, who then put him in possession of the island. On Cœur-de-Lion afterwards demanding the 40,000 still outstanding Guy so successfully pleaded his poverty that the English monarch cancelled the debt. The truth of this latter statement is doubtful, as from other sources we learn that Henri of Champagne, the nephew and heir of Richard, demanded its payment from Amaury, the brother and successor of Guy, and imprisoned him for a while in the castle of Acre on his refusal to satisfy the claim. One of the island chroniclers reports that the purchase money was borrowed from the Genoese, who in consequence received many privileges in the island.

W. Neubrig, lib. iv., c. 29.

Hemingford (Gale, ii., p. 534).

Brompton (Selden, i., col. 1250).

Choniates, De Isaac Angelo, lib. ii., c. 8 (P.G., cxxxix., col. 785).

Coggeshale (Martene, Amp. Coll., tom. v., col. 820-833).

Hoveden (Savile, p. 759).

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 13 (Pat. Lat., tom. cci., p. 947).

Amadi, p. 87.

Strambaldi, p. 8.

Jean d'Ypres gives the following account of the circumstances, under which the island came into possession of Guy de Lusignan:—

Johannis Iperii Chronicon Sti. Bertini, pars vi. (Martene and Durandus, Thes. Nov. Anecdot., tom. iii., col. 679).

"Græci Cyprenses contra Anglicos et illos qui insulam pro rege Anglorum observabant, conspirantes animantur, sed auxiliante Deo Latinis victoria cessit. Quo facto magister Templi resignat in manus regis Angliæ custodiam Cyprensis insulæ, quam sibi commiserat: ipsiusque Magistri consilio Wido de Luzinzano quondam rex Jerusalem (terram nullam habebat), Cypri insulam a rege Angliæ sibi donari poposcit, et rex sibi dedit, ipsumque in ea regem instituit anno MCXCII. Tunc rex Guido omnes Terræ Sanctæ milites suos hereditarios secum trahens in Cyprum, eis dimisit terram possidendam. Ex hujus igitur donationis titulo rex Angliæ super regem Cypri prærogativa petiit."

* ὡς σφετέραν ἐδωρήσατο χώραν τὴν Κύπρον τῷ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἡγήτορι ῥηγί.

the confiscations of Isaac, and the property of those natives who had shown hostility to the Westerns, or voluntarily expatriated themselves rather than submit, were employed in the establishment of a feudal society on the usual model. But, though obliged in some degree to provide for the needs of his own adherents, Guy was by no means disposed to alienate the sympathies of his new subjects. He beheld with concern the partial depopulation, which the island had recently suffered, and did his best to remedy it. To induce those Cypriots, who had emigrated, to return, he caused it to be proclaimed in the adjacent countries that their houses and estates would be restored on condition of their doing so within a certain fixed period. Failing compliance, however, it was announced that they would be disposed of to the new-comers. Finding these measures insufficient to supply the places of those who had left, he further invited settlers from Syria and the surrounding districts. His appeal found a ready response. Numbers flocked to Cyprus, in the hope of enjoying there that quiet and opulence, which had been denied them elsewhere. So lavish were the grants bestowed upon these arrivals that the resources of the crown were seriously impaired. In fact a contemporary writer has complained that even poor cobblers, masons, and public scribes, who had previously lived by the work of their hands, became all at once through Guy's liberality nobles and landed proprietors.[1]

Contin. de G. Tyr. H. de Chyp., tom. i., p. 43, n. 2.

As might have been expected the new state very much resembled in its constitution the sister kingdom of Syria. Both were regulated by the same code, called the Assizes of Jerusalem.[2] It was a limited monarchy, the royal prerogative being restricted to the exercise of military authority. Public matters were administered by two courts, called respectively La Haute

Constitution of the kingdom of Cyprus.

[1] "Et as Griffons et as chevaliers . . . et as corversiers et as massons et as escrivains en sarracineis."

[2] The Assizes of Jerusalem was the name of a code of laws compiled in French under the direction of Godefroy de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, about A.D. 1100 for the use of the realm. After being attested by the seals of the King, the Patriarch, and the Vicomte of Jerusalem, it was deposited in the Holy Sepulchre, whence it was taken for consultation whenever necessary. Lost at the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in A.D. 1187, the code was preserved traditionally until the middle of the thirteenth century, when it was again committed to writing by Jean d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa. A final revision for the use of Cyprus was made in 1369 by sixteen commissioners chosen in the states of the island. The work was finished on 3rd November, 1369, sealed with four seals, and deposited in the cathedral of Santa Sophia at Nikosia. An Italian version, made during the Venetian Supremacy, was published at Venice in 1735.

Cour and La Basse Cour.[1] To the first, presided over by the sovereign, or his representative, and composed of the nobility, holders of fiefs, and chief civil functionaries of the kingdom, were entrusted all important affairs of State. Without its consent no laws, or customs, as they were termed, could be passed. The second and inferior court, as its name implies, took charge of all matters affecting the burgesses, and was responsible for the police of the kingdom. Its president was an official styled the Vicomte.

The constituent elements of society under the Lusignan Kings.

The knights and squires, who had accompanied Guy into Cyprus, with other subsequent arrivals from Europe and various parts of the East, formed the nucleus of the nobility and landed class.[2] After these came the burgesses, chiefly composed of the traders and artisans of the towns, corresponding to the modern middle class, on whom were conferred numerous privileges and franchises. The various divisions of the rural population, which had been established in the island long before the coming of the Westerns, were left undisturbed. They were as follows :—

Lusignan, p. 29 (b) sq. Loredano, lib. I., p. 8 sq.

1. The *Parici* (*πάροικοι*), corresponding to the *ascripti glebae* of Western Europe, occupied the lowest grade in the social scale, and were regarded almost as slaves by the owners of the fiefs, on which they lived. Besides being obliged to pay their feudal lords annually fifty besants, together with the third of the produce of their lands, they were also compelled to serve them two days every week for their bare food. They were liable to be sold, or even exchanged, for a horse, dog, or hawk, at the pleasure of their lords, who had also the power of inflicting every kind of punishment upon them except death.[3]

[1] These courts were also known as the Cour du roi and the Cour du vicomte, or des bourgeois.

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv. c. 14 (Pat. Lat., tom. ccl., p. 949).

[2] Guy is said to have bestowed fiefs upon 300 knights and 200 squires :—

"Il fiefa ccc chevaliers en la terre, et cc serjans à cheval, sans les borgois, cui il dona grant terre, et grant garnisont".

[3] The origin of this class is said to date from the time of the Katapan Kalokairos, who levied an annual tax upon all the inhabitants alike for the defence of the sea coasts from pirates. During the course of years the dwellers in the towns were exempted from the impost, while the contributions of the rustics were increased. Members of this class were allowed to purchase their freedom. The ordinary price, so Lusignan assures us, was sixty ducats, though in the case of avaricious owners it sometimes amounted to a hundred.

F. Bustron, Appendix, p. 461.

Florio Bustron thus explains the meaning of the word: "Il Parico e vocabolo greco, tratto da *παρὰ τουκής*, che vuol dire huomo obligato star appresso la casa, che non si può partir da quella casa, overo casale, senza licentia del patron di quel casale".

2. The *Perpiriarii* (περπυριάριοι) were identical with the Parici, except that they were free in the persons of themselves and their children, a privilege which they had purchased from some of the Dukes or Katapans, who had formerly governed the island. They had, however, to make an annual payment of fifteen besants (ὑπέρπυρα) to their feudal lords.[1]

3. The *Lefteri* (Ἐλεύθεροι) were Parici, who had been emancipated either on payment, or by the goodwill of their lord, the only condition imposed being the annual payment of a certain proportion of the produce of their land. With regard to their children those born after emancipation alone were free, while in the event of their marrying women of the Parici class, even after obtaining their freedom, the offspring were regarded as Parici.

4. The *Albanians* were the descendants of certain soldiers of that nationality, who had been originally brought from Albania to protect the island from pirates. Settling in Cyprus and marrying native women their progeny still bore the name of Albanians, continued to draw pay, carry arms and possess estates, like their progenitors, though most of them had, in course of time, degenerated from soldiers to mere cultivators of the soil. Guy, however, soon after his arrival withdrew their pay and deprived them of their military status on account of their admitted inefficiency.

5. The *White Venetians* were the descendants of certain subjects of the Republic, who, after accompanying their Doge, Vital Michiele, to the Holy Land (A.D. 1123), subsequently settled in Cyprus. Among many privileges and exemptions, which Guy conferred upon them, was the right of being tried by a Venetian nobleman, who resided at Nikosia with the title of Consul or Bailiff. Though they recognised no authority except that of the King, they paid a trifling sum annually, as an act of homage, to the seigneur, on whose lands they had settled.[2]

G. de Tyr. Hb. xii., c. 22.

[1] Florio Boustron thus derives their name, "Perpiro* era una moneta che valeva bisanti tre carati quattro; la qual moneta erano tenuti pagar li habitatori nella città, per il stipendio degli stratioti".

*(i.e. ὑπέρπυρον = besant, i.e. Βυζάντιον.)

Lusignan says that there were not many of them in the island.

[2] De Mas Latrie questions this account of their origin, and asserts that they were merely Levantines, upon whom the privileges of Venetian citizenship had been conferred. In proof of the correctness of his statement he cites from the instructions given, in the name of the Republic, by the Doge Agostino Barbarigo (27th Aug., 1489) to Balthazar Trevisani, lately appointed Governor of Cyprus, which contain a prohibition against any increase in the numbers of these White Venetians: "De cetero autem creari ullo pacto nequeant Veneti blanchi".

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 457, n. 1.

Loredano represents the fleet under the command of the Doge, Vital Michiele,

Such in brief were the elements of that society, which for the next three centuries was destined to exercise so powerful an influence upon the fortunes of the island.

No immediate change in the status of the native Church.

The various changes of ownership, which it had lately so rapidly undergone, brought with them no immediate consequences for the native Church. It was still left, for a while, in the undisturbed enjoyment of its liberties and possessions. Western supremacy was not yet sufficiently assured to allow of any such interference. The recent experiences of the Templars forbade any attempt for the present, while Guy was too politic a prince to involve himself in religious disputes with his new subjects. But, though the Orthodox so far had no apparent grounds for alarm, their minds were naturally filled with anxious misgivings as to what the near future might bring with it. The treatment already meted out to their co-religionists elsewhere rightly led them to conclude that sooner or later an attempt would be made to bring them also into subjection to Rome. They had good reason to suspect that their present immunity would be of but short duration, once the Latin clergy felt themselves strong enough to act. Still, in spite of the apparent hopelessness of the struggle, they were resolved, so long as they were able, to defend their Church and ancestral faith from the attacks of enemies, whom bitter experience soon taught them to regard with the greatest hatred and aversion.

It was during the reign of Amaury, the successor of Guy, that the first indications of the coming struggle were discerned. In temperament he was the reverse of his brother, being of a violent and harsh disposition. Under him began the preliminary stages in that long course of ecclesiastical tyranny, to which for nearly four centuries the native Church was subjected. He had not long ascended the throne, when he devised measures for the permanent introduction of the Roman hierarchy, and the conversion of his Orthodox subjects.[1] With this object he applied

Cart. S. Sophia, No. 1 (H. de Ch., tom. iii., p. 606).

as consisting of 200 sail, but this is largely in excess of the number as given by Guillaume de Tyr.

"Eodem tempore, audita regni Orientalis necessitate, dux Venetiæ, Dominicus Michaelis, una cum majoribus ejusdem provinciæ, composita classe, cum quadraginta galeis, gatis vigenti octo, quatuor majoribus ad devehenda onera aptatis navibus, iter in Syriam arripiunt," etc.

Cart. S. Sophia, No. 2 Bull (20th Feb., 1196).

[1] That the conversion of the Orthodox was one of the main reasons which prompted this step, is evident from the language of the Pope: "Sane, quia, sicut ex tenore litterarum dilecti filii nobilis viri A(malrici) domini Cipri, perpendimus evidenter, ipse Dei scientiam, ejus inspiratione dumtaxat, in singularitate fidei possidet, et romanam ecclesiam, caput et magistram ecclesiarum

to Celestine III. for permission to establish Latin dioceses in the island. But, if we may credit the testimony of a native chronicler, the royal proposal did not at first meet with much success. Before acceding to the request the Pope naturally inquired how the endowments were to be provided. On learning that it was proposed to furnish them by the payment of stipends, he refused to accept such an arrangement on the plea that it would endanger the independence of the clergy. At the same time he intimated his approval of the scheme, if the question of endowment could be placed beyond the possibility of alteration by any of Amaury's successors. Matters, however, were finally settled to Celestine's satisfaction, as in 1196 he appointed two commissioners with full powers, *viz.*, the Archdeacons of Laodicea and Lydda, to carry out the King's wishes. As the result of their deliberations a Latin metropolitan was established at Nikosia with suffragans at Limassol, Paphos, and Famagusta, all of whom were endowed out of the spoils of the Orthodox Community.[1] The Cypriots, who had looked on with apparent

Amaury applies to Celestine III. to establish the Roman Church in Cyprus.

Machæra, pp. 66, 67.

The Pope's reply.

Appointment of two commissioners for the purpose.

Cart. S. Sophiæ, No. 2 (Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 600).

Cart. S. Sophiæ, No. 8 (Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 601).

omnium recognoscens, Cipri insulam, cujus dominium divina potius credimus quam humana ei potestate collatum, a suis tandem erroribus suo diligenti studio revocatam a beluato fermentatorum scismate ad unitatem ortodoxe matris ecclesie reducere studio se contendit, sicut per dilectum filium magistrum B. archidiaconum Laodicensem, nuntium suum, virum utique providum et discretum, nobis est manifestius intimatum," etc.

Compare with this the language of Pope Alexander IV. in the Bull of 1260 called the Summa Alexandrina: —

"Cum auctoritate felicis recordationis Cœlestini Papæ prædecessoris nostri qui insulam Cypri propter inobedientiam et perfidiam Græcorum habitantium tunc in illa, exposuit Latinis Catholicis occupandam".

Raynald. ad ann. 1260, sec. 39.

[1] These proceedings were quite in keeping with the invariable practice of the Westerns in their dealings with the Orthodox Communion. Palestine was the principal scene of these episcopal usurpations. There, amid a host of minor instances, two stand prominently forward, the appropriation of the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem by Bernard, Bishop of Artois (A.D. 1098), and Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa (A.D. 1100), respectively.

G. de Tyr, lib. vi., c. 23.

Ibid., lib. ix., c. 15.

Some slight justification may be offered for these irregularities by the fact that, in the case of Jerusalem, the Orthodox Patriarch Simeon had previously died in Cyprus, while his colleague of Antioch was suspected of wishing to betray that town to the Emperor Alexios Komnenos. But no such excuse can be urged in the case of Cyprus, which, with perhaps the exception of Morosini's election to the See of Constantinople in A.D. 1205, presents one of the most unwarrantable examples of ecclesiastical intrusion on record. The action of Celestine III. in thus establishing the Roman hierarchy in the island constituted a most glaring breach of canon law. Not only did he act in open defiance of the eighth decree of the Third Œcumenical Council, which especially exempted Cyprus from all external interference, but he also contravened the code of the universal Church by ordaining in a province, which did not belong to him, without the invitation of the bishops of that province (Antioch, Can. 13; Constantinople, Can. 2), whereby he incurred deposition, the canonical sentence pronounced against all, who so offend (Apostol., Can. 36; Antioch, Can. 22).

Albert. Aquens., lib. vi., c. 29 (Bongars, tom. i., p. 285).

unconcern at the extinction of their civil rights, soon gave unmistakable proofs of the displeasure, with which they viewed these proceedings. This act of spoliation naturally exasperated the native clergy still further against their Latin rivals, whom they charged not only with depriving them of the patrimony of their Church, but also with harbouring designs against their creed. The Latins, in defence of their conduct, made a counter accusation against their accusers of simony and the encouragement of disloyal sentiments among their co-religionists. Amaury in vain sought by every means in his power to allay these disputes. On the eve of his departure for the Holy Land to assume the crown of Jerusalem (A.D. 1198), he assembled the heads of the two communions before him, when he ordered them under threat of the severest penalties to live at peace, and to occupy themselves with the care of their respective flocks. At the same time he declared that the disposal of all ecclesiastical property in the island was his exclusive prerogative, which he would endeavour to exercise in the way most satisfactory to both parties. A contemporary document, fortunately still extant, enables us to gauge accurately the feelings of the Orthodox inhabitants under the treatment, to which they were then subjected. It is a letter from the pen of Neophytos, the famous recluse of Enklistra. The writer, whose hatred and contempt for the Latins is plainly discernible, describing the recent misfortunes of his native land from domestic tyrants and foreign invaders, writes as follows: "The state of our country now is no better than that of the raging sea, under a great storm and tempest. Nay it is worse than a wild sea. For a calm succeeds the wildness of the sea, but here day by day the tempest increases and its fury knows no end."[1] But the Cypriots did not confine themselves to mere verbal protests. A partisan leader, named Kanakes, collecting around him a number of his fellow-countrymen, began a war of retaliation upon the sacrilegious Latins. Hard pressed by his pursuers he at last took refuge in the neighbouring coasts of Karamania, where, with the assistance of a compatriot, Isaac, Seigneur of Antiochetta, he armed a galley, in which he made continual forays upon the property of the Latins in the island. Being unhindered in his work of destruction he was at length emboldened to attempt something still more daring.

Jauna, bk. viii., c. 5.

Neophytos' description of the tyranny of the Latins.

Neophytos, De Calamitat. Cypri.

Excerpta Cypria, p. 48.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 596.

Revolt of Kanakes, who captures the Queen and her children.

[1] Μαινομένης θαλάσσης ἐκ πολλῆς τρικυμίας καὶ πολλῆς καταιγίδος οὐδὲν ἀποδέει νῦν τὰ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χεῖρον ἀγρίας θαλάσσης· ἐκείνης γὰρ τὴν ἀγριότητα διαδέχεται γαλήνη. ἔνθα δὲ ὁ κλύδων καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαύξει, καὶ τὸ βαγδαΐον αὐτοῦ τέλος οὐκ ἔχει.

Hearing from some of his numerous spies that Echive d'Ibelin, the consort of Amaury, was then residing with her children in the village of Paradisi near Famagusta, he formed the design of carrying them off. Accordingly, making a sudden descent upon the village at daybreak, he captured the royal family, whom he bore off in triumph to his patron Isaac. It was only through the intervention of Léon de la Montagne, Prince of Lesser Armenia, that the latter was at length induced to release his captives, who were restored to the distracted husband and father, on his coming with a fleet into the harbour of Gorhigos to receive them.

Designs of the Emperor Alexios Angelos upon Cyprus.

But another and more formidable opponent now appeared on the scene. The Eastern Empire had never really acquiesced in the loss of Cyprus, which had been torn from its grasp when too weak to resist. The Byzantine Court, regarding the occasion as favourable for the assertion of its former claims, secretly fomented the discontent of the Cypriots, with the design of reuniting the island to its own dominions. At the same time it made extensive preparations to enforce, if necessary, its rights by an appeal to arms. Before proceeding, however, to open hostilities the Emperor, Alexios Angelos, on the plea of unwillingness to shed Christian blood and thus bring destruction upon the kingdom of Palestine, applied to the new Pope, Innocent III., requesting him to order Amaury, under threat of excommunication, to peaceably surrender the island. He promised, if his wishes were gratified, to render large pecuniary assistance to the Latin Kingdom and the Military Orders in defence of the Holy Land, while he threatened, in case of refusal, to make good his pretensions with the sword. Innocent, who was anxious to secure the Emperor's co-operation in the coming crusade, returned a very guarded answer. He affirmed that, as Cyprus formed no part of the Greek Empire when conquered by the Westerns, it would be impossible to expect its present owners, who had acquired it lawfully from the English King, to surrender it. At the same time he besought the Emperor not to molest Amaury, then engaged in the defence of the Holy Land, lest disaster might only accrue to the Christian cause in Palestine, without the Greek Empire reaping any advantage at all. This remonstrance, however, failed to move Alexios, who continued his hostile preparations. The Pope, in alarm lest the Emperor should make good his threat, and also to retain Amaury in Palestine, where his presence was of the utmost importance, not only wrote to the Prince of Antioch and the Masters of the

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1198, No. 80.

Innocent III., Gesta (Baluze, p. 30).

Innocent III., Epist., tom. i., lib. i., Ep. 438; lib. ii., Ep. 251.

Military Orders to enlist them in defence of the island kingdom, but also begged the Kings of England and France to dissuade Alexios from his purpose. But an event of far-reaching consequences to the two great Communions of the East and West was now close at hand, which effectually relieved Innocent of all further anxiety from that quarter.

The Fourth Crusade, A.D. 1203.

Saladin, the terror of the Latin East, was now dead, while the Empire, which his genius had erected, was brought to the verge of ruin by the disputes of its numerous claimants. Innocent had long cherished the design of recovering the Holy City from the hands of the infidel. The disappearance of this formidable enemy of the Christians seemed a favourable opportunity for inaugurating the projected crusade. Legates were despatched for that purpose into every country of the West. Europe resounded with the din of preparation. Everywhere could be heard the call to the holy war. The summons was received with general enthusiasm. Multitudes either enrolled themselves under the banner of the Cross, or gave their money in furtherance of the meritorious work. It was resolved to attempt the deliverance of Jerusalem this time by attacking the enemy in Egypt. The Crusaders, taught by the experience of former disasters the dangers and hardships attending a land march, decided to convey their forces by sea to the scene of operations. Negotiations were accordingly opened with Venice, already a recognised naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean, for the necessary transport. The Republic for a sum of 85,000 marks in silver agreed to furnish the required number of vessels, together with a contingent of fifty galleys. Many things occurred, however, to hinder the departure of the expedition. Thibaut, Count of Champagne, its chosen leader, died before he could assume the command, and some time elapsed before his successor, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, was appointed. Disgusted with the repeated delays many, who had originally joined the expedition, now returned home. Those, who still resolved to persevere, not having sufficient funds to pay the sum agreed upon, the enterprise seemed on the point of collapsing, when a proposal made by the Venetians infused fresh life into it. Zara, with some other places on the coast of Dalmatia, had some time previously revolted from the Republic and declared for the King of Hungary. The Venetians now promised, if the Crusaders would assist in reducing the rebels, to waive their claims to the money and still convey them to Alexandria, the goal of their endeavours. Thus they were persuaded, despite the pro-

Villehardouin, 11 (Du Cange).

Ibid., 14-17.

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 35.

Villehardouin, 20.

Ibid., 22.

Crusaders besiege Zara, 10th Nov., 1202.

Villehardouin, 32.

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 37.

test of the Pope, to turn against fellow-believers the weapons which had been intended for use against the infidel. Upon the successful conclusion of the campaign in Dalmatia the expedition was about to pursue the object, for which it had been originally formed, when another incident occurred to still further divert it from its purpose.

A fugitive from one of those domestic revolutions, so frequent in Constantinople, suddenly appeared in the allied camp at Zara. Isaac Angelos had been deposed and blinded by his brother, while his young son, Alexios, escaping from his uncle's clutches, had fled to the West to implore the aid of Philip of Suabia, the husband of his sister Irene. Philip, being engaged in asserting his claims to the imperial crown against his rival, Otho of Saxony, was too fully occupied to assist, and advised him to seek instead the aid of the Venetians and Crusaders. Alexios had already appealed to them in vain at Venice. Now, however, supported by the recommendations of his brother-in-law and of Philip Augustus, and accompanied by the envoys of the former, he appeared once more to claim their assistance and protection. Many considerations led these holy warriors to listen now more favourably to his prayer. It was thought that the restoration of the deposed Emperor would render easier the conquest of Palestine. The young prince's offer of a large sum of money towards the expenses of the holy war, coupled with the promise to persuade the Greek clergy to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, confirmed their resolution. The bargain struck was crowned with complete success. The usurper was deposed and the rightful sovereign conducted from a dungeon to his throne. But the harmony, which reigned between these strange confederates, was not of long duration. Complaints were soon raised by the Latins that the terms of the agreement were not observed. How the dispute would have ended it is difficult to say. The ambition of another candidate for the imperial throne relieved the Crusaders, however, of any scruples they might have felt. The murder of Alexios set the Westerns free to act as they chose. A residence of some months in Constantinople had shown them the weakness of the Byzantine Empire, while its riches had excited their cupidity. Inflamed with the lust of conquest and excited by a sectarian bigotry, which led them to regard the schismatic Greeks with horror and contempt, they resolved to seize the capital of the Eastern Empire for themselves, and to seat one of their own number upon the imperial throne. The capture of Constantinople was accompanied by

Alexios, son of the Emperor Isaac (II.) Angelos implores their aid.
Choniates, De Alex. Isaac, Fratre, lib. iii., cc. 8, 9.
Villehardouin, 46-49.
Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 42.
Sanutus, lib. iii., pars xi., c. i.
Restoration of Isaac (II.) Angelos by the Crusaders.
Villehardouin, 94-96.
Choniates, De Alex. Isaac, Fr., lib. iii.
Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 45.
Villehardouin, 110.
Ibid., 117.
Choniates, Isaac Angel. et Alex. Fil., c. 4.
Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 46.
The Crusaders seize Constantinople.

excesses, which would be well-nigh incredible were they not so well attested. These warriors of the Cross did not hesitate to commit enormities, from which the very enemies of the faith would have recoiled in horror. The eloquent historian of the Decline and Fall, in one of his most glowing chapters has thus painted the shameful scenes, which took place on that memorable occasion. "The churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. After stripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking cups; their tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and of the Saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. In the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the Sanctuary was rent asunder for the sake of the golden fringe; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces and shared among the captors. Their mules and horses were laden with the wrought silver and gilt carvings, which they tore down from the doors and pulpit; and if the beasts stumbled under the burden, they were stabbed by their impatient drivers, and the holy pavement streamed with their impure blood. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sang and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals. Nor were the repositories of the royal dead secure from violation; in the Church of the Apostles the tombs of the Emperors were rifled."

Akropolites, c. 4 (P. G., cxl., col. 985).
Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 47.
Description of their excesses.
Gibbon, chap. lx.

The tidings of these profanities were at first received in the West with universal indignation and reprobation. And no voice was raised more loudly in their condemnation than the Pope's. But, sincere though his protests might be, Innocent had at last to bow to the logic of accomplished facts. The conquerors were in no mood to relinquish their prize even at the bidding of the successor of the Apostles. It is true they had disregarded his express commands not to spoil, nor occupy, Greek territory, yet there was much secret satisfaction to be derived from the late events. The long dream of the Papacy had been unexpectedly realised. New Rome lay prostrate at the feet of the Old, the East was at last in subjection to the West, while a Latin emperor was in possession of the palace of the Cæsars, and a Latin patriarch seated in the chair of Chrysostom.

Condemnation of their doings in the West.
Raynald, ad ann. 1205, No. 7.
Innocent III., Epist., lib. viii., Ep. 131.

The consternation, which the capture of Constantinople caused among the Orientals, can be better imagined than described. A thrill of horror ran throughout the whole Orthodox world

Consternation of the Orientals.

on receipt of the news. The Crusaders had pleaded, in justification of the crime, their anxiety to promote the reunion of Christendom. But henceforth the chances of reconciliation between the two great divisions of the Christian Church seemed more remote than ever. The perfidious Latins, whom in an ill-advised moment, more than a century before, the Greeks had called to their aid against their Saracen foes, stood revealed at last in their true colours. And the Orthodox soon gave proof how true was the prediction uttered by Innocent on the first receipt of the news: "The Church of the Greeks, notwithstanding its persecutions, mocks at the notion of returning to its obedience to the Apostolic See: and forasmuch as in the Latins it is only conversant with examples of treachery and works of darkness, it on that account abhors them deservedly as dogs". The Latins, who had once been received with open arms and hailed as the champions of a common faith, were now everywhere regarded with hatred and aversion. To such an extent, indeed, were these feelings carried, that Greek ecclesiastics refused to use even the very altars, at which Latin priests had officiated, until cleansed from the pollution of their touch.[1]

Their attitude in consequence towards the Latins.

Innocent III., Epist., lib. viii., Ep. 133.

Foulkes, Christendom's Divisions, pt. ii., ch. iii., p. 179.

Concil., Lateran iv., Can. IV. De Superbia Græcorum contra Latinos (Mansi, Concil., tom. xxii., p. 990).

When the rest of the Orthodox world was so deeply stirred it cannot be supposed that those in Cyprus would remain passive spectators of these occurrences. They had, it is true, no such acts of profanity to complain of, but the tidings of the treatment shown to their co-religionists elsewhere must have excited still further their animosity against their own oppressors, men of the same race as the despoilers of their brethren.

So far the temporalities of their Church alone had been assailed, the new-comers having respected its spiritual privileges. But now it would appear that these also were to be no longer left intact.

In A.D. 1220 was made what may certainly be considered as the first determined endeavour, on the part of the Latins, to meddle with the Greek clergy.

The natives soon found the newly imposed feudal burdens, to which they were unaccustomed, very grievous to bear. As a means of escaping them they were in the habit of enrolling themselves among the members of some church or monastery.

Attempts of the Cypriots to evade the feudal burdens.

[1] Postquam enim Græcorum ecclesia cum quibusdam complicibus ac fautoribus suis ab obedientia sedis apostolicæ se subtraxit, in tantum Græci cœperunt abominari Latinos, quod inter alia quæ in derogationem eorum impie committebant, si quando sacerdotes Latini super eorum celebrassent altaria, non prius ipsi sacrificare volebant in illis, quam ea tanquam per hoc inquinata lavissent.

Many serfs had thus left the lands of their feudal superiors and been admitted to one of the minor orders, so as to enable themselves and their children to avoid these oppressive charges. At a meeting of the Latin clergy and feudal nobility, which took place at Limassol in October, 1220, various means were devised for putting a stop to this growing practice.

Convention at Limassol, October, 1220. Cart. S. Sophia, No. 34 (H. de Chyp., iii., pp. 612-14).

Measures adopted thereat.

1. Greek priests and deacons were declared exempt from all feudal charges and services, on condition of obedience to their respective Latin ordinaries.

2. In view of the large number of these ecclesiastics then in the island they were forbidden, for fear of creating disturbances, to leave the villages and demesnes, where they usually resided, and, in case of non-compliance with this order, were to be returned by force to their former abodes.

3. No Greek was hereafter to be ordained without first obtaining the sanction of his feudal superior. Any of the Latin bishops permitting the ordination of a candidate, in defiance of this rule, was to be compelled to replace the newly ordained by another serf equally as good.

4. A Greek fraudulently leaving the island without the knowledge of his feudal superior, and becoming ordained elsewhere, was, on his return, to be suspended by his Latin ordinary from the exercise of all ecclesiastical functions, and was, moreover, liable to be reclaimed and returned to his former servitude.

5. Orthodox priests and deacons, who should hereafter be ordained in conformity with the above regulations, were to be allowed, with the permission of the Latin archbishop and bishops, to remove from one village or demesne to another, if unaccompanied by their children, and without prejudice to the rights of their feudal superiors. In such cases other Greeks were to be substituted in their stead by the bishop granting the permission.

6. On the election of an abbot to any of the Orthodox monasteries it was provided that the election should be conducted according to the canons, and that the feudal superior, in whose fief the monastery lay, should have the right of canonical assent, while the proceedings were to be confirmed by the Latin archbishop or bishop, within whose diocese the monastery was

situated. The abbot when elected was not to be removed without due form and process of law, while he was also, with the rest of the brethren, to be obedient to his Latin diocesan.

7. All property conferred, free of service, upon Orthodox churches and monasteries subsequent to the Latin occupation, by permission and gift of the Latin seigneurs, was to be still held on the same conditions, the rights and privileges, which the donors possessed in them in respect to temporalities, being preserved.

8. No Greek was to be enrolled as a member of any monastery without the previous sanction of his feudal superior. In cases of non-compliance with this regulation the latter had the option of seizing the offender and returning him to his former state of vassalage.

It was hoped that the passing of these statutes, which among other things conferred upon the intruders the whole of the tithes once enjoyed by the Orthodox ecclesiastics, would have appeased the growing demands of the Roman clergy. But they soon showed that they never meant to be satisfied with anything less than the complete supremacy of their Church. To ensure this they requested that their own Archbishop should be appointed sole Metropolitan in the island, with the entire charge over all the other Christian communities of whatever denomination. The Greek bishops they professed to regard merely as the delegates of the Latin prelates, from whom they derived all their authority. To lessen still further the authority of the native hierarchy they claimed that all Greeks, both clergy and laity, should have the right of appealing from the decisions of their own bishops to the Latin primate and his coadjutors. They required, moreover, that no dignitary of the Orthodox Church, however valid his election might have been, should be allowed to exercise any spiritual functions, until he had first obtained the sanction of his Latin ordinary. But the last, and most humiliating of all the conditions they put forward, was that all the Greek prelates lately consecrated should appear before their respective Latin ordinaries, and take the oath of fealty and obedience.[1]

[1] Cf. Letters of the Patriarch Germanos to the Cypriots (Cotelier, Monum. Eccles. Græcæ, tom. ii., pp. 462-82).

This vexatious interference with their spiritual privileges soon produced its natural result. A most determined opposition was at once offered to these encroachments by the native clergy.

The dissatisfaction, which they felt at the arrogance of the Roman ecclesiastics, was well shown in the conduct of Esaias (A.D. 1220), the successor of Symeon on the archiepiscopal throne of Famagusta. This prelate seems for a while at least to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. Regretting afterwards what he had done he presented himself before the Œcumenical Synod at Nicæa and, on expressing sorrow, received pardon for his act of submission. The Latins on hearing of the occurrence forbade him to return to his native land. Others of the Greek bishops, however, surpassed him in the boldness and vigour of their protests, venturing to intrude even into the Churches of the Latins in defence of their prerogatives.[1]

Dositheos, Δωδεκάβιβλος, lib. viii., c. 18, sec. 5, p. 826.

Raynaldi, Annal. Eccles., ad ann. 1222, No. 8.

Conference at Famagusta on 14th Sept., 1222, ratifies the previous convention at Limassol.

At a conference held at Famagusta on 14th September, 1222, under the presidency of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pelagius,[2] assisted by the heads of the two great Military Orders, the convention already concluded two years previously at Limassol was renewed and approved.[3] Other provisions were added, too, which served to rivet their fetters yet more tightly on the Greeks. It was expressly declared that the King and the Latin Primate were to determine the number of monks for each of the Orthodox monasteries, which were forbidden to make any fresh admissions, until their numbers had been reduced to that fixed upon. But a far more serious step, and one that had never before been attempted, was now taken. The Roman party had hitherto hesitated to interfere with the native episcopate. For some years after the establishment of the Western Church the Orthodox continued to possess an Archbishop of their own, whose See was Famagusta, while his Latin colleague resided at Nikosia. To weaken the power and authority of the Orthodox prelates it was now decreed that the Greek bishopries should be reduced

Cart. S. Sophia, No. 83 (H. de Chyp., tom. iii., pp. 619-22).

Reduction of the Orthodox Episcopate.

[1] This is how the Roman Church historian describes the very natural attempt of these dispossessed prelates to recover what they had been so unjustly deprived of: "Pontifex quorundum Græcorum in Cypro episcoporum audaciam patriarchæ Hierosolymitani, ac Tyrensis et Cæsariensis archiepiscoporum opera reprimendam statuit, qui per summam fraudem (!) injuriamque metropolitani Latini ac præsulum ipsius suffraganeorum, auctoritate legatorum Apostolicæ sedis institutas diœceses sibi usurpare (*sic*) conabantur," etc.

[2] On the death of Hugues I. in 1218 Honorius III. had, in a letter dated 12th July of the same year, commended the widowed Queen, her children and kingdom, to Pelagius' special protection.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 610.

[3] This convention was confirmed by Honorius III. on 21st January, 1223. "Archiepiscopo Nycosiensi. Confirmatur inita concordia inter regem et barones regni Cypri et archiepiscopos et episcopos ejusdem regni, mediante Pelagio Albanensi episcopo, papæ legato, cujus concordiæ tenor habetur insertus. Later. xii., Kal. Feb. ann. vii.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 45.

to the number of the Latin. That this step had been already in contemplation for some time is evident from the letter of Honorius to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Archbishops of Tyre and Cæsarea, directing their entire suppression. In vain did the Queen Regent, Alix de Champagne, in the interests of peace petition that they might still be allowed to supervise their co-religionists. The Pope in his reply, while protesting his readiness to yield to her wishes as much as possible, and to maintain the rites and customs of those Greeks, who returned to their obedience to the Apostolic See, declared that in a case involving spiritual danger and subversive of ecclesiastical order he could grant no such favour. But the Legate only partially carried out the Papal commands. Instead of suppressing all he retained the four Sees of Nikosia, Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. As the Latin bishops of these dioceses resided in these towns, the Orthodox prelates were directed to take up their abode in certain obscure villages expressly assigned to them. To avoid, however, any inclination to rebel on the part of those, who had been dispossessed, the Queen ordered that they should be allowed to retain for life their functions and emoluments. We find the civil power on more than one occasion thus intervening to mitigate the harsh treatment of the Orthodox. Their conduct was prompted not so much perhaps by disinterested motives, nor by a spirit of toleration, as by prudential motives. The Roman hierarchy had already in several instances, notably in the election of Durandus to the See of Nikosia in 1211, shown but scant respect for the royal prerogative. It was feared that even more high-handed proceedings might follow, if only a dangerous rival to its supremacy could be removed. There was the likelihood, too, of a considerable emigration taking place, if the lot of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus were rendered less endurable than that of their brethren in the neighbouring Mohammedan countries. Such a loss of population it was well known would bring ruin, not only upon the landed proprietors, but also upon the Church itself. These considerations may account in a great measure for the marked toleration, which throughout the whole course of Western domination was shown by the civil authorities to the native clergy. They were regarded as a convenient instrument, ever ready to hand, for checking the unbounded ambition of the opposite communion. The sovereign and the nobility would gladly, therefore, have left to the Orthodox Church the enjoyment of its ancient liberties, stipulating only for a due recognition of their own authority.

The Queen Regent intercedes for the Orthodox. Raynald, ad ann. 1222, No. 8.

Four Orthodox Sees to be retained.

Loredano, lib. i., p. 33.

Frequent intervention of the civil power on behalf of the Orthodox.

The Convention of Famagusta certainly completed the work which had been begun by Amaury. The native communion was now completely stripped of all the property, which it had ever possessed. But at the moment when its fortunes seemed at their lowest ebb, a champion unexpectedly appeared among the ranks of its despoilers in the person of Philippe d'Ibelin, Bailiff of the kingdom, the uncle of the Queen. According to Loredano, who has recorded the incident, the grant of the tithes to the Latin Church was most likely due to the influence of her confessor, a Dominican friar. While the Orthodox Church was still in possession Philippe is stated to have commuted those on his property for a considerable sum. Naturally objecting to be again made liable he applied to his niece to have the donation rescinded. Being unsuccessful in his appeal he next complained to the High Court, strongly representing that the avarice of the Latin clergy ought not to be gratified at the expense of the Greeks. He charged the former with having rendered themselves hateful to the Cypriots by their greed, with being ill-disposed towards the nobility, and with wounding the consciences even of their own adherents by their sale of the Mass for money. He professed to regard their possession of property as a device of the devil to destroy any real spirit of religion, that might be in them, while it increased the discontent felt by the general community, who, being mostly Greeks, could with great difficulty be induced to contribute towards the support of the ministers of an alien Church. The Latin priests, he protested, should not be too liberally endowed since, in addition to the very considerable revenues of their churches, they had an ample source of income in the fees for masses, preachings, confessions and burials. The Council, anxious not to offend the Queen, paid no heed to these representations. D'Ibelin, thereupon, in conjunction with several others of the nobility, who were equally as incensed as himself at the conduct of the Roman ecclesiastics, opposed the clergy, refused to obey the Queen's edict, and encouraged the Greeks in the same course. Summoned before his niece to explain his conduct he replied, in answer to her declaration that, since she was Queen, she would be obeyed as such, that, if she wished for obedience, she should issue just commands, but that so long as she did not govern rightly, so long he would recognise her neither as niece, nor as Queen. Enraged at this speech and suspecting from it the existence of a plot against her authority, Alix shortly afterwards quitted the kingdom for Tripoli, where in 1223 she married Boémond, son of Boémond IV., Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli.

Philippe d'Ibelin, Bailiff of Cyprus, champions the cause of the Orthodox Church.

Loredano, lib. 1, p. 42.

His defiance of the Queen,

who leaves Cyprus for Tripoli.

It is time now, however, to turn our attention briefly to one, whose name has already figured in these pages, the Cardinal-Bishop of Albano.

Cardinal Pelagius, Bishop of Albano.

Whatever hopes Innocent III. may have secretly cherished from the capture of Constantinople were doomed to speedy disappointment. Though the provinces of the conquered Empire had been duly parcelled out among the hungry Latin adventurers, who forced upon the reluctant natives at the sword's point the feudal customs of the West, the object dearest to his heart, the subjugation of the Orthodox Church, was no nearer its accomplishment. For years he had reproached his co-religionists with their supineness in not compelling their schismatic subjects to enter the Roman fold, but all to no purpose. The Greeks resolutely refused to have anything to do with a faith, which had been presented to them under such a guise. At last, finding remonstrances useless, he determined to adopt more violent and, as he hoped, efficacious methods. A fitting instrument lay ready to hand in the person of a Portuguese ecclesiastic, named Pelagius, Cardinal-Bishop of Albano. This individual he now sent to Constantinople, with full legatine powers, to attempt by force what milder measures had failed in accomplishing. But a more unfortunate selection could scarcely have been made, if we may judge by the results. In fact we may regard him as the evil genius of the Papacy while he lived. He was a man of a haughty and imperious temper, equally as intent as his master on furthering the interests of the Holy See, and perfectly indifferent as to the means employed for effecting his purpose. He had not been long in the East before he gave startling proofs how completely the policy of the Pope towards the Orthodox had changed. Akropolites has given us a description of his entry into Constantinople on first assuming office, and of his proceedings there.

Appointed Papal Legate at Constantinople.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1213, No. 6.

"During the reign of Henry, the successor of Baudouin, a prelate was sent by the Pope to the queen of cities, named Pelagius, legate they called him, possessed of all the prerogatives of the Pope himself. He had red slippers and a red dress, the saddle and bridle of his horse were also of the same colour. He was a person of rough manners and showed great arrogance, and was guilty of many harsh acts to the inhabitants of Constantinople. His pretext was plausible enough, as he was for compelling all to bow submission to elder Rome. Hence monks were imprisoned, priests bound with chains, and every church closed. One of two things was necessary. To admit the primacy of the Pope, and commemorate him in the liturgy, or else submit to the penalty

Description of his proceedings there.

Akropolites, Annal., c. 17 (P. G., cxl., col. 1028).

of death for refusing to do so.[1] These proceedings excited the inhabitants of Constantinople to indignation, and especially the leading men among them, who coming to the Emperor remonstrated with him as follows: 'We, who are of another race, and have a pontiff of our own, have submitted to your rule with our bodies, but not with our souls and spirits. We are obliged to fight for you in battle, but it is wholly impossible for us to give up our rites and ceremonies. Either, therefore, save us from the oppression now being put upon us, or let us go in peace among our own kindred.' On receiving this protest the Emperor, unwilling to lose so many good and illustrious men, ordered the churches to be opened in spite of the legate, released all the priests and monks, who were in prison, and stayed the tempest thus far, according to his ability. Many monks, notwithstanding, departing from Constantinople, went over to Theodore, who assigned them monasteries to inhabit, and of the presbyters, who betook themselves to Nicæa, some were added to the patriarchal staff, and others provided with chapelries in other places, where they could live in peace." It is true that Raynaldi charges the Byzantine writer with being led into exaggeration by religious rancour, but we can hardly credit such an act on the part of one, who, when Grand Logothete of Michael Palæologos, himself joined the Latins. Besides, the account of the subsequent doings of Pelagius in the war against Frederick II. of Germany, as told us by that Church historian himself, sufficiently disposes of such a charge. In the expedition, which he made into Apulia with the Papal forces under Jean de Brienne, the cruelties committed with his cognisance were so terrible as to draw down upon him a severe rebuke from Gregory IX. The action of the Emperor in protecting his persecuted subjects from the legate's bigotry, and his own want of success, obliged the Pope to withdraw him from Constantinople. He next comes prominently into notice in connection with the Crusade in Egypt. It was entirely owing to his presumption and arrogance, in assuming the functions of generalissimo in the Pope's name, that the expedition ended so

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1229, No. 44.

Ibid., No. 45.

His evil influence on the Fifth Crusade, A.D. 1218.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1218, No. 11.

[1] Ἅπαντα τὰ προνόμια τοῦ πάππα φέροντα, ἐρυθροβαφῆ καὶ γὰρ ὑπεδέδετο πέδιλα, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ χροιᾶς καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα εἶχε, καὶ ἡ ἐφεστρὶς δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τὰ χαλινὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐβαπτοντο χρώματι· ἤθους δὲ τυχὼν ἀγριωτέρου καὶ ἀλαζονείᾳ χρώμενος, πολλὰ δεινὰ ἐνεδείξατο ἐπὶ τοῖς τῆς Κωνσταντίνου οἰκήτορσι, καὶ ἡ σκῆψις ὡς εὔλογος· ἠνάγκαζε καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πάντας τῇ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ὑποκύψαι ὑποτάγῃ. Ἐντεῦθεν κατείργνυντο μοναχοί, ἱερεῖς ἐδεσμοῦντο, καὶ ναὸς ἅπας ἐκέκλειστο. Καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν πάπταν πρῶτον ἀρχιερέα καὶ τούτου τὴν μνήμην ἐν ἱεροτελεστίαις ποιεῖν ἢ θάνατον εἶναι τῷ μὴ διαπραξαμένῳ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτίμιον.

disastrously. By his rejection of the favourable terms offered by the Sultan the Christians lost Damietta, which they had acquired at so great a cost, and were obliged, moreover, to conclude a humiliating truce with the enemy. What his contemporaries thought of him may be inferred from the following remark by the Continuator of the history of Guillaume de Tyr :— Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 80.

"He (*i.e.*, the Pope) afterwards sent two cardinals to the army at Damietta, Robert (Curzon), an Englishman, and Pelagius, a Portuguese. Cardinal Robert died there and Pelagius lived, which was a great misfortune, for he wrought much mischief there".[1] Such was the man, whose baneful influence was now felt by the native Church of Cyprus. Contin. de G. de Tyr, lib. xxiv., c. 65.

The convention of Famagusta placed the Orthodox bishops and pastors in a very difficult position. By refusing compliance with its demands they rendered themselves liable to expulsion, and so deprived their flocks of the benefit of their supervision, while by acquiescing they seemed to be making an agreement with schismatics, in strict violation of the canons and contrary to all ecclesiastical usage.[2] Neophytos, however, who had lately been elected to the metropolitan chair in the room of Esaias, decided to brave the former danger. Refusing to make the required submission to the Latin primate he was, in consequence, expelled from his native land. He, thereupon, came with several of his brethren to Asia Minor, where so many others of their race had already found a refuge, and whence the Greeks issued at no distant date to wrest Constantinople from the feeble hands of its alien masters. The Patriarch Germanos (II.) was then living at Nicæa, whither the patriarchal throne had been transferred from Constantinople. To him in their perplexity the Cypriots sent two of their number, Leontios, Bishop of Soli, and another ecclesiastic of the same name, the Abbot of the Monastery of

Difficult position of the Orthodox prelates created by the Convention of Famagusta.

Expulsion of Archbishop Neophytos by the Latins.

First letter of the Patriarch Germanos to the Cypriots (Sathas ii., pp. 5-14). Cotelier, Monum. Eccl. Græc., tom. ii., pp. 462-74. Reinhard, vol. i., notes, pp. 16-28. Mansi, Concil., tom. xxii., coll. 1084 sqq.

Cypriot deputation to the Patriarch Germanos at Nicæa.

[1] Après envoia deux cardinaus à Damiete à l'ost, li cardinaus Robert, qui Anglois estoit, et le cardinal Pelage, qui estoit de Portigal. Le cardinal Robert i fu mort et Pelage vesqui, dont ce fu grant damage, qui mult i fist de mal, si comme oires dire en aucun tans.

[2] *Cf.* Honorius' instructions on this point to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Archbishops of Tyre and Cæsarea. Hist. de Chyp., tom. ii., p. 45, n. 1.

(*a*) Du Theil, R. L., 54.

Patriarchæ Hierosolymitano, ut episcopos Græcos ejiciat de regno Cypri, iii. Non. Jan. an. vi. (3rd Jan., 1222).

(*b*) Patriarchæ Hierosolymitano, Tyrensi et Cæsariensi archiepiscopis, ut episcopos Græcos, qui in regno Cypri a Latinorum ritibus recedebant, compescant; eosque, juxta compositionem reginæ Cypri cum sui regni prelatis, Ecclesiæ Romanæ obedire compellant. Later. iii., non Jan. ann. vi.

Mansi, Concil., tom. xxii., 1061-82, 1064.

Apsinthi, for advice and guidance in the crisis, which now threatened them. The delegates recounted to him and the members of the Holy Synod all the wrongs they had endured. But it was no new tale, to which their hearers were called upon to listen. As long as their property alone had been assailed they had borne without murmuring all the attacks of their enemies. But now their very souls were in danger. Their native land had been inundated with hordes of Romish ecclesiastics, who had overthrown their churches and dispossessed them of their patrimony. Their revered Archbishop was then an exile, having been driven from his See by the Latin intruder, who would brook no rival near his throne, nor allow the Orthodox bishops to exercise their functions, until they had first promised obedience to him. They prayed them, therefore, to take their case into earnest consideration and to devise some means, whereby so large and populous an island might not be altogether left without spiritual care. The Patriarch and his assessors, recognising the difficulty of the question, which they were called upon to solve, debated long and anxiously without being able to arrive at any definite decision. At length in their perplexity they resolved to ask the deputation to state briefly and succinctly what were the Latin demands, to which the Cypriots took such exception. In reply they learnt that they were three:—

(1) That the Orthodox clergy should swear fealty in feudal fashion, by kneeling and placing their hands between those of the Latins.

(2) That no Greek elected to any ecclesiastical office should presume to take possession without the previous knowledge and sanction of his Latin ordinary.

(3) That every Greek, whether cleric or layman, should have the option of bringing his case for adjudication before the Latin metropolitan, if dissatisfied with the decision of his own bishop.

Decision of the Patriarch and his assessors.

The Patriarch and his colleagues, thereupon, decided that so long as the canons, traditions and rites of their faith were in no danger of violation, and it could be done without injury to the Church the Cypriot bishops might, in the spirit of St. Paul, "who was made all things to all men that he might by all means save some," yield a seeming compliance to these demands, if by so doing they could serve their flocks, and avert the impending spiritual disasters. Nay, Germanos gave it as his opinion that, under the circumstances, such a piece of duplicity would be perfectly justifiable. This decision had scarcely been announced when an unforeseen incident led to its being rescinded.

Immediately rescinded, and why.

A number of the victims of Latin violence, clerics, monks, and laymen, who had escaped from Constantinople and other cities, hearing of it burst into the Council chamber, where the Patriarch and Synod were sitting. With loud shouts of "Let your light shine before men not only from your works, but also from your words," they exhorted them to take care that their decision was plainly stated. Their own experience and sufferings had taught them, so they declared, what Latin duplicity was like. Their opponents said one thing, when all the time they meant another. This placing of the hand in theirs, though represented as a thing, to which no offence need possibly be taken, was a virtual surrender of their ancestral faith and the first step towards complete subjection to the Roman Church. The Latins, clerics as well as laymen, were all warriors and well versed in the usages of warfare. With them this act was regarded as a token of defeat and surrender, being what prisoners taken in battle were wont to do. They, therefore, besought Germanos and the Synod to strictly prohibit the Cypriots from placing their hands in those of the Latins, even though it was not a matter, which had been thought worthy of notice in the canons.

Sterner counsels at last prevailed. Overawed by the vehemence of the angry crowd, and perceiving that their suggested compliance would most likely lead to a revolt among their own adherents, the Patriarch and Synod decided on a course of action more suitable to the occasion. The Cypriots were now expressly forbidden to give the required tokens of fealty and submission. But to the other two demands, since they seemed of trivial importance and, on the showing of the delegates themselves, prompted merely by motives of avarice and greed, the Patriarch and his advisers urged the Orthodox pastors to offer no opposition. Final decision of the Patriarch and Synod.

The synodical letter embodying these decisions bore the signature and seal of Theodore Stilbe, the Chartophylax of the Œcumenical See. It concluded with the following exhortation:—

"Imitate, O brethren of Cyprus, the Church of Constantinople, and let your clergy imitate ours. Our flocks, too, have long been separated from their pastors and forced to dwell with ravening wolves. Yet they have suffered the wolves to howl and have confounded them by their calmness, while at the same time keeping inviolate the sacred trust of their ancestral faith."

This first letter was, after an interval of six years, followed in 1229 by a second. Germanos begins by commending his Orthodox brethren in Cyprus, both Syrians and Greeks, for the readiness, with which they had received and acted on his former Second letter of Germanos to the Cypriots. Sathas, ll., pp. 14-19.

Cotelier, tom. iii., pp. 475-82. Reinhard, vol. i., notes, pp. 29-37.

counsels. He next declares the Roman Church to have fallen away from the ancient standards, both in its disregard of the rights of others, as laid down by canons and Councils, and in its unauthorised addition to the creeds of Christianity. In its attempts at universal dominion it had not hesitated to try and subvert the other Patriarchates. Its ambition had at last prompted it to place the Pope in the place of Christ, the true Head of the Church. The later Pontiffs had by their actions repudiated their predecessors, who through their representatives had assented to the canons and decrees of the General Councils, and had treated them as they did the Greeks. The Italians had introduced a new faith and new dogmas, and had invented different canons. Let them, therefore, seek a different Christ and different Apostles. The Patriarch asserts that his object, in bringing these matters briefly to the notice of his readers, was that they might recognise how great was the evil in yielding spiritual submission and obedience to the peculiar tenets of the elder Rome. He, therefore, strictly enjoins upon them to shun the society and ministrations of those ecclesiastics who, from whatever motive, have submitted to the Latins and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. He assures them that they had better pray privately at home than join in public worship with those, who have ranged themselves on the side of their persecutors. Such offenders, too, were only to be restored to communion after a public confession of their error before the Latin Archbishop and a return in their allegiance to the Patriarch and the Holy Synod. Clerics, moreover, who remain constant to the Orthodox Church, are absolved from canonical obedience to their bishops, who have submitted, and are not to fear any sentence of excommunication pronounced by them. All such sentences are not only invalid, but rather recoil upon their authors, who have created scandal among the people of God by trampling under foot the discipline of the canons, receiving trespassers and busybodies, and giving them their hands, a sign of obedience and servitude. Even though such persons may contend that they have not surrendered their ancestral customs, nor acted contrary to the canons, yet their defence will be of no avail, as the canons subject to excommunication those bishops, who invade the dioceses of others, and anathematise those, who introduce any innovation into Christianity. After an exhortation to the Orthodox to continue steadfast in the faith, the letter concludes by invoking the divine protection upon all ecclesiastics, both Greek and Syrian, and by

praying that they may keep their minds free from the new error concerning the faith, and that the laity may remain warm partisans of Orthodoxy.

These letters and the counsel, which they contained, were not likely to make the Orthodox in the island more reconciled to the tyranny of the Latin clergy. The Church of Cyprus had not yet resisted unto blood, but an opportunity of doing so was now close at hand.

Martyrdom of thirteen monks in Cyprus, A.D. 1231 (?).

Sathas, ii., pp. 29-39.

Two monks of exalted piety and undoubted zeal for Orthodoxy, John and Konon, inmates of one of the numerous monasteries which crown the headland of Athos, hearing of the persecutions in Cyprus and full of enthusiasm, determined to share in the struggles of their brethren there on behalf of the faith.[1] Accordingly, leaving Athos and coming to the island, they at first took up their abode in the monastery of Machæra. Afterwards quitting that retreat, they transferred themselves to that of St. John Chrysostom on Mount Kutzuventi in the northern range. Finding this also unsuitable for their purpose they quitted it in turn, finally settling at the monastery of Kantara in the same mountains. Here they collected around them a number of disciples, attracted to the spot by the fame of their austerity and good works. Reports of this saintly band at length reaching the ears of the Latins, they resolved to judge for themselves as to the truth of what they had heard. Two of them, therefore, ascended to the monastery, where these ascetics were living, and in a seemingly friendly way began to question them about their religious views. The answers received proved satisfactory until their questioners came to touch upon that subject, so fertile in disputes between the two Churches, the use of azymes. Challenged as to their opinion of the Latin custom the monks roundly declared against its unscripturalness. To prove the correctness of their views they proposed a test which, ridiculous though it may seem to us, appeared to them one calculated to set the matter finally at rest. They suggested the selection of two representatives from their respective Churches, who should enter a glowing furnace bearing in their hands, the one a piece of leavened and the other a piece of unleavened bread, and they agreed to regard as correct in its practices that Church, whose champion should pass unscathed through the ordeal. Upon

[1] The account of their martyrdom entitled *Διήγησις τῶν ἁγίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα ὁσίων πατέρων τῶν διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθέντων παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κύπρῳ* is taken from a Greek MS. (No. 575) in the Library of St. Mark at Venice and published for the first time by Sathas in his Bibliotheca Medii Ævi, vol. ii.

hearing this proposal one of the Latin emissaries, named Andrew, dropping the mask of friendship, which he had hitherto assumed, summoned the audacious monks within a stated period to answer before his Archbishop at Nikosia for the disrespectful way, in which they had spoken of the Romish mass. These intrepid men, beholding with joy the near approach of their long-expected martyrdom, expressed their readiness to come and die a thousand deaths, if necessary, for the Orthodox faith. The night before their departure from Kantara they spent in the chapel of the monastery in prayer and praise and participation in the Holy Eucharist. On the morrow they took their way to Nikosia, where they lodged in the monastery of St. George of Mankana[1] without the walls. The enthusiasm excited by the news of their approach was unbounded. Multitudes of the Orthodox went out to meet them, as they neared the city, and to crave their prayers. As soon as their arrival was announced to their enemy, he made known the cause of their coming to the Latin Archbishop, Eustorgius, who ordered the holy monks to be brought before him. They at once obeyed the summons and, with John and Konon at their head, wended their way to the Archbishop's palace, singing, as they went, the 119th Psalm. When they appeared he inquired whether the report he had heard about them was true, and, on their replying that it was, committed them to prison, hoping by such means to shake their fortitude. Thither they were immediately conducted, being subjected on the way to the most inhuman treatment by their cruel gaolers, besides being branded with the name of dogs and heretics. For three whole years did these devoted men endure without a murmur all the miseries of a most irksome captivity, but still their resolution remained unshaken. At last their sufferings so told upon one of their number, Theodoret, a monk from Athos, that he died. His dead body was, thereupon, subjected to the indignity of being dragged through the market place, and then burnt. Eustorgius, in despair of ever being able to reduce them to submission, appealed to Gregory IX., who directed him, in case of continued disobedience, to proceed against them as heretics. Accordingly, acting on this advice, he handed them over, as his presence was required elsewhere, to the tender mercies of their malignant accuser, Andrew, who resolved to make short work of them. At this juncture another of the

Strambaldi, p. 288.

[1] This monastery was not built, however, until after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. This fact would tend to show that this narrative was not a contemporary record.

heroic band, named Gennadios, a member of the monastery of Machæra, being advised by a Latin friend to consult his own safety by a timely compliance, indignantly rejected the suggestion, preferring to suffer with the rest of his companions. Three days after they had been handed over to their arch-enemy they were for the last time brought before him. There, in the presence of the King, the nobles, and the members of the High Court, he recounted all the vain attempts, which had been made to force them to yield. The King, hearing of their obstinacy, gave him full permission, as chief ecclesiastical functionary in the realm, to punish them as he pleased. Andrew, however, declined to avail himself of it, pleading, as his reason, that it was not lawful for a churchman to inflict death. But his scruples did not prevent him from deciding how they should die. He accordingly surrendered them to the secular authority for execution, after pronouncing sentence. They were condemned to be tied by the feet to the tails of horses and mules, and thus dragged over the rough stones in the market-place, or the river-bed, until the flesh was torn from their bones, and then burnt. One of the Latin nobles, as we learn from another narrator, who witnessed the ghastly scene, on beholding the leader John standing and praying for a long time in the fire, was so moved to fury at the sight that, hurling a fagot, he knocked him down in the midst of the flames. After the fire had been extinguished the holy remains were discovered unconsumed. Thereupon a quantity of the bones of animals and unclean beasts was brought and spread over them, when the fire was again lighted, until everything was finally reduced to ashes.

Allatius defends this act.

And yet a Greek of all men, himself once a member of that very communion, which he afterwards reviled, seeks thus to excuse, with all the misplaced zeal of a renegade, the savage conduct of his Latin friends! "Why should men, who were Catholics and most devoted adherents of the Roman Church, permit the Greeks to rage unpunished in those provinces, which they had acquired by their blood and swords? Not exile, but fire and sword were necessary to reduce to a more reasonable frame of mind the unruly and those, who had rebelled against their own faith and opposed the truth. Had not the Greeks themselves, when they possessed the power and will, acted even more harshly towards those same Latins? Heretics must be proscribed, expelled, and punished, and the contumacious put to the sword and burnt. So the laws decree, antiquity has sanctioned

Allatius, De Eccl. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consen., lib. ii., p. 696.

the practice, and the modern Church, both the Greek, while the Empire lasted, and the Latin, recognises no other method. I know not whether the Greeks would have been moved to pity and humanity by the misfortunes of the Latins. Who then reproaches the Latins with cruelty and tyranny? Those, who were burnt in Cyprus, first deserved their fate by their obstinacy and temerity. He is not an unjust judge, who makes the punishment to fit the crime. To scatter the bones of heretics, after mixing them with those of animals, is also no proof of savageness. It is merely depriving madmen of an opportunity for a further display of their insanity."

Allatius, ut supra, p. 700.

The same author, who has composed the above precious defence, has also preserved for us a most terrible indictment from the pen of an anonymous writer, alas, only too true, of the wrongs inflicted by the Latins upon the Orthodox at this epoch.

Allatius, ut supra, p. 695.

"From the reign of Manuel Porphyrogennetos to that of the Emperor John Vataces all they did was to plunder cities and islands in their fury, and from those, which they seized, they expelled the Orthodox prelates, substituting for them cardinals of their own party—*viz.*, in Constantinople, Cyprus, Antioch, and other cities—nor was that all, for they compelled the entire populace, with the priests and monks, to accept their doctrines and communion, and to commemorate the Pope in their liturgy. To those, who were willing to do so, they showed themselves somewhat friendly disposed, but those, who reproved them as heretics and rejected all intercourse with them, they openly punished and visited with martyrdom after the manner in which the kings and tyrants of old treated the Orthodox Christians."

Anonymous indictment of Latin tyranny.

And this is how the same apologist, too, seeks to minimise the force of this damaging accusation: "In this statement there are many things to be considered. The Latins, who conquered the Eastern Empire, never expelled the Orthodox. If by Greeks the writer meant those, who, while adhering to their own ritual, in other respects followed the truth, his assertion is false, for, so far from expelling them, the Latins employed their assistance whenever necessary. If, however, he meant schismatics and those, who defended the errors of the Greeks, it is absurd. They certainly did appoint cardinals and other prelates of their own party. But were they not right in so doing? They confided their subjects to bishops of their own, whom they could trust. The Greeks steal what does not belong to them, and invade the dioceses of others and, disregarding the authority of the Pope, appoint to them bishops acceptable to themselves, and, if the

Allatius' comment on it.

Allatius, ut supra, pp. 696-97.

Latins complain of the theft, meet them with ridicule. When the Latins recover and defend what is theirs, then the Greeks make a great fuss, as though they had been unjustly deprived. While the Greek is in the ascendant he does as he pleases, and shall not the Latin, when he, too, is in the ascendant? What justice is this? As long as the Greeks are subject, let them obey and carry out the commands of their Sovereign and, even though unwilling, accept the true faith, which they vilify. Were men of the Latin rite, for whom that part of the earth, which they had acquired by force of arms, had become their native land, to be directed by Greek bishops, in those customs, which they had brought in with them, especially if those Greeks hold different views from the Roman Church on the subject of faith and religion? Perish so disgraceful a thought! The Greeks, in good sooth, are somewhat mildly treated, since they retain their bishops with undiminished authority, and their priests are allowed to live in the enjoyment of their own rites, as they had been accustomed during the reigns of their own Emperors, provided, as is only reasonable, they acknowledge the head of the Church.[1] If they refuse, and do not cease from encouraging errors, are they harshly treated when, after previous warnings, they are made to suffer, and are punished with fire and sword? The Latins, with the sanction of the Supreme Pontiff, have left the Greeks to the Greek bishops and priests with the same authority they formerly possessed. For their own countrymen they have provided in a way that seemed more suitable. And does the Greek complain, as though he had received some wrong? Nay, the Greeks themselves, though hostile to the Latins, confess that, when the latter governed the Empire, they were most friendly to the Greeks, bestowing upon them various offices and honours and permitting them, despite the protests of the Papal Legates, who earnestly strove to bring them to a right mind, to remain undisturbed in their own opinions."

[1] This passage, which appears somewhat defective, runs as follows in the original:—

"An etiam Latini ritus homines, quæ una secum duxerant, et quibus jam patria armis parta terræ facta erat, Græcis Præsulibus dirigendi erant, et præcipue si Græci illi aliter ac Romana ecclesia de fide ac religione sentirent? Apage sceles. Mitiùs sane cum Græcis actum est, dum suos Præsules cum integra facultate, et Sacerdotes, ut Græcis Imperantibus sueverant, suis ritibus vivere permittuntur, dummodo, uti par erat, caput Ecclesiæ agnoscant," etc.

Some such word as habent would seem to have been omitted after cum integra facultate. The expression "quæ una secum duxerant" presents the greatest difficulty.

Germanos intercedes with the Pope on behalf of his co-religionists.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1232, No. 46.

The tidings of this atrocity stirred the Orthodox community to its very centre. Though Germanos was at the moment powerless to do anything in mitigation of these severities, an opportunity soon afterwards presented itself of interceding on behalf of his persecuted co-religionists. Five Latin monks, who had escaped from a Turkish prison, suddenly appeared at Nicæa to claim the protection of the Greek Emperor. After being hospitably entertained and admitted to several conferences with the Patriarch, in which discussion chiefly turned on the long-standing schism and the prospects of reunion, they left, full of gratitude for the treatment which they had received, and bearing with them letters from Germanos to the Pope and cardinals. In his epistle to Gregory the writer, while lamenting the dissensions, which had so long separated the two communions, lays the blame upon the Latins. To them, and not to the Greeks, he asserts, the curse pronounced by the Apostle Paul upon innovators in doctrine applied. To their want of harmony, disagreement in doctrines, disregard of the canons, and changes in ancient usages he ascribes the implacable war between the two Churches, the destruction of cities and the closing of places of worship to the Orthodox. "One thing only," he passionately exclaims, "has hitherto been wanting, and even that has now been accomplished, the hour of martyrdom. Cyprus, that famous island, knows what I mean. She has seen new martyrs and soldiers of Christ, who, after passing for long years through the water of the tears of contrition and being bathed in the perspiration of wearisome bodily labours, have at last passed through fire and water. But God, the arbiter of their contests, conducted them finally to the heavenly rest. Are these things well," he asks, "most holy successor of the Apostle Peter? Are these the commands of the disciple of Christ, the meek and lowly in heart? Is it thus that he instructs the elders in his epistle? Nay, his words are: 'The elders, which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed:—

Sathas, tom. ii., pp. 39-46.

Mansi, Concil., tom. xxiii., pp. 47-62.

Raynald., ad ann. 1231, Nos. 46-49.

Matt. Paris, Henry III., ad ann. 1237.

1 Pet. v. 1-4.

"'Feed the flock of God, which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind;

"'Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock:

"'And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.' This is the teaching of Peter and let those, who disregard it, take care." Craving

pardon for the bitterness of his language, which he describes as the outpouring of a heart stricken with grief, he expresses his readiness to assist his Holiness in any attempt at reunion, and concludes by proposing that the matters in dispute between the two communions, since each is fully convinced it is in the right, should be decided by an appeal to Scripture and the fathers.

This letter, mild and forbearing, considering the circumstances which provoked it, has been described by the Roman Church historians as insolent in its tone and false in its statements. One of the most distinguished of them thus writes of it and of its author: "In this year, through the opportunity given by certain Minorites, a discussion was raised about the union of the Greek Church with the Latin. Germanos, the Archbishop of the Greeks, who was residing at Nicæa in Bithynia, wrote to the Supreme Pontiff on the subject. Although in his letter he seemed to exhibit some trace of dutifulness, and expressed the desire that the two Churches might unite in faith and harmony, he, nevertheless, slandered the Roman Church in insolent language and full of the ancient rancour, as though it, indeed, had separated from the Greek, and challenged the Pontiff to decide on the authority of Scripture the question as to which of the two communions had been excommunicated by Christ the Head. Some more serious complaints, or rather calumnies, he enlarged upon in stilted phraseology, *viz.*, that the Pope had forbidden the worship of God according to the Greek rite, and had so excited persecution against the Greeks in Cyprus that certain of them, after suffering the misery of a long imprisonment, had been burnt. These he boasts to have received the illustrious palm of martyrdom. But any one can see that he has falsely circulated these charges, which are so opposed to the truth and the clemency of the Roman Church." Raynald., ad ann. 1232, No. 46.

The letter of Germanos drew from the Pope two replies. In the first Gregory clearly shows that its separation from Rome was the cause of all the miseries which the Orthodox communion was then suffering. "When the Church of the Greeks," are his words, "withdrew from the unity of the Roman Church, it immediately lost the privilege of ecclesiastical liberty, and it, which had once been free, was made the servant of the secular power, that by the just judgment of God it, which had been disinclined to acknowledge the divine primacy that is in Peter, might unwillingly submit to the secular power." In the second, (18th May, 1233), he announces to the Patriarch the despatch of four Gregory's replies to Germanos. Raynald., ad ann. 1232, No. 51. Wadding, Annal. Min., tom. ii., ann. 1232, p. 305. Sathas, tom. ii. pp. 46-49.

envoys[1] to arrange with him the terms of the proposed agreement. The discussion, which ensued, accomplished, however, nothing definite—the two parties, if possible, separating with an even greater dislike and mistrust of one another than before.

Short respite enjoyed by the Orthodox in Cyprus.

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxv., c. 7 et sq.

The Orthodox now seem for a while at least to have remained free from further molestation. Their Latin tyrants were too busily engaged in resisting the encroachments of the Emperor Frederick II. upon the island to have much time for anything else. No doubt many of the Orthodox prelates and clergy took advantage of this lull to return to their former charges. But the respite was a short one, for in 1240, by the action of Gregory himself, the old familiar work of persecution was resumed with all its accustomed vigour. From a letter of his, dated 13th April of that year, we learn that the Pope had charged the Latin metropolitan to direct the bishops of his province not to allow any Greek ecclesiastic to celebrate mass in their respective dioceses until he had, in the presence of their commissaries, first taken the oath of obedience to the Roman Church and had further renounced all his heretical opinions, especially that one in which the Latins were falsely represented as heretics for their use of azymes. In obedience to the Papal commands Eustorgius assembled the Greek Archbishop and his suffragans, and communicated to them the orders he had received. In reply they requested an opportunity for discussion before deciding on their course of action. When the allotted period had expired, after stripping the churches and monasteries of their valuables, they secretly left the island, accompanied by the principal monks and priests—the Archbishop threatening with excommunication those of his brethren remaining, who should yield to the Papal demands. In his perplexity the Latin Archbishop appealed to Gregory, who directed him to formally banish the refractory ecclesiastics from the province and to fill the churches and monasteries of those who had left with Latin ecclesiastics and other suitable persons.

Gregory renews in 1240 the work of persecution.

His letter of instructions to the Latin Archbishop.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1240, Nos. 44-45.

Consequent action of the Orthodox prelates.

But the dawn of a comparatively brighter day was close at hand. Coercion had proved a failure. Persecution had only served to call forth increased powers of resistance. Conciliation was now to be tried instead. Motives of expediency in the main dictated this change of policy. Under the wise and able direction of Theodore Lascaris and John Vataces, the Greek Empire,

[1] They were Hugh and Peter, two Dominican friars, and Radulph and Haimo of the Order of St. Francis.

which was once thought to have received its death-blow by the capture of Constantinople, had acquired fresh strength in its new home at Nicæa. It was now the turn of the Latin Emperors of the East to be threatened with expulsion from the Imperial City by the descendants of those, whom they had formerly dispossessed. Innocent IV., the successor of Gregory IX., had not been long seated on the Papal throne before he gave convincing proofs of his intention to reverse the attitude of his predecessors towards the Greeks. In 1247 he appointed his penitentiary, Laurence, a Franciscan, as his legate in the East. "It is from the full confidence," he tells him, "that we have in the Lord of your circumspection, that we have thought fit to send you beyond the seas as an angel of peace, with full legatine powers for Armenia, Iconium, Turkey, Greece, Babylonia: over all Greeks dwelling in the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, or in the island of Cyprus: and over all Jacobites, Maronites and Nestorians, as well: that according to the prudence, which you have from God, you may pluck up and scatter, build and plant; on which account, too, we enjoin you to protect the Greeks in those parts, of whatever denomination, by the Apostolic authority, which you derive from us, not allowing them to be vexed or troubled in any way; causing any molestation or injuries, which they may have received from the Latins, to be redressed tenfold: and bidding the Latins themselves at their peril abstain from any such acts for the time to come." In a later epistle, dated 7th August, 1247, he lays down rules for his conduct towards those Greek prelates who show any disposition to return to their allegiance and obedience to the Holy See.

Innocent IV. reverses the policy of Gregory IX. towards the Orthodox.

Raynald., 1247, No. 30.

His instructions to Laurence, the Papal legate.

Ffoulkes, Christendom's Divisions, pt. ii., chap. v., p. 311.

Raynald., ad ann. 1247, No. 31.

1. Those who are known to have been formerly subject to the Latin patriarchs of Antioch or Jerusalem, or any other prelates of the same Church, are not to be released from their obligations.

2. Those who are known to have never been subject to these patriarchs or bishops are to be admitted to immediate dependence upon the Pope, all existing rights and prerogatives being preserved.

3. The Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem likewise, if it shall be proved that they have never been dependent upon any of the Latin Patriarchs or bishops, together with their suffragans, if enjoying a similar freedom, are to be placed in immediate dependence also upon the Holy See. These Patriarchs are, if unable to visit the Supreme Pontiff personally, to send suitable persons to represent themselves and their suffragans. In case want of funds should debar them from making the journey,

Laurence is directed to defray the necessary expenses out of the Papal treasury. These conciliatory measures were attended with the happiest results. Many of the Greek ecclesiastics, among them the Archbishop, who had gone into exile in consequence of Gregory's arbitrary proceedings, were persuaded by Laurence to return to Cyprus.[1] But even greater results were to follow from this change of policy. In 1248, when the crusading army under St. Louis reached Cyprus, there accompanied the French forces another angel of peace in the person of Cardinal Eudes de Chateauroux, Bishop of Tusculum. Through his exertions the long-standing feud between the two Churches was, for a while at least, so far forgotten that the Greek Archbishop, coming with his clergy to the legate, of his own accord promised obedience to the Church of Rome, placing, moreover, his hands between the Cardinal's in feudal fashion as a token of submission.

Results of this change of policy.

Raynald., ad ann. 1250, No. 40.

Raynald., ad ann. 1248, No. 33.

Joinville, pt. ii., A.D. 1248.

Arrival in the island of Cardinal Eudes de Chateauroux.

Raynald., ad ann. 1250, No. 40.

The Orthodox in the island, noting the evident desire of the Holy See to secure their good-will, now made through their metropolitan several demands, which virtually amounted to the abolition of the objectionable clauses in the Convention made at Famagusta in 1222. Among other things they requested :—

Ibid., Nos. 40, 41, 42.

Demands of the Orthodox.

1. The re-establishment of the fourteen original Sees.

2. Complete independence of the Latin hierarchy in the island, with immediate dependence upon the Pope instead.

[1] Ffoulkes comments as follows on this incident. "Laurence, the Franciscan, acting as legate for Innocent, A.D. 1247, as we have seen, induced some of them to return, and a few years afterwards, when Otto (Eudes) Bishop of Frascati (Tusculum) came to Cyprus as legate, one of them, a namesake of the Greek Patriarch, Germanos, met him with a profession of obedience to the Roman Church; on which the legate seems to have permitted him to be consecrated by his suffragans Archbishop of the Greeks in Cyprus, receiving from him after consecration, and from his suffragans, a promise of obedience, in the name of the Roman Church," etc. In note 704 he continues, "so we learn from the constitution of Alexander IV., otherwise it might have been inferred from the letter of Innocent to Otto that Germanos had been Archbishop at the time of his expulsion". As permission for his consecration was not given until 20th Dec., 1251, and Innocent's letter is dated 21st July, 1250, any one knowing these facts would hardly be likely to come to such a conclusion. Moreover the letter in question begins, "Venerabilis fratris nostri archiepiscopi Græcorum in Cypro," etc., while the permission contains the words, "archiepiscopo jampridem defuncto," thus clearly showing that the vacancy, which gave Germanos the primacy, had occurred meanwhile.

Who this individual alluded to by Innocent may have been it is impossible to say. The name immediately preceding Germanos' in the list of Orthodox Archbishops is that of Neophytos. If this person be Neophytos, then it is evident that the celebrated recluse of Enklistra can never have been primate, as many suppose, since at this date he would have reached the fabulous age of 116 years, having been born in A.D. 1134.

Ffoulkes, Christendom's Divisions, pt. ii., chap. v., p. 246.

Raynald., ad ann. 1260, No. 37.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. ii., p. 65.

3. The restoration of the jurisdiction over the clergy and laity of their own faith, which the bishops had possessed before their revolt from the Roman Church, the members of their own communion to show them the same submission in spiritual matters that the Latins paid their bishops.

4. The removal of all restrictions from those desiring to take ecclesiastical orders or to embrace a monastic life, with perfect freedom in these matters, as had been customary before the Latin occupation.

5. The transference to the Orthodox prelates of the tithes, which were paid by the Greek monasteries, the Syrian Orthodox, and the Greek Elefteri to the Latin bishops, who were also to assign a portion of the tithes derived from the agricultural and pastoral pursuits of the Greeks towards the support of the native bishops and clergy.[1]

6. The right of the bishops to hear and decide, in accordance with the canons and ancient usage, all spiritual matters, in which the Greek inhabitants were concerned. Appeals against their decisions to be made, not to the Latin Archbishop or bishops, but to the Pope himself, or his legate in those parts.

7. The legate to receive on behalf of the Pope the promise of obedience and respect from the Orthodox Archbishop for the time being, and to protect him and his suffragans from all unnecessary interference and annoyance.

8. The abolition of all the penalties pronounced by Pelagius and others against the Orthodox bishops, clergy and laity of the island for their previous disobedience, it being contended that, since the cause of offence was now removed, the punishment should be done away with also.

The Pope leaves the decision of this matter to Cardinal Eudes.

Raynald., ad ann. 1250, No. 43.

The Pope on receipt of these demands, recognising that his remoteness from Cyprus made it impossible for him to give a satisfactory decision, referred the matter to Eudes, requesting him, after due deliberation with those best qualified to advise, to settle the question in the way most conducive to the salvation of souls, the peace of the Church, and the promotion of catholic obedience. From the Latin point of view it was of course quite impossible to grant these demands. To have done so would virtually have entailed the destruction of the whole fabric of ecclesiastical supremacy, which the Westerns had been at such pains to erect. But these well-meant attempts at peace

Hugo Fagiano, the Latin Archbishop of Nikosia, a bitter enemy of the Orthodox.

[1] "Et nihilominus eorundem, ac suorum sustentationi clericorum a memoratis archiepiscopo et episcopis Latinis aliqua decimarum, quæ ipsis de laboribus et nutrimentis animalium Græcorum præfatæ insulæ proveniunt, portio assignetur."

were to a very great extent frustrated by the arbitrary conduct of the Latin metropolitan, Hugo Fagiano, who had lately been appointed to the See of Nikosia. His great ambition was to extend the authority of the Roman Church over the entire native population. He, therefore, naturally regarded this policy of conciliation with the greatest disfavour. Notwithstanding Innocent's prohibition against interfering with the Greeks he, in a constitution read to the people in the great cemetery of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia on Palm Sunday, 1251, ordered, under pain of excommunication, all Greeks who had been confirmed and married according to the rites of the Churches of Rome and Nikosia, and their children, to attend service at least once a week—*viz.*, on Sundays—in the Latin cathedral at Nikosia and to confess there once a year to a Latin priest, and for the future to receive the sacraments there according to the Latin rite, and never again according to the rites and usages of the Greeks, unless absolutely compelled. He further threatened the same penalty to all Orthodox priests and deacons, who had not already promised, or who refused to promise, obedience to the Churches of Rome and Nikosia.[1]

His arbitrary conduct towards them.

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 336.

Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2399.

These aggressive proceedings would in themselves have been enough to rekindle the angry feelings so lately appeased. But the action of the legate himself unconsciously precipitated matters. The Greek metropolitan throne of Cyprus being at this time vacant, it was resolved to allow the Orthodox to elect another occupant as some compensation for the refusal of their late demands. Accordingly, having received the necessary permission from the Pope, the Greek bishops proceeded to choose Germanos Pesimandros. Their choice received the sanction of the legate and was subsequently confirmed by Innocent himself. Disregarding the protests made by the representatives of the Latin metropolitan, then absent from the island, Eudes caused the newly elected to be consecrated by his suffragans as the Orthodox Archbishop of Cyprus, receiving from him and them,

Election of a new Orthodox Primate.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1260, No. 37.

[1] Item præcipimus districte et sub pœnâ excommunicationis universis Græcis qui sacramenta confirmationis et matrimonii juxta morem ecclesiæ Romanæ et ecclesiæ Nicosiensis receperunt, et etiam iis qui ex prædictis sunt procreati, ut de cætero semel saltem in hebdomada, die scilicet Dominica, in majori ecclesia Latinorum Nicosiensi ad audiendum Divinum officium conveniant, et ibidem confiteantur Latino presbytero, saltem semel in anno, sua peccata, et ab eadem ecclesia juxta morem Latinorum omnia ecclesiastica recipiant sacramenta eadem de cætero, nisi forte in necessitate, juxta mores et ritus Græcorum nullatenus recepturi.——————Item omnes presbyteros et diaconos Græcos qui non fecerunt, nec facere volunt, obedientiam ecclesiæ Romanæ et ecclesiæ Nicosiensi.

after the ceremony, a promise of obedience to the Church of Rome—no mention being made of the local Latin hierarchy—with a further promise from the suffragans of canonical obedience to Germanos as their metropolitan. Hugo, though furious at these proceedings, was unable to resist the legate's authority. Regarding the presence of a Greek metropolitan as an affront to his dignity and fatal to the supremacy of his own communion, he shortly afterwards withdrew to Tuscany, where he remained until the death[1] of the King, Henri I., placing the kingdom meanwhile under an interdict.

Hugo quits Cyprus in disgust, after placing it under an interdict.

Returns on the death of Henri I.

While still acting as legate Eudes was called upon to mediate between the two Churches in certain disputes, which had arisen regarding baptism, the chrism, the Eucharist, and other rites and ceremonies. The Pope, to whom the matter was finally referred, pronounced after careful deliberation the following decision, which he enjoined the legate to have explained to all the Greek bishops of the kingdom, requiring them at the same time to observe its provisions and to see them observed by their co-religionists. But the language, in which he addressed his representative, showed that he was as resolved as ever to continue his policy of conciliation. "As some of the Greeks have returned to their duty to the Apostolic See, and have been for some time past heeding and obeying it reverently: it is both lawful and expedient by tolerating their rites and usages, so far as we can before God, to retain them in their obedience to the same: though on any point detrimental to the interests of souls, or where we cannot do so with honesty, we neither ought, nor mean to defer to them in any way."

Innocent IV. pronounces on certain rites and ceremonies in dispute between the two Churches.

Raynald., ad ann. 1254, Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Ffoulkes, Christendom's Divisions, pt. ii., ch. v., p. 247.

1. In the administration of the chrism at baptism the Roman usage was to be observed,[2] but the Greeks were at liberty to

[1] Various dates have been assigned to this event, Florio Boustron, Amadi, and the Continuator of Guillaume de Tyr representing it as having occurred in 1253, while Machæra and Strambaldi postpone it till 29th Aug., 1261.

Fl. Boustron, p. 109.

"In detto tempo (1253) morì il re Henrico de Cipro a Nicosia, alli 18 di gennaro."

Amadi, p. 202.

"Morite Henrico re de Cypro a Nicossia, a dì 18 zener (1253)."

Contin. G. de Tyr, lib. xxvi., c. iii.

"A MCCLIII—mourent li rois Henri de Chipre," etc.

Machæra, p. 74.

"καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ῥὲ Χαρὴν ἐπέθανε τῇ κθ' αὐγούστου α,σξα'."

Strambaldi, p. 18.

"E morse il preditto re Charin 1261 a dì 29 Agosto."

[2] The Roman Church uses three oils, *viz.*, (1) Oleum Catechumenorum, (2) Oleum Infirmorum, and (3) Chrisma Sanctum, all consecrated by the bishop on Thursday in Holy Week after the "Per quem haec omnia, Domine, semper bona creas" in the canon of the mass. The first is used in baptism, confirmation,

Neale, Holy Eastern Church, vol. ii., pp. 695-8.

continue their custom of anointing the entire body of the candidate, if the practice could not be abolished without causing offence, as it was quite immaterial to the efficacy and due performance of the sacrament. The use of cold or warm water was also declared to be a matter of no consequence, since the Greeks were reported to assert that baptism performed in either way was equally efficacious.

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2388.

*Note.*—In the Constitution of Archbishop Raphael the Greek bishops are directed to instruct their priests to perform the unction according to the Roman usage, *i.e.*, by anointing the child, before being baptised, with the oil with the thumb, making the sign of the cross between the shoulders and on the breast.

2. In the Greek Church it is customary for the priest to proceed to confirmation immediately after baptism. But this ceremony was now to be restricted to the bishops, on the ground that it was a rite which the latter alone were entitled to confer as the representatives of the apostles. By this decision, therefore, the rite of confirmation was virtually postponed for some years.

3. The Greek bishops were directed to consecrate the oil for the chrism in their cathedrals on Maundy Thursday according to the usage of the Roman Church. The chrism itself was to be composed of balsam and olive oil. But if in this matter the Greeks preferred to observe their ancient custom, whereby patriarchs and archbishops consecrated it in company with their suffragans, they were at liberty to do so.

Mansi, tom. xxvi., 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2389.

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael directs the Orthodox bishops to make the chrism, holy oil, and oil for the sick in the cathedral towns of the Latin bishops. The two latter were to be composed of olive oil only.[1] All three were to

and consecration of altars; the second for the sick and in the consecration of bells; the third in the consecration of bishops, priests, etc., churches and church ornaments.

The Church of Constantinople has likewise three kinds of oil, *viz.*, (1) The oil of Catechumens, which is simply blessed by the priest in the baptismal office; (2) The εὐχέλαιον, or prayer oil, for the visitation of the sick, blessed in the sick man's house by seven priests; (3) The ἅγιον μύρον, solemnly consecrated by the bishop on Thursday in Holy Week.

In the unction of Catechumens the priest takes of the oil and makes the sign of the cross upon the forehead, breast, between the shoulders, the ears, the feet, and the hands of the person to be baptised.

Walcott, Sacred Archæology, pp. 151-2.

[1] Chrism was at first made only of oil by both Latins and Greeks. In the sixth century balm brought from Judæa was mixed with it, and this kind was in

be kept carefully locked up in safe and clean places, where they would be out of the reach of profane hands, and were to be distributed for use among the priests as required. Any remaining until the following Maundy Thursday was then to be burnt and the ashes buried in the sacristy. If the Orthodox service books contained no forms for the consecration of these oils, the Greeks were directed to make use of those to be found in the Roman manuals.

4. In the Oriental Church it is customary to anoint with prayer oil[1] (euchelaion) such penitents as are conscious of the guilt of any mortal sin. The ceremony, which is performed by the archbishop or bishop, assisted by seven priests, consists in anointing the penitent in the form of a cross on the forehead, chin, each cheek, back, and palms of the hands. Such a practice was now strictly forbidden in Cyprus, while priests and confessors were prohibited from giving unction of any kind in lieu of the satisfaction of penance. Cf. Hook, Ch. Dict., p. 321.

5. Extreme unction was to be administered to the sick.

6. The Greeks were permitted to follow their own custom in the use of warm water with the wine in the Eucharist, provided they believed and maintained that, so long as the form of the canon was preserved, the sacrament was equally efficacious, whether with cold, hot, or tepid water.

7. The Eucharist consecrated on Maundy Thursday for the use of the sick was not to be reserved until the same day of the

use in the West until the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards by permission of Paul III. and Pius IV. adopted balm from India. The Greeks use, instead of balm, forty different kinds of aromatic spices. Consecration of chrism was reserved to bishops only, who distributed it to the parish priests. In the fifth century this ceremonial was fixed to Maundy Thursday, and during the second of the three masses celebrated on that day, which, in consequence, was called the Mass of Chrism. However, in France, the Council of Meaux, in 845, permitted consecration on any day, as in primitive times; and the Greeks, although regarding Maundy Thursday as the principal occasion, still follow the same practice, but reserve it to the patriarchs, who perform the office with great pomp. The chrism and holy oil were kept under lock and key, to provide against any abuse for purposes of sorcery and witchcraft, in the thirteenth century.

[1] The office of the prayer-oil, *τοῦ εὐχελαίου*, differs from that of extreme unction among the Latins in more than one particular: 1. The oil is not previously consecrated by the bishop; but, at the time, by seven priests. 2. The unction is not conferred only *in extremis*, but in slighter illness; and, if possible, in the church. 3. It is not usually considered valid unless at least three priests are present to officiate. Neale, Holy Eastern Church, vol. ii., p. 1035 sq.

following year. The Sacrament consecrated for that purpose might not be reserved for a longer period than fifteen days. The reason given for this prohibition was lest it might, by a change in the species through a longer reservation, become less easy to take, though its reality and efficacy were declared to be always the same, and to be neither destroyed nor impaired by lapse of time.

8. With regard to the celebration of solemn and other masses and the time of celebration the Greeks were at liberty to follow their own customs, provided they made use of the correct words of institution, and the celebration did not occur after the ninth hour. Except on Christmas Day, and on occasions of necessity, priests were forbidden by the Constitution of Archbishop Raphael to say more than one mass daily.

9. Priests were to be allowed to say the canonical hours according to their own use (*more suo*), but were forbidden to celebrate mass before they had finished matins.[1]

10. Candidates for the priesthood, and priests appointed to the charge of churches, were first to be carefully examined, especially with a view to ascertaining if they had been properly instructed in the due performance of the canonical hours and the office of the mass in their proper sequence (*secundum distinctionem temporum*).

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2390.

*Note.*—Archbishop Raphael in his Constitution, when repeating this order, asserts that he had been informed by priests worthy of credit that the Greek ecclesiastics knew little or nothing about the canonical hours, especially matins, and were also ignorant of their masses.

11. Priests were directed to use in the Eucharist only chalices of gold, or silver, or at least pewter,[2] and to provide themselves

Neale, Eastern Church, vol. ii., p. 894.

[1] In the Orthodox Church the canonical hours are as follows:—
1. Ἑσπερινὸν = Vespers. 2. Ἀπόδειπνον = Compline. 3. Μεσονυκτικὸν = Matins. 4. Ὄρθρον = Lauds. 5. The First Hour = Prime. The Mesorion of the First Hour. 6. The Third Hour = Tierce. The Mesorion of the Third Hour. 7. The Sixth Hour = Sext. The Mesorion of the Sixth Hour. 8. The Ninth Hour = Nones. The Mesorion of the Ninth Hour.

Walcott, Sacred Archæology, p. 129.

[2] Wooden chalices were in use until the ninth century. The Council of Rheims, in 226, forbade glass, and in 883 the use of wood, tin, glass and copper. Pope Leo, in 847, prohibited glass or wood; the Council of Tribur, in 897, proscribed wood; the Council of Cealcythe, in 785, forbade wood; but Ælfric's

with a corporal of clean white linen, and to see that their altars were covered with clean vestments, or suitable hangings (*paramenta*).

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael also orders them to provide suitable clean linen corporals, altar palls, and other ecclesiastical vestments. They were directed to wipe the chalice after use with a clean white linen cloth, both externally and internally, and to wrap it up in a cloth of the same kind. The same code of regulations prohibits the use of wooden or earthen chalices, a custom which they were most probably driven by poverty to adopt.

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2390.

12. Women were not to be allowed to take part in the service of the altar, but were to be entirely precluded from all ministrations in connection with it.

13. The Greeks were to be permitted to preserve their custom of not fasting on Saturdays during Lent,[1] though the Pope expresses the opinion that they would do better to abstain altogether during the whole of that period.

14. Married priests, as well as unmarried, to whom the care of parishes or the supervision of parish churches had been entrusted by the bishops, might hear the confessions of their parishioners, and impose penances upon them for their sins.

*Note.*—Archbishop Raphael in his Constitution complains that the Greeks and Syrians were very lax in their observance of penance. According to him some rarely or never confessed, and never to their own priest; while others, avoiding those priests who had submitted to the Churches of Rome and Nikosia, chose as their confessors those who were disobedient and notorious for heresy, thereby themselves becoming infected with the same errors. Priests also sometimes gave the sacrament to persons who were unconfessed, or who had confessed to such priests, or even in cases where it was doubtful whether the re-

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2391.

canons, in 957, allowed wood, probably owing to the devastations of the Danes; but, three years later, King Edgar's canons allowed only molten metal. Glass was considered improper, owing to its fragility; horn, from blood entering into its composition, by the Council of Cealcythe; wood, from its porousness and absorbent nature; and brass and bronze, because liable to rust. In 1222 the Archbishop of Canterbury forbade tin or pewter.

[1] Until the sixth century Saturdays were not fasted in the West; but then the Council of Agde and Fourth Orleans excepted only Sundays. The East still preserves its old tradition.

Walcott, Sacred Archæology, p. 349.

cipients had confessed at all. To remedy this state of things the Archbishop decreed that annually, at the beginning of Lent, in every parish should be read and explained to the people the Constitution of the fourth Lateran Council beginning, "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis". This constitution he enjoined upon all Greeks and Syrians, both clerics and laymen, under threat of excommunication, strictly to observe. Furthermore, no priest was to administer to the sick the Eucharist, or any of the other sacraments, without first ascertaining if the intending communicant had confessed to some duly appointed confessor. Priests and monks, both Greeks and Syrians, were forbidden to hear confessions; and all, both clergy and laity, were forbidden under penalty of excommunication to confess to any but to those who had been authorised by the Archbishop to hear confessions in the diocese and city of Nikosia. Any one contravening this regulation, or failing to confess once a year to the properly appointed person, was to be repelled from the Church during life and, after death, to be denied Christian burial.

Concil. Lat., iv., c. 21.

15. Bishops were to be allowed the assistance of suitable persons in hearing confessions, imposing penances, and other spiritual matters. They were at liberty also to depute such persons to act for them in these matters in their dioceses, without prejudice or injury to their own clergy, when through press of business it might happen that they were unable to perform their duties themselves.

16. The marriage of divorced persons was to be regarded as a mortal sin.[1]

17. The Greek bishops were expressly enjoined for the future to confer the seven orders[2] according to the usage of the Church of Rome, they having been in the habit of neglecting or omitting three of the lesser ones. Those, however, who had been previously ordained in this negligent fashion by the

[1] The point in their system, which Eastern canonists have ever found most difficult of defence, is the facility with which divorces are allowed.

Neale, Eastern Church, vol. ii., p. 1022.

[2] The seven orders of the Roman Church are as follows:—

Concil., Trident. Sess. xxiii., De Ord., c. ii.

1. Priest, 2. Deacon, 3. Subdeacon, which comprise the holy or greater; and 4. Acolyte, 5. Exorcist, 6. Reader, 7. Ostiarius, which constitute the lesser.

The corresponding ones in the Orthodox Communion are:—

1. ἱερεύς. 2. διάκονος. 3. ὑποδιάκονος or ὑπηρέτης. 4. ἐπορκιστής or ἐξορκιστής. 5. θυρωρός or πυλωρός. 6. ἀναγνωστής. 7. ψαλτής.

bishops were, on account of their numbers, to have their orders recognised.

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael after noticing the above directions orders that in the ordination of a priest and the consecration of a bishop the oil and the chrism were to be used according to the form prescribed in the Roman pontificals, which, if the Greeks did not possess, they were to apply for to the Roman ecclesiastics. Mansi, tom. xxvi. 332. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2393.

18. The Greeks were instructed no longer to condemn second, third, or even fourth marriages.[1] Their priests, however, were not to bless second marriages. Marriages between persons related in the eighth degree according to the Greek reckoning, or the fourth according to the Latin, were for the future strictly forbidden. Such marriages, however, as had already taken place were allowed by dispensation to hold good. Mansi, ut supra. Labbe, do.

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael repeats this prohibition and further directs the publication of banns according to the usage of the Roman Church, so as to prevent such marriages from taking place among the Latins and Greeks.

20. The Greeks were for the future to be required to accept the Roman doctrine of purgatory.[2] The Pope declares they

[1] The strictness of the Eastern Church far exceeds that of the Western on the subject of second marriages. The notice at the head of the office in the Euchology is as follows :—

"Chapter of Nicephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople, and Confessor. He that enters into a second marriage is not crowned ; and, in addition to that, is warned not to receive the spotless Mysteries for two years ; and he that enters into a third, for five." Neale, Eastern Church, vol. ii., p. 1034.

From the replies of St. Niketas, Metropolitan of Heraklea, to Constantine the Bishop :—

"In strictness second marriages ought not to be crowned. But the use of the Great Church crowns second and third marriages, though the parties contracting them are not to be admitted to the mysteries for one or two years. The Priest, however, who blesses them, is not to sup in the wedding feast, according to the Seventh Canon of the Council of Neocæsarea."

The relaxation of the rule concerning the coronation is referred to the time when Constantine Kopronymos wedded Eudokia as his third wife. Fourth marriages are, however, condemned as altogether unlawful. The Emperor, Leo the Philosopher, was excommunicated for having so offended.

[2] The truth of this doctrine forms one of the greatest questions in dispute between the two Churches, the Orthodox Communion never having received it. Though the Greek deputies, who attended the Council of Florence in 1439, were induced to acknowledge the existence of purgatory, and the decrees of the Council were signed by the Emperor, John Palæologos, and eighteen Eastern bishops, they were summarily rejected in the East, while the council has never been recognised.

had already admitted it tacitly, but had hitherto refused to do so publicly, because none of their theologians had expressly mentioned it by name.

21. Any one dying in mortal sin, without penance, was to be regarded as punishable for ever with hell-fire.

22. The souls of infants, after baptism, and of those adults who die in peace, and are not in the bondage of sin, nor require to do penance for it, go immediately to heaven.

23. Greek abbots and monks were to carefully observe the ordinances and regulations framed by the Fathers for the lives and conduct of monks.

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2394.

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael requires them to strictly follow and observe the rule of St. Basil, according to their vows, especially in the matter of obedience, continence, and renunciation of property. They were directed also to sleep under one roof, to eat together in the same refectory, and not to leave the precincts of the monastery without the permission of the abbot or prior. Wandering monks were to be sent back to their monasteries. Monks were forbidden to engage in the pursuits of the laity, to hunt, keep hounds and hawks, or harbour women in their establishments. They were not to undertake servile work of any kind, unless when absolutely necessary, and that only by command of their abbot or prior.

The Pope concludes these instructions with a caution, which he requests the legate to communicate to the Latin Archbishop and his suffragans, that they are not to disturb nor molest the Greeks, in opposition to what he has laid down and ruled on the above questions.

But the untimely death of Innocent IV. at Naples on 7th December, 1254, only a few months after the promulgation of the above decrees, prevented all further progress in the policy of conciliation. Hugo Fagiano, who had meanwhile returned, commenced once more his old work of persecution, undeterred now by fears of Papal censures, and freed from the restraining influence of Eudes, who had left the island. Germanos, as the head of the rival communion and his equal in episcopal rank, was especially singled out for attack. At length the quarrel, which had for some time been slumbering, assumed an acute form through the tyrannical conduct of the Latin metropolitan.

Hugo Fagiano renews his persecution of the Orthodox.

His dispute with the Primate Germanos.

Certain facts in connection with Germanos' administration of his diocese having come to his notice, he summoned the Greek Archbishop to appear before him and explain his conduct. Germanos naturally refused to obey the order of one whom he regarded merely as an equal. After placing himself, his church and his flock under the protection of the Holy See, he repaired in person to Rome, with his three suffragans,[1] to complain to the new Pope, Alexander IV. of the persecutions to which he was subjected. Hugo's reply, on hearing what the Greek metropolitan had done, was to forcibly eject the representatives whom he had left in his stead, endeavour by violent means to compel the Greeks to renounce their allegiance to him, reverse the sentences of excommunication, which Germanos, in virtue of his archiepiscopal power, had passed upon various members of his own communion, and pronounce that sentence upon Germanos himself. After listening to the latter's recital of the wrongs, which had been inflicted upon him by his Latin colleague, Alexander, in response to his petition that a stop might be put for the future to these arbitrary proceedings, entrusted the matter for settlement to Eudes de Chateauroux, well qualified to act from his previous experience of the questions at issue. Some proctors of the Latin Archbishop were at that time present in the Eternal City. These the Cardinal summoned to appear before him and to answer, on their master's behalf, the complaints of the Greek metropolitan. They at first refused to obey the summons, alleging that no citation had been served upon the Latin Archbishop, and that they had not been sent by him to Rome for such a purpose. At length, however, they consented to appear on receipt of an express order from the Pope, who, under pretence of wishing to do full justice to Germanos, commanded their presence. Their first act on coming before the tribunal was to call into question the legality of Germanos' election, which they impugned on the following grounds :—

Raynald., ad ann. 1260, Nos. 36, 37, 38, 39.

Germanos carries his complaint to Rome.

Hugo's arbitrary proceedings.

Alexander IV. entrusts the decision of the matter to Cardinal Eudes.

The validity of Germanos' title disputed by the proctors of the Latin Archbishop.

1. That the prelates, who elected him, had no power to do so as, at the time of his alleged election, they were themselves excommunicated; while, moreover, the Apostolic letter granting them permission to proceed to the election had been obtained by excommunicated persons. For these reasons the representatives of the Archbishop, who was at the time absent from the

[1] Their names as given in the text of the Bull are: Nibon de Solia, Joachim de Carpasia, and Matthias de Lefchara.

island, protested on his behalf against proceeding with the election, confirmation, or consecration of Germanos.

2. From the action of Celestine III. in establishing four Latin Sees in the island and endowing one of them with metropolitan powers, and from the subsequent action of Cardinal Pelagius in reducing the number of the Greek dioceses to four, with certain fixed places of residence for the bishops within the Latin dioceses, and from the promise of obedience made by these prelates to the Latin Archbishop of Nikosia, as their metropolitan, and to the other bishops, within whose Sees they were respectively situated, they deduced the argument that there could not and ought not to be in the island, which formed but one ecclesiastical province, any other metropolitan than the Archbishop of Nikosia.

On these grounds the advocates of Hugo Fagiano prayed the court to cancel the appointment of Germanos, as prejudicial to the Church of Nikosia, and to inhibit him from infringing upon the rights of the Latin Archbishop. Their object throughout seems to have been to delay the proceedings as much as possible. But, after some time had been spent in argument without any prospect of an immediate settlement, Germanos, in view of the expenses, which the proceedings entailed, entreated the Pope to take compassion upon the poverty of the Orthodox community and to pronounce, without further delay, such a decision, as would enable his co-religionists to live at peace with their Western neighbours. Alexander, acceding to his request, issued under the form of an arbitration, in the presence of all the Greek bishops and the representatives of the Latin primate, a general regulation known as the Bulla, or Constitutio Cypria, dated at Anagni, 3rd July, 1260, and bearing the signatures of eight cardinals in addition to his own.[1]

The Bulla or Constitutio Cypria, 3rd July, 1260.
Mansi, xxiii., col. 1037.
Labbe, xi., col. 1037.
Hardouin, vii., p. 447.
Cherubini, Bull. Magn., i., p. 100.

Its provisions.
Raynald., ad ann. 1260, Nos. 40-50.

(1) The reduction previously made by Cardinal Pelagius in the Orthodox Sees was confirmed. It was expressly stated that they were not to exceed the Latin in number, and to comprise

[1] The following in order of precedence are the names of the signatories to the Bull, which is also known as the Summa Alexandrina :—

1. Alexander Catholicæ ecclesiæ Episcopus. 2. Odo Tusculanus episcopus. 3. Stephanus Prænestinus episcopus. 4. Frater Joannes tituli sancti Laurentii in Lucina presbyter cardinalis. 5. Frater Hugo tituli sanctæ Sabinæ presbyter cardinalis. 6. Ricardus Sancti Angeli diaconus cardinalis. 7. Octavianus sanctæ Mariæ in Via Lata diaconus cardinalis. 8. Joannes Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano diaconus cardinalis. 9. Ottobonus Sancti Adriani diaconus cardinalis.

the same extent and be included within the same limits. Like them they were to be placed under the supervision of the Latin Archbishop, who was now recognised as the sole metropolitan in the island. To prevent any difficulties, which might have arisen in the various dioceses from the presence of prelates of different rites within the same place, it was further directed that the Orthodox bishops should continue to reside in the localities already assigned to them for that purpose by the Convention of Famagusta.[1]

(2) In the event of a vacancy occurring in any of the Greek Sees it was enacted that another ecclesiastic from the same See should be chosen to fill it. The Latin bishop, within whose jurisdiction the vacant See lay, was directed to confirm the election, after he had satisfied himself that it had been conducted in due form and that the candidate was a fit and proper person. He was next to summon the Greek prelates of the adjacent dioceses to perform the ceremony of consecration, while he was instructed himself to receive from the newly elect an oath of obedience, before putting him into possession of the See and investing him with the prerogatives of his office.[2]

(3) The form, in which this oath was to be taken by the Bishop of Solia, was expressly laid down in the Bull and, with the necessary alterations, was directed to be exacted from the other Greek prelates also by their respective Latin ordinaries. It ran as follows:—

"I . . . Bishop of Solia in the diocese of Nikosia, from this time forward will be faithful and obedient to Blessed Peter and the holy Roman Church, and to my Lord N., Archbishop of Nikosia, and to his successors canonically appointed. I will not be privy to any plot nor act, whereby they may lose life or limb, or suffer any loss. Any purpose, which they shall reveal to me, either personally, or by messenger or letter, I will not make

[1] Loca autem sunt, in diocesi Nicosiensi, in Solia; in diocesi Paphensi, in Archino (*i.e.*, Arsinoë); in diocesi Nimociensi, in Lefkara; in diocesi Famagustana, in Carpasio. Cart. de S. Sophia, No. 83 (Hist. de Chypre., tom. iii., p. 622).

[2] Dositheos remarks with regard to the tendering of an oath upon such an occasion that it is a proceeding characteristic of heretics, and instances the case of the schismatic Novatus, who, according to Eusebios (H. E., lib. vi., c. 43), when giving the oblation to any of his followers used to say: "Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ never to leave me and turn to Cornelius". The historian declares that the would-be recipient was not suffered to taste it until he had first cursed himself and, instead of saying Amen when receiving the bread, had declared: "I will no more return to Cornelius". Dositheos, Δωδεκάβιβλος lib. viii., c. 17, par. 5, p. 824.

known to any one to their disadvantage. I will assist in defending and maintaining the supremacy of the Church of Rome and the primacy of the Church of Nikosia and the ordinances of the holy fathers against all men, my privileges being safeguarded. When summoned to the Synod I will attend, unless hindered by any canonical impediment. The legate of the Apostolic See, when he shall be duly notified to me, I will treat respectfully both when going and returning, and I will assist him in all his wants. So help me God and these holy Gospels." [1]

Lusignan, pp. 31 (b)-32 (a).

*Note.*—Lusignan, who informs us that he had, as commissary of the Latin Bishop of Limassol, installed the Orthodox Bishop of Levkara, thus describes the ceremony. After the election had been approved by the King, or by the Senate, when the island was acquired by Venice, the proceedings were submitted in writing to the Latin bishop of the diocese in question, who, if he found they had been properly conducted, either proceeded himself to the Greek cathedral, or sent his representative. There, entering within the eikonostasis and having his chancellor by his side to note down the replies, he called before him the clergy of the See, twenty-nine in number, and asked them separately on oath if they knew ought against the candidate to unfit him for the office, and if they accepted him as their bishop.

[1] Ego . . . episcopus de Solia Nicosiensis diœcesis ab hac hora inantea fidelis ero et obediens beato Petro sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, dominoque meo N. archiepiscopo Nicosiensi eiusque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in concilio, nec in facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum, vel capiantur mala captione. Consilium quod mihi aut per se, aut per nuntium, vel per litteras manifestaverint, ad eorum damnum nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ ecclesiæ ac pontificatum Nicosiensis ecclesiæ, et regulas sanctorum patrum auditor ero ad defendendum, retinendum, salvo ordine meo, contra omnes homines. Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Legatum sedis Apostolicæ, quem certum esse cognovero, in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Sic Deus me adjuvet, et hæc sancta Dei Euangelia!

This oath of canonical obedience seems to have served as a model for the one which the Orthodox metropolitan of Rhodes was subsequently required to take to his Latin superior on the conquest of that island by the Hospitallers:—

Bosio, parte 2, lib. ix., p. 277.

"Io N. eletto metropolitano de' Greci di Rodi da hora innanzi sarò fedele, e obediente a San Pietro, alla Santa Romana Chiesa e al mio Signore l'arcivescovo Colosense, in questo per Apostolica autorità Delegato, e a' successori suoi. Non farò in consiglio, dove si machini contra la vita e honor suo, ne di tradirlo. Non darò aiuto, consiglio, ne favore a malevoli e Nemici suoi. Sarò sottoposto al Papato di Roma, e al Pontificato Colosensi; con tutte le forze mie gli aiutarò, e difenderò, osservando le regole de' santi Padri. Chiamato essendo al sinodo provinciale v' andarò, non essendo però legitimamente impedito, e nelle necessità sue lo soccorrerò. Cosi Iddio m' aiuti, e questi sacrosanti Evangelii, per i quali giurò," etc.

When the examination of the clergy was over, he caused the candidate to approach, and exacted from him the oath of obedience to the Roman Church. This being concluded the bishop directed his chancellor to read in a loud voice the patent of appointment, wherein it was stated that, finding no defect nor impediment in the election, he confirmed it and invested the candidate with the customary authority and privileges. The Latin bishop now took the Greek bishop by the hand and conducted him to his throne, after which the Greek priests commenced to chant. This finished, the Latin bishop, and after him the Latin clergy present, gave the Greek bishop the kiss of peace, and then his own priests and people kissed his hand. Finally the consecration was performed by the three other Greek bishops, the abbot of the monastery of Antrio, in the absence of any of them, supplying the vacant place.[1]

(4) Questions involving the condemnation or degradation, as well as the translation or resignation, of the Greek bishops were

[1] Bryennios, who during his stay in the island may have had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony of installation, describes it somewhat differently as follows:— Bryennios, Μελέτη περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων, κ.τ.λ.

The Latin bishop, who presided over the conclave on such an occasion, asked the candidate: "Wilt thou be obedient to the Roman Church?" To this question he immediately replied: "Yes, my holy Lord, therefore am I present". After a short pause the bishop further addressed the candidate thus: "Dost thou acknowledge the Pope to be holy, and the holy Roman Church to be Orthodox and Catholic?" The latter assented to this also, when he was again expressly asked: "Dost thou promise that thou wilt henceforth be faithful in all things to the Latin Bishop of Levkosia (Nikosia) and wilt regard him absolutely as thy Metropolitan, and, moreover, when summoned to his Synod wilt freely meet him there under penalty of a fine? And when the Papal legate comes wilt thou commemorate him in thy prayers during his stay (ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέρχεσθαι) and wilt thou with all thy people attend him and assist him to the utmost of thy power?" The candidate agrees to all these conditions and publicly promises to strictly observe them and, in confirmation of what he has just said and done, stretches out his hand and, in the sight of all, places it upon the holy Gospels lying open before him and swears during his whole life, both for himself and his people, to observe all that he has promised in word, in writing, and in deed. After the oath is completed he demands a blessing of the Latin bishop and places his head upon the latter's knees, who then blesses him, holding his own Ordinal upon his head. While the Latin clergy sing the "Gloria in Excelsis" the Latin bishop repeats in a low voice to himself the prayer of consecration out of the Ordinal. This concluded, the candidate bows reverently to the bishop and, kissing his hand and mouth, receives his blessing. Two Latin priests next range themselves on either side of him, whereupon, with a notary preceding, he sets out to take possession of the See, to which he has been appointed. His escort conducts him as far as the episcopal dwelling, when, shutting its doors and standing in front of the gates, they turn to him and say: "Receive, O candidate, this Church, which the Latin bishop entrusts to thee by our hands".

to be referred to the Holy See, with whom the right of decision alone rested.

(5) The Latin prelates were forbidden on their own initiative to appoint to any Orthodox See, unless those, to whom the right of appointment belonged, neglected to fill the vacancy within the statutory three months laid down by the General Council. In such a case the nominee of the Latin bishop must be a Greek, and one in every way suited to the position. During the period, in which the See remained vacant, the dean and chapter were to take possession of the temporalities, which they were directed to hand over to the newly-appointed prelate.

(6) Cases proper to the ecclesiastical courts were, if the litigants were Greeks, to be referred for decision to the Greek bishop. If, however, the suit was between a Latin and a Greek, or that a Greek was either plaintiff or defendant in a mixed case, then it was to be decided by the Latin bishop of the diocese. The right of appeal for all nationalities to the Holy See was distinctly laid down. All cases, however, in which Greeks alone were concerned, could be referred from the Greek to the Latin bishop of the diocese, and thence to the Archbishop of Nikosia, if necessary.

(7) All canonically-ordained Greek bishops in the island were to be permitted the free exercise of all those privileges over their co-religionists, which are recognised by common right as belonging to their order, without any interference from their respective Latin ordinaries, except in those cases where by right the metropolitan had jurisdiction.

(8) The Greek bishops were restricted to one spiritual court each within the dioceses of their respective Latin ordinaries. An exception, however, was made in the case of Churches administered by archdeacons and other dignitaries, to which spiritual courts had been attached from ancient times. These were allowed to remain with the proviso that, whenever necessary, appeals should be made from them to the Greek ordinary, and from him to the Latin.

*Note.*—The Constitution of Archbishop Raphael reserves the following classes of offences for the decision of the Latin archbishop and bishops, *viz.* :—

Murder, sacrilege, unnatural offences, incest, rape, assaults on parents, wilful overlaying of infants, perjury, arson, restitution of property, imposition of penances, absolution of excommunicated persons, change or non-fulfilment of vows of pilgrimage. Labbe, Concil., tom. xi. (pars. 2), col. 2297, sec. 25. Mansi, tom. xxvi.

(9) It was decreed that the Latin archbishop and bishops were to have over the Greeks, as they already had over the Latins, the same power of visiting with ecclesiastical censures all offences against them, and in protection of their rights and those of their churches.

(10) The Greek bishops were directed to attend the diocesan synod held annually by their respective Latin ordinaries, in company with all the abbots in their dioceses and such priests as had the cure of souls. They were further required to receive and observe all constitutions passed by these synods, which were not opposed to those orthodox rites of theirs, that were in accordance with the Catholic faith and permitted by the Church of Rome. But they were to be excused attendance at the provincial synod held by the Latin metropolitan.

*Note.*—According to the Constitutions of the metropolitan Church of Nikosia, framed by Archbishop Hugo Fagiano, synods were to be held twice a year, *viz.*: (*a*) On the Friday after the Octave of the Epiphany, and (*b*) on the Wednesday after the Octave of Pentecost. Mansi, tom. xxvi., 311. Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2376.

It was further enacted by the same constitutions that the Synod was to assemble early in the morning in the church of St. Sophia and that all members, under pain of punishment, were to be in their places on the bell ceasing to ring. In the winter they were directed to attend, clad in a surplice, or in a close or choral cope—in the summer in a surplice only, and were to occupy the places allotted to them according to their rank and dignity. They were to preserve silence during the debates and were strictly enjoined not to make any noise while the benediction was being pronounced (!) No one was to leave the synod, while it was in session, except in a case of urgent necessity.

(11) In their visitations among the Greeks of their respective dioceses the Latin bishops were to have the same power as was conceded to all metropolitans when engaged in visitations among their suffragans. The Latin archbishop and bishops were enjoined, however, to use moderation in the contributions they exacted from the Greeks towards the expenses of these visitations. The total number of contributions to be levied annually by each of the Latin prelates is expressly stated in the Bull.

The sum to be demanded by the Archbishop was not to exceed five contributions, or procurations,[1] the Bishop of Paphos was limited to four, while the Bishops of Famagusta and Limassol were restricted to three respectively. The value of each contribution was fixed at thirty livres tournois, or an equal number of besants. It was further provided that after the resignation or death of Germanos, when the duties of metropolitan over the Greeks devolved upon him, the Latin Archbishop was to receive annually from the Greeks of each diocese in his provincial visitations a sum equivalent to sixty livres tournois, or the same number of besants. In addition to these pecuniary contributions there was also, according to Lusignan, given annually by each Orthodox bishop to his Latin ordinary and certain other dignitaries a fixed proportion of the offerings, which he received in kind from his own clergy and people. There has fortunately been preserved an account of the Bishop of Solia's contribution for 1547 to the Latin Archbishop, his diocesan, from which we may learn the nature of this exaction.[2] This account is divided under two heads, summer and winter. During the former period the contributions were as follows :—

H. de Chyp., tom. iii. pp. 538-9.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Archbishop | 12 measures of rose water.<br>12 ropes of garlic. |
| The Commissary | 6 measures of rose water.<br>6 ropes of garlic. |
| The Dean<br>The Chancellor | 4 measures of rose water.<br>4 ropes of garlic. |
| The Chanter<br>The Sub-Chanter<br>The Archdeacon | 3 measures of rose water.<br>3 ropes of garlic. |
| The Chaplain<br>The Beadle<br>The Treasurer | 2 measures of rose water.<br>2 ropes of garlic. |

[1] "Procuration, an entertainment made at a visitation for a bishop. In 1336 a money composition was permitted to be offered by Pope Benedict XII. but only one procuration could be demanded if several churches were visited in one day. The amount varied in different countries. In England an archbishop received 220 turons, a bishop 150, an archdeacon 50, and an archpriest or rural dean 10." The evidence of the Bulla Cypria would seem, however, to show that a money composition was permitted at an earlier date than that mentioned by Walcott, at least in Cyprus.

Walcott, Sacred Archæology, p. 478.

[2] From the same source we learn that the Greek Bishop of Solia had to pay the following fees to his Latin superiors on his consecration :—

"Quando il monsignore vescovo greco di Solia si consacrarà, per consuetudine si suol dare al reverendissimo arcivescovo di Nicosia bisanti 200, al reverendo vicario bisanti 25, alli canonici, a ciascuno, bisanti 25".

In the winter the contributions, which appear to have then been heavier, were :—

| | |
|---|---|
| The Archbishop | Walnuts, 600.<br>Figs, 4 measures.<br>Sack, 6 measures.<br>Pigs, 12.<br>Hens, 12. |
| The Dean<br>The Commissary | Walnuts, 500.<br>Figs, 6 measures.<br>Sack, 4 measures.<br>Pigs, 8. |
| The Dean | Hens, 8. |
| The Commissary | Hens, 6. |
| The Canons, each<br>The Chancellor | Walnuts, 400.<br>Figs, 2 measures.<br>Sack, 3 measures.<br>Pigs, 6.<br>Hens, 6. |
| The Chanter<br>The Sub-Chanter | Walnuts, 300.<br>Figs, 2 measures.<br>Sack, 2 measures.<br>Pigs, 4.<br>Hens, 3. |
| The Beadle.<br>The Treasurer.<br>The Chaplain. | Walnuts, 200.<br>Figs, 2 measures.<br>Sack, 2 measures.<br>Pigs, 4.<br>Hens, 2. |
| The Archdeacon | Walnuts, 300.<br>Figs, 2 measures.<br>Sack, 2 measures.<br>Hens, 40.<br>Pigs, 4. |

(12) Finally, in the vexed question of tithes, the frequent source of so many disputes between the rival communions, it was distinctly stated that they were the property of the Latin clergy, who were confirmed in their possession by the Bull and authorised to collect them in their accustomed manner. As a reminder, too, to the nobility, who so often neglected to pay these dues, it was declared that no one was to regard himself as exempt from their payment, since their imposition had received the sanction both of the divine and the canon law.

Specia enactments in the Bull regarding the position of Germanos.

Having thus concluded the general regulations for the government of the two communions in their relations to one another, the Pope next proceeds to lay down certain special enactments with regard to the position of Germanos himself.

Although the Bull deprived the Orthodox of their metropolitan, it made an exception in favour of Germanos, who was allowed to retain the title and rank during his lifetime, with complete independence of the Latin Archbishop. But it was most emphatically declared that no successor, in the event of his death or resignation, was to be elected. As the Greek Archbishops had always continued to hold, even after the Western occupation, their seat at Famagusta, he was transferred to Solia instead, advantage being taken of a vacancy in the See of Arsinoë to establish there Nibon, bishop of the former diocese. He was given free choice to reside either at Solia, or in the Church of St. Barnabas at Nikosia, which was declared by the Bull to be attached for ever to the See of Solia. On his death, or resignation, his successor was not to enjoy the archiepiscopal title, but was to be subject to the Latin metropolitan of Nikosia in the same way as his colleagues were to their respective Latin diocesans. Germanos was, however, to have the same authority in matters spiritual over the Greek population of Nikosia that the other Greek bishops possessed over their co-religionists in their dioceses.

To remove all causes of dispute it was further provided that during the lifetime of Germanos, or while he continued to act as metropolitan, all exercise of authority over the Greeks on the part of the Latin Archbishop and his suffragans should be suspended. To Germanos was given the sole power of appointing to any of the Greek Sees which might become vacant, after the candidates had been duly approved by their respective Latin ordinaries, and of summoning the other Greek prelates to assist him in their consecration. He was also to conduct visitations among his co-religionists, whenever necessary and, while engaged in this and similar duties, was to be invested with such powers as the canons conferred on metropolitans. The Latin prelates were strictly cautioned against interfering with him contrary to his wishes while so occupied, though these and other kindred duties were to fall to them in the event of his death or resignation. Germanos, on his part, was forbidden to exercise any authority in those matters, in which the Bull had conferred powers over the Greeks upon the Archbishop of Nikosia in his capacity as metropolitan, and upon the Latin bishops as diocesans.

In questions of appeal and other matters the Latin Archbishop, both during the lifetime of Germanos and afterwards, except in the case of Germanos himself, was to enjoy jurisdiction over the Greeks included in the diocese of Nikosia, and the same privilege was extended by the Bull to the other Latin prelates over the Greeks of their respective dioceses. Although the person of Germanos was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Latin Archbishop, he was directed to make to him the prescribed oath of obedience on being invested with the See of Solia. This once done the Latin metropolitan was to possess no power of either censuring or giving him orders, under any pretext whatever. Germanos had the right, however, of appealing to him, should he so desire it, due regard being paid to the prerogatives of the Holy See.

After strictly enjoining both parties to observe closely the terms of this decision, the provisions of which were extended to the Syrians of the island also, as being in communion with the Orthodox Church, the Pope concludes with a prayer, which must have sounded as a solemn mockery to the Greeks, that the two Churches by mutual forbearance and assistance might become united as one body under one head in Christ, the true peace of all.

Thus after a struggle, which had extended over more than sixty years, the native Church, that for twelve whole centuries had preserved its autonomy and independence, became finally subject to the intruding Latin clergy. The Bull, however, instead of producing that peace which its author professed to have intended, only gave rise to a fresh crop of troubles. Hugo Fagiano, not content with the triumph which he had gained, was furious at the empty honour granted to Germanos of being allowed to retain during life the title of Archbishop. Being unable to deprive him of even this crumb of Papal mercy he resigned his See and, returning to his native Tuscany, spent the remainder of his days in the monastery, which he had founded near Pisa, called Episcopia.

Effects of the Bull upon the position of the Orthodox clergy.

In spite, however, of the favour which the civil authorities continued to show them, the position of the Greek clergy after the publication of this Bull was certainly worse than it had ever been before. They were now deprived of the prospect of ever being placed upon an equality with their Latin rivals. The concessions made by Innocent IV. had been revoked, and the measures devised by Celestine III. and Cardinal Pelagius reimposed in an even more objectionable form. All power was

completely vested in the Latin Archbishop and his suffragans. The Greeks were regarded merely as their representatives among the members of their own communion. Archbishop Raphael, not long after the publication of the Bull, issued a constitution, which the Greek bishops were required to read four times annually to their clergy and laity, especially assembled for the purpose. In it he put the case very plainly by boastfully proclaiming that the Latin bishops were the real pastors of Cyprus, while the Greek were only tolerated. Such outspoken utterances naturally did not tend to allay the feelings of mutual dislike which animated the two Churches. The Greeks were yet further irritated by these tokens of contempt and indifference, to which they had to submit from their victorious rivals. The spirit of opposition made its presence felt in a variety of ways, and only awaited a favourable opportunity for asserting itself with effect. It was this which rendered the Orthodox at all times ready to welcome any deliverer, in whatever guise he might come, who seemed to promise them release from the intolerable yoke of Rome. And such an occasion appeared to present itself soon after the publication of this obnoxious Bull. Constantinople had once again reverted to its old masters, after being in possession of the Latins for more than fifty years. On 25th July 1261, Alexios Strategopulos, the general of Michael (VIII.) Palæologos captured the Imperial City by assault, while the Emperor Baudouin II. was a fugitive in Europe, seeking assistance in vain from the Latin princes. The eyes of the Cypriots turned instinctively to the conqueror for protection against the persecutions, to which they were once more exposed. It was known that Palæologos, elated with his recent success, contemplated an attack upon the Venetians in Crete, with the aid of the Genoese. It was also suspected that he might take advantage of the discontent rife among the Greeks in Cyprus to make a sudden descent upon that island, too, with the fleet which he and his allies had prepared for the conquest of the former place. Filled with apprehension as to the result of these designs the new Pope, Urban IV., wrote from Orvieto on 12th January 1263 to the Regent[1] and barons, warning them of the suspected enterprise and exhorting them to place themselves, without delay, in a position of

Archbishop Raphael's "Constitutio instruens Græcos et alios".

Mansi, tom. xxvi. 322.

Labbe, tom. xi., pars. 2, 2386.

Recapture of Constantinople by the Greeks, 25th July, 1261.

Suspected designs of the Emperor Michael Palæologos on Cyprus.

Counter measures of Pope Urban IV.

Raynald., ad ann. 1263, No. 18.

[1] Hugues, son of Henri d'Antioche and Isabelle, daughter of Hugues I. de Lusignan, who became King of Cyprus on the death of his cousin, Hugues II. in 1267. Previous to his accession he had been bailiff and regent of the kingdom.

defence. This first letter was followed by a second, dated the 23rd of the same month, in which the writer complained to the Regent that the toleration shown the Greeks only encouraged them in their resistance. It would appear that some of the Orthodox clergy had been induced to submit to the Church of Rome and to acknowledge the authority of the Latin metropolitan. But their act had exposed them to the resentment of their co-religionists, who had excommunicated them and forbidden them to officiate, at the same time branding them as heretics and schismatics for what they had done. Not content with this display of hatred they had proceeded to even more violent measures, refusing to contribute to their support, destroying their property, and reducing them to such straits that the Latin metropolitan was obliged at times to give them shelter and to provide them with the bare necessaries of life. Though the Archbishop had protested against these lawless proceedings to the Regent and nobility, and had solicited their assistance to put down such a state of things, his appeal had met, the Pope asserts, with scant attention. Urban accordingly reminds the Regent of the respect which he, as a Catholic and a devout son of the Church, owed to ecclesiastical persons and especially to his spiritual father, the Archbishop, as well as of his duty to maintain them in their rights and privileges, and to defend the Catholic religion and the liberties of the Church against all assailants. He requests him, moreover, to protect the persecuted Greek clerics against their co-religionists, and to assist the Latin metropolitan in his endeavours to repress the audacity of the Greeks and Syrians, whenever called upon to do so. The Archbishop, he added, had received instructions from him to invoke the aid of the secular arm, when necessary, and to punish all offenders with spiritual censures, notwithstanding that exemption from excommunication and from having their estates placed under an interdict by any general Papal brief had previously been granted to some of them by the Holy See. This letter appears to have failed in its object, for the Latin primate soon afterwards repaired in person with his grievances to the Pope.[1] He represented that, owing to the culpable apathy of the Executive, his authority was derided and he himself no more regarded than if he had been a mere priest. When

Urban complains to the Regent of Cyprus of the toleration shown to the Cypriot Orthodox.

Cart., S. Sophia, No. 75 (H. de Ch., tom. iii., pp. 655-57).

The Latin Archbishop carries his grievances to the Pope at Rome.

[1]This circumstance is expressly mentioned in the Pope's third letter dated from Orvieto, 13th April 1264, though the prelate's name is not given. "Accedens, non absque multis periculis et laboribus, ad Apostolicam Sedem venerabilis frater noster Nicosiensis archiepiscopus."

H. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 657, No. 1.

he had endeavoured to use his powers as metropolitan for the suppression of vice and the punishment of evil-doers, he had been told that such matters did not come within his jurisdiction and that he should confine himself strictly to the supervision of his own clergy and dependants. As the result of these complaints Urban wrote again on 13th April 1264 to the same effect, warning the Regent and nobles that, if they persisted in withholding their assistance, he would confirm any sentence the Archbishop might pronounce against them for their neglect.

Cart. S. Sophia, No. 76 (H. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 655, No. 1).

Raynald., ad ann. 1264, No. 66.

The Orthodox populace at Nikosia attempts the life of the Papal Legate, Pierre, Archbishop of Rodez.

Amadi, p. 344, Note 2.

Raynald., ad ann. 1309, Nos. 33-34.

Wadding, Annal. Minor., ad ann. 1309, tom. vi., p. 150.

Amadi, p. 396.

Fl. Bustron, lib. iii., pp. 247-8.

Of the irritation felt by the Orthodox at this constant interference with their religious liberty, and of the readiness so often shown by them to resent it, we have clear proof in the following incident, which took place at Nikosia in 1313. The Papal Legate, Pierre, Archbishop of Rodez,[1] having had some dispute with the Greek prelates the latter presented themselves at the capital on the 1st May in that year and, after consulting among themselves, went in a body to the Archbishop's residence to confer with the Pope's representative. Some of the populace, seeing them go and imagining that the legate was about to put some slight upon them, proceeded to escort them thither. The bishops, observing that they were being accompanied and fearing lest a disturbance might arise, retraced their steps. But the mob continued on its way to the palace and, on arriving there, burst open the doors of the various rooms, intent upon doing the legate some injury. Furious at finding their prey had escaped them they rushed into the kitchen and, seizing some fire from the hearth, endeavoured to burn down the building, hoping in this manner to destroy the object of their search. Luckily, before any great damage could be done, the Vicomte of Nikosia appeared with a posse of police and drove the rioters away, threatening any of them, who should return, with the loss of a hand and foot. An inquiry being held some of the culprits were apprehended and imprisoned, but being proved to have acted in ignorance were afterwards released. The Greek bishops are also reported to have been confined for a while as prisoners in the archiepiscopal palace for their supposed complicity in the affair.

Notwithstanding these displays of popular indignation the

[1] This prelate appears really to have been Pierre de Pleine Chassaigne, Bishop of Rodez, who was appointed Apostolic Legate in the East from the commencement of the year 1308. In 1313 he was occupied in the suppression of the Templars in Cyprus. In 1314 he was raised to the dignity of Patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1315 he was still at Nikosia and the following year at Paris. His death occurred in 1318.

Papal authorities did not cease to harass the Orthodox on the subject of their religious opinions. In a letter dated from Avignon, 1st October, 1326, John XXII. exhorts Raymond, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to proceed with the extirpation of heresy in Cyprus. After directing the latter's attention to the peculiar errors of the Jacobites and Nestorians, many of whom were then inhabiting the island, he goes on to enumerate certain objectionable tenets held by the members of the Orthodox Communion. Among others he specially mentions a denial of the existence of purgatory and hell, and an assertion that the souls of the saints are not in Paradise until after the Judgment, but that the souls of all, including even those of the wicked, are meanwhile at rest, free from purgatorial pains. He charges some of them also with refusing to partake of the Sacrament, unless brought from Constantinople, and others he accuses of the incredible and superstitious practice of administering it to their animals as medicine. The letter concludes by exhorting the Patriarch to root out all such detestable doctrines and heresies, the writer expressing confidence in his well-known tact and discretion, which he declares equal to the task.

Renewal of persecution by Pope John XXII.

Raynald., ad ann. 1326, No. 28.

The Church of Rome, again apparently losing all patience at the long-deferred conversion of its Orthodox subjects, once more endeavoured to accomplish by force what it had failed to effect by milder measures. It had now at hand a fitting instrument for its purpose in the person of one, whose methods strongly recall to mind a former occupant of the same position, Pelagius, Bishop of Albano. In fact the two might have been cast in the same mould, so closely did they resemble one another in their manner of proceeding. In both there was the same consuming desire for the exaltation of their Church, with the same total disregard of the means employed. The man now honoured with the confidence of the Papacy was a Carmelite friar, named Pierre de Thomas. His first appearance in the East dates from the mission sent in 1356 by Innocent VI. to the Emperor John (V.) Palæologos on the contemplated union of the two Churches. We next find him placed in charge of the See of Korone in the Morea, whence shortly afterwards he was appointed to the important position of Apostolic Legate in the East. Several biographies of him have appeared, the most remarkable being the work of his intimate friend, Philippe de Maizières, Chancellor of Cyprus.[1] In it the most fulsome adulation is strangely

Pierre de Thomas, the Papal Legate.

Raynald., ad ann. 1359, No. 16.

Philippe de Maizières, Chancellor of Cyprus, his friend and biographer.

Raynald., ad ann. 1359, No. 17.

[1] His biography by Philippe de Maizières has been published by the Bollandists under date of 29th January. De Mas Latrie in his second volume of H. de Chypre., tom. ii., pp. 281-284.

blended with accounts of the most astounding miracles. The author gravely informs his readers, so great was his hero's reputation for sanctity in Cyprus, that even on the testimony of Armenians, Greeks, and other schismatics a light used to descend from heaven into his cell, while he was praying! Once, while journeying from Rhodes to Cyprus, the ship encountered such a tempest that death by drowning threatened every moment to befall all who were in it. The sailors threw out sixteen of the stoutest anchors, but they were useless owing to the heavy seas. Seeing that all their efforts were in vain the crew betook themselves to the legate for assistance. After earnestly engaging in prayer, with his face upon the deck, he arose and threw the crucifix he was accustomed to carry into the foaming billows. The effect produced by this act was marvellous to behold. A great calm immediately succeeded. All who were in the ship, so the narrator of this wonderful exploit takes care to relate, were strangely astonished at this marvellous occurrence, and returned thanks to God, Who through the merits of His servant had delivered them from a watery grave. Against the opponents of the Roman Church, who found in him a most formidable antagonist, he waged unceasing hostilities, regardless of the personal risks he ran. Nor were the weapons of his warfare always such as we should have expected from a man of his sacred profession. The sword of the flesh came equally as ready to his hand as more spiritual weapons. At Smyrna, Rhodes, Constantinople, Alexandria, and elsewhere he showed that he could don the armour of the warrior with the same ease as the vestments of the priest. The labours that he endured and the perils that he ran, by sea and land, read like the adventures of a second Paul. So great was the reputation he had thus acquired that, by the very terror of his name, he compelled one of the most powerful of the Turkish emirs to pay tribute to the Christians—a feat which none of the princes or legates had ever yet been able to achieve. His admiring biographer records many examples of that cool courage in the face of danger, for which he was so noted. On one occasion, hearing that an especially objectionable form of heresy was prevalent among the nobility and principal inhabitants of Crete,

Raynald., ad ann. 1362, No. 10.

Raynald., ad ann. 1359, No. 17.

His adventures in Crete.

Raynald., ad ann. 1359, No. 19.

the History of Cyprus gives extracts from another manuscript biography entitled:—

"Legenda gloriosi patriarche Constantinopolitani sancti fratris Petri Thome, ordinis intemerathe Virginis de Carmello, legati sancti passagii, compilata per fratrem Johannem Carmessoni de Arragonia, magistrum in sacra pagina, ac fratrum Minorum Terre Sancte ministrum".

he determined to uproot it, and came with all haste to Candia for that purpose. But the news of his intention must in some way have preceded him, for we read that he was received on his arrival, not as the legate and a friend, but as an enemy. After diligent inquiries he summoned the guilty parties, chief among whom was a relative of the Venetian governor's wife, to appear before him. The delinquents, full of wrath and indignation, presented themselves in obedience to his request, but refused to answer satisfactorily any of his questions. The legate, thereupon, appealed in the name of the Roman Church to the civil power. But the governor instead of answering the appeal threatened him, at the instigation of his wife, with death, if he persisted in his attempt. The undaunted Pierre de Thomas, undeterred by these threats, laid the governor and entire community under an interdict, ordering the churches to be closed and forbidding the bells to be rung. With that arrogance, which the emissaries of Rome know so well how to assume at times, he informed the astonished governor that his Church, which bestowed kingdoms upon her faithful children and withdrew them from the disobedient, would, for his contumacy and the favour he showed to heretics, deprive him of his dominions and bestow them upon more worthy recipients. These bold words so astounded and intimidated the governor that he asked pardon of Pierre de Thomas, who at once granted it. The heretics seeing themselves thus deprived of the protection, upon which they had so long relied, confessed their error and, on renouncing it, were graciously pardoned, though previously condemned to the stake. The relative of the governor's wife, however, still proving contumacious and refusing to recant, was burnt. Thus was that pernicious heresy stamped out and Crete once again illumined with the light of the true faith, as his biographer exultingly exclaims. But his animosity against the enemies of religion was not confined to them while living. It pursued them even when dead. On the same occasion, during his progress through the island, he came to a town called Canila, where he caused the remains of a dead heretic to be exhumed and consumed by fire. On the completion of this most successful undertaking he at once left the island, accompanied, so we are assured, by the plaudits and good will of the Cretans!

His conduct at the capture of Alexandria in 1365.

Another remarkable instance of his intrepid conduct, shown at the capture of Alexandria in 1365, is thus recorded by his admiring biographer: "I cannot remain silent about the activity of my father, the legate, and his burning desire for martyr- Raynald., ad ann. 1365, No. 19.

dom. The Saracens, drawn up wisely and skilfully in dense array on the shores of the harbour, awaited with shouts the landing of our men. The legate, so far ignorant of the cause which delayed our attack, cried out to me in a great fervour of enthusiasm, 'My dear brother Chancellor, by the memory of our Lord's passion let us make for the land with our galley. I cannot endure such insults. Let us attack the Saracens, with the cross at our head, and let all our galleys follow it.' I, beholding his boldness and readiness to die, though greatly admiring it, answered him with a smile: 'My father, as the time has not yet come for us to die, with all respect I will not do so'. His grief at my reply was indescribable. At early dawn it was decreed by the King and Council, with the help of God, to land and begin the holy war. My father might then have been seen, completely clad in a suit of magnificent armour, standing on a projecting part of our galley, cross in hand, blessing the host to right and left of him. As the battle progressed and the arrows kept raining down, did he fear to advance? By no means, for God knows I saw his face unchanged and without any sign of fear on it, both when on sea and land. So eager was he to disembark that, though the arrows kept flying in countless numbers, he was reluctant to cover himself with a shield, even when I had advised him to do so many times."

**Date of his appearance in Cyprus.**

**Raynald., ad ann. 1360, No. 16.**

**Fl. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 258.**

**Loredano, lib. vii., p. 362 sq.**

It was about the year 1360[1] that this redoubtable ecclesiastic first comes prominently before us in connection with Cyprus. He was lying seriously ill at Rhodes, when he received a summons to proceed to Cyprus for the coronation of Pierre (I.) de Lusignan. Rising from his sick bed he embarked in obedience to the call, but so much worse did he become during the voyage that he was at death's door when, in answer to his prayers, he was miraculously restored to perfect health. He had not been long in the island before he resolved to convert the Orthodox by force to the Roman faith. The attempt and its result are thus described by his biographer: "Hearing that the Greek bishops and priests, with the rest of the Greek population in

**Attempts the forcible conversion of the Orthodox.**

**Raynald., ad ann. 1360, No. 16.**

[1] The actual time was December, 1359, but the local chroniclers vary as to the exact day of the month, as the following extracts will show.

**Machæra, p. 96.**

*τῇ δευτέρῃ τῇ κ' δικεμβρίου α,τνθ'* (Monday, 20th Dec., 1359) *ἀνάφανεν εἰς τὸν λιμιόναν τῆς Κερινίας ἕναν κάτεργον ἁρματωμένον καὶ ἀπάνω ἤρτεν ἕνας ληγάτος τοῦ πάπα, τὸν ποῖον ἐκράζαν τὸν φρέρε Πιέρην τὲ Τουμᾶς ἀπὲ τὸν ὄρδινον τοῦ Κάρμε, κ.τ.λ.*

**Amadi, pp. 409, 410.**

A dì 8 decembrio arivò una galia a Cerines et menò un legato del papa nominato fra Piero de Thomaso, de l'ordine de Carmeni.

**Strambaldi, p. 39.**

Et a dì 8 decembrio 1359 de Christo apparve una gallera in Cerines, et vene un legato del papa nominato fra Pier de Thomaso de l'ordine carmelitano.

Cyprus, were schismatics and unwilling to obey the Roman Church, and were with all their power persuading faithful Christians to continue in their rites and ceremonies, he, with the permission of the King, called before him in the greater Church of Nikosia (*i.e.*, Santa Sophia) the primate of the Greeks with all his clergy. When all had come Pierre de Thomas caused the doors to be shut, fearing a tumult on the part of the Greeks, and sitting before the high altar pointed out to them their error, courteously and plainly, from passages of Scripture, striving to recall them to the true faith and obedience to the Church of Rome. Many, thereupon, recognising their error and confessing their fault repented. But the devil, envying the Church such good fortune and profit, through the agency of a certain stubborn and obdurate priest, excited the rest and moved them to deride Pierre de Thomas. The populace assembled outside on hearing the noise began to get angry and to shout against Pierre de Thomas and suddenly rushed to the cathedral with cries of 'Death to the Legate'. The wicked Greek priests, observing the rage and fury of the mob, opened the doors, when the multitude rushed in mad with rage. Pierre de Thomas perceiving what had taken place, though many of his attendants took to flight, encouraged those who still remained, saying: 'Trust in God. Place the cross in front of me and let us die bravely in defence of the Catholic faith'. He uttered these words without stirring from his seat, showing himself the more undaunted the closer his foes approached, and when every moment expecting death. The King, at last hearing of what was taking place, despatched his brother, the Prince of Antioch, who, mounting his horse and accompanied by a body of soldiers, rushed to the church. He, driving out the mob with difficulty, rescued Pierre de Thomas from his perilous position, whereat all the faithful returned thanks to God."

The story, as told by most of the native chroniclers, differs, however, considerably from the above. By them the legate is represented as having attempted the conversion of the Orthodox less by argument than by force. It was the noise caused by the resistance offered by the Greek ecclesiastics to these violent proceedings, which attracted their co-religionists to the spot. On learning what was going on within they battered down the doors with a heavy beam, and rushed in to the rescue of their outraged pastors, while some of the bolder spirits even tried to fire the building in the hope that the legate would perish in the flames. One of the latest of these historians tells the story somewhat

Machæra, pp. 93,

Kyprianos, pp. 153, 159.

differently. He says that the populace was excited to fury by the indiscreet language of the legate himself, who gave out that he had been commissioned by the Pope to suppress the Greek bishopries and hand over the Orthodox to the entire control of the Latin hierarchy. This report so enraged the Greeks that they rushed with arms in their hands to the residence of the legate to wreak their vengeance upon him. He, divining the hostile purpose of their coming, fled to Santa Sophia, where his pursuers would have slain him but for the timely intervention of his rescuers.[1]

Raynald., ad ann. 1360, No. 16.

If we may accept the doubtful statement of his friend and biographer, even this severe lesson did not dissuade him from his attempts at converting the Orthodox, for partly by threats and partly by blandishments he is said to have induced the Greek primate and his colleagues, with a majority of the priests, to obey the Church of Rome. This, as the same authority remarks, none of the bishops or legates before him had been able to accomplish. And for the same reason we may well question his success also.

Loredano, p. 363.

Another and much more likely account represents the legate as going to the King and, while protesting that he had not attempted anything unusual, demanding the punishment of his assailants on the ground that, in his person, the dignity of the Holy See had been insulted. The latter by way of reply pointed out that it was not to his interest at the beginning of his reign to provoke the hatred of the Greeks, who far outnumbered the Latins; that he was not master of their consciences, and that, if he should punish them, he would seem to be in collusion with

Machæra, pp. 98. 99.

[1] ὁ ποῖος ἐθέλησε νὰ ποίσῃ τοὺς Ρωμαίους Λατίνους, καὶ ἐθελησε νὰ τοὺς κουφερμιάσῃ, καὶ ἐγίνην μέγαν σκάνταλον μὲ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ μὲ τοὺς Λατίνους· καὶ ἔπεψεν νὰ φέρῃ τοὺς πισκόπους καὶ γουμένους, καὶ ἦρταν μίαν ἡμέραν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, καὶ οἱ πίσκοποι δὲν ἔξευραν τὸ θέλημάν του· καὶ ἄνταν ἐπῆκαν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐφαλίσαν ταῖς πόρταις καὶ ἐκουφερμιάσαν ἕναν παπᾶν, τὸ παρανόμιν του ὁ Μαντζᾶς· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐδιαφεντεύγουνταν, καὶ οἱ Φράγκοι ἐδυναστεῦγάν τους. Ἐγροίκησεν ὁ λαὸς τὴν ταραχὴν καὶ ἐτρέξαν νὰ ’μποῦν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, καὶ δὲν τοὺς ἀφῆκαν, ἀμμὲ ρωμανίστησαν. Τότες ἐπῆγαν καὶ ἐφέραν μία νευρίαν μεγάλην νὰ τσακίσουν ταῖς πόρταις, καὶ ἄλλοι βάλαν λαμπρύν. Γροικῶντα τὰ γενόμενα ὁ ῥήγας ἔπεψεν τὸν ἀδελφόν του τὸν πρίντζην,* καὶ τὸν ἀμιραλλὴν,† καὶ τὸν βισκούντην τῆς Λευκοσίας,‡ καὶ ὡρίσαν καὶ ἀνοῖξαν τὴν ἁγίαν Σοφίαν, καὶ ἐδιαφεντέψαν τὸν λαὸν, καὶ ἐσύρτησαν εἰς μίαν μερίαν· καὶ μοναῦτα ἐβγάλαν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους καὶ (πα)πάδες τοὺς Ρωμαίους, καὶ ὡρίσαν τους νὰ πολομοῦν κατὰ τὸ ἦσαν συνειθισμένοι· καὶ τὸν ληγάτον ὡρίσαν τὸν ναὺκαιρέσῃ τὸ νησίν· καὶ εἰς τούτην τὴν στράτην ἔπαψεν τὸ σκάνταλον· καὶ ὅσους ἐκουφερμίασεν, ἐρρίψαν τὸ παπάκιν, καὶ ἐπτύσαν το.

* Jean de Lusignan, Prince of Antioch. † Jean de Sur, Admiral of Cyprus.
‡ Henri de Giblet, Vicomte of Nikosia (?)

the legate, an idea he was most unwilling they should form; that, where religion was concerned, it was difficult to single out individual offenders; and that it was wiser to ignore what had been done, since any punishment would be regarded by the Greeks merely as an attack upon their faith. With this answer the meddlesome ecclesiastic had to be content and to pocket the affront offered to him, since he saw that any insistence on his part would only have exposed him to the indignity of further refusals.

His conduct during the plague at Famagusta.

Raynald., ad ann. 1361, No. 9.

In justice to the memory of this sincere and whole-hearted bigot mention should be made of the services which he is reported to have rendered Cyprus during an epidemic of the plague. While that fell disease was raging at Famagusta, carrying off daily from thirty to forty victims, the legate, heedless of the risks he ran, visited the death-stricken town and by his example instilled courage into the survivors. To avert the just anger of Heaven, which in his opinion had sent this affliction upon the inhabitants in punishment for their sins, he organised a solemn procession, ordering those desirous of taking part in it to come barefooted and to prepare themselves by previous fasting. On the day appointed the legate, clad in his episcopal robes, marshalled the procession, and so worked on the populace by the fervour of his exhortations that not only Christians, but also Turks, Saracens and Jews, moved to tears by the power of his words, walked barefooted with the rest. Scarcely was the function ended when its benefits became at once apparent. Though the sick and moribund were then lying about the city in scores of places, the ravages of the plague immediately ceased and no more deaths occurred. And what made the miracle the more remarkable was the fact that the moon was then in her last quarter, a period, according to the worthy Chancellor, when in the experience of medical men few patients recover.[1]

Date of death and place of sepulture.

Raynald., ad ann. 1366, No. 18.

This favourite of Heaven died at Famagusta on 6th January 1366 from a wound, received at the capture of Alexandria, and was buried in the church belonging to his order in that town.[2] His last request was that his body might be laid at the entrance

[1] "Quodque miraculum effecit majus, revolutionem luna peragebat, et tunc pro medicorum sententia pauci solent evadere.

[2] Strambaldi, however, reports his death to have occurred at Rhodes. Strambaldi, p. 69.

"Et andò anche il legato a Rhodi e morse," while Machæra represents it to have taken place at Famagusta on 6th June 1366, "καὶ ἀπόθανεν τῇ ϛ' Ἰουνίου τξϛ' Χριστοῦ. Machæra, p. 131.

to the choir, so that all, even goats and dogs, if it were possible, might have a chance of walking over it. Even after death the power of working miracles, which had so distinguished him during life, did not desert him. His holy body is reported to have remained limp to the touch and to have exhaled a most agreeable odour, while the schismatics, who once thirsted for his blood, now paid the greatest veneration to his sacred remains.

## CHAPTER III.

THE failure of Pierre de Thomas seems to have at last taught the Papacy the uselessness of all further attempts at forcible conversion. Henceforth it had recourse to other expedients. By the mouth of a crazy Swedish saint, named Bridget,[1] it now threatened the Orthodox for their stubbornness with the wrath of Heaven instead. This visionary claimed to have received at Jerusalem a special revelation of impending judgment against Cyprus. This message of doom she first communicated by letter to the new King, Pierre II., and subsequently herself publicly proclaimed in Famagusta, when on her way home. After representing the Saviour as warning the inhabitants generally to repent, under the threat of wiping them out and introducing in their stead more faithful Christians, she further makes Him address the refractory Greeks as follows: "I have only one Vicar upon Earth, the Supreme Pontiff at Rome. They, who from pride or other worldly sins are disobedient to him, shall be unworthy of My presence after death. Learn, O ye Greeks, that neither your empire, nor the rest of your powers, shall continue in safety and peace, but shall always be exposed to the attacks of enemies, unless ye hasten with repentance to the Roman Church, and conform entirely to its laws and teaching." But the Orthodox remained as impervious to these spiritual terrors as they had previously been to more material ones. The learned Dositheos, by his contemptuous reference to them as the work of a schismatic and ventriloquist, represents the view always held by his Church with regard to these predictions.[2]

Change of policy on the part of the Papacy.

Revelation of St. Bridget.

Acta Sanctorum (8th Oct.).

Raynald., ad ann. 1374, No. 4.

Loredano, lib. viii., p. 439.

Dositheos' opinion of St. Bridget, and the value of her revelations.

[1] Bridget, who was of the royal blood of Sweden, and had been married to Ulf, Prince of Nericia, lived chiefly at Rome from the jubilee of 1350 until her death in 1373. She founded an order which had its chief seat at Wadstena, in Sweden. In the headship of this she was succeeded by her daughter St. Catharine. Bridget was canonised by Boniface IX. Attempts were made to procure from the Council of Basle and from Eugenius IV. a formal authorisation of her prophecies, but no decided step was taken in consequence.

Robertson, Hist. of the Christ. Ch., vol. vii., p. 190, Note g.

[2] *πρόβλημα Λατίνων τρίτον, ὅτι Βριγίτῃ τινὶ γυναικὶ σχισματικῇ καὶ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ ἀπεκαλύφθη ὁ ἀφανισμὸς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ῥωμάνων, κ.τ.λ.*

Dositheos, Διατεκαβιβ, lib. xi., c. 1, sec. iii., pp. 1150-51.

He charges Bridget with falsehood, if she really uttered them, unless they were, as he supposed, a fiction of the Romanists. They at any rate, he declares, had no cause for elation, since the fact that the divine intimation had been confided to a woman was a clear proof that they had not one godly man left among them. Claims, too, to supernatural revelations were a very common device, he remarks, of the heretics Sabellius and Marcellus to subvert orthodox teaching. The doctrine of the Pope's supremacy was an innovation, diametrically opposed both to Scripture and ecclesiastical history. The Eastern Communion, moreover, placed its reliance on the Scriptures and the Councils rather than on revelations and miracles—and least of all when proceeding from a woman, who was both a schismatic and manifestly untruthful.

The Papacy anxious for the fidelity of its own adherents in Cyprus.

But the attention of the Papacy soon became directed to a subject more nearly concerning itself. A movement, natural and inevitable when we consider the circumstances under which it arose, now threatened to destroy its hold upon the allegiance of its own adherents in the island.

Causes giving rise to this anxiety.

The last of those remarkable religious enterprises known as the Crusades had resulted in the death of St. Louis before Tunis (25th Aug., 1270), and the ignominious retreat of the French chivalry. Acre, the only stronghold possessed by the Christians on the soil of Palestine, had been captured by the victorious Khalil twenty years later. In vain did the Popes urge the faithful to arm for the recovery of their former conquests, and promise the rich rewards of Paradise to all, who would risk life and fortune in such a venture. Their appeals failed to arouse that enthusiasm which they had once so easily evoked. Europe, after two centuries of fruitless endeavour, had grown weary of pouring her blood and treasure into the thirsty sands of Syria. So long as Cyprus continued to serve as the base, whence the armies of the Cross went forth to do battle with the infidel, the mutual antipathy of the Easterns and Westerns remained as strong as ever. Each fresh arrival from the West helped to keep up that racial animosity which, while it lasted, prevented all possibility of a fusion. But with the abandonment of the Crusades a new era commenced. Cyprus having now lost that importance, which it once possessed, ceased to attract to its shores the more adventurous spirits of the West. The Latin settlers, thus cut off in great measure from intercourse with their brethren outside, became insensibly drawn towards those whom they had once looked down upon and despised.

The situation appears to have been very similar to that created in England at an earlier period, when the Norman aristocracy severed connection with their ancestral homes in France. There force of circumstances compelled them at last to amalgamate with their once-despised Saxon serfs. And the same forces, now at work in Cyprus, would have produced a similar result but for circumstances acting from without, which suddenly arrested the growth of the national sentiment before it had time to mature. That the Roman Church had for some time recognised the danger to herself of the growing tendency, and had done her best to combat it, is very evident.[1] Witness in support of this statement the Constitution of Archbishop Philip, passed at Nikosia in 1350, which contained two important clauses designed for that very purpose. The first, directed against mixed marriages, which were recognised as the most obvious source of the dreaded danger, prohibited their celebration until the banns had been published on three several occasions according to prescribed form in a Latin church. Moreover, of the two contracting parties the one who happened to be a Greek, was required, before marriage, to receive confirmation according to the Latin rite. It was further distinctly declared that the children of such marriages were to be considered and educated

The Constitution of Archbishop Philip (1350). Labbe, Concilia, tom. xi. (pars. 2), col. 2439.

[1] 1. *De Franco contrahente cum Græcâ.*—Statuimus et ordinamus et in nostris constitutionibus scribi mandamus, quod de cætero nullus Francus audeat contrahere cum Græcâ, vel Græcus cum Francâ, nisi tribus edictis propositis more solito in ecclesiis Francorum, secundum formam per prædecessores nostros editam, cum ad invicem contrahunt Franci. Et quod teneatur mulier Græca, quæ contrahet, seu contrahere velit cum Franco, primo recipere sacramentum confirmationis more Francorum; et e converso si sit Græcus qui velit cum muliere Francâ contrahere, primo antequam ad contrahendum admittatur, confirmetur, et banna etiam proponantur juxta mores, ut supra: ita quod liberi ex eis procreati seu nati, pro Francis habeantur et teneantur, et more Francorum vivere debeant, super omnibus sacramentis recipiendis et perficiendis, et aliis quibuscumque negotiis per ipsos agendis et sciendis.

2. *Ut nec Græcus Franco, nec Francus Græco, ministret sacramenta*:—

Item statuimus et ordinamus, quod de cætero nullus presbyter Græcus, cujuscumque status et conditionis existat, audeat sacramenta ecclesiastica, vel eorum aliquod ministrare alicui Franco, nisi in casu necessitatis evidentis; et e converso, quod nullus Francus eodem modo sacramenta ecclesiastica, vel eorum aliquod ministrare audeat alicui Græco; nisi, ut præmissum est, necessitate cogente evidenti. Et quia præmissa consueverunt et solent inter Francos et Græcos plura scandala generare, viam quibuscumque scandalis et malitiis volentes præcludere, cum non simus sola præmissorum excessuum prohibitione contenti, una cum præmissis canonicis et capitulo nostro deliberavimus pœnam imponere, ut quos Dei timor a malo non retrahit, saltem coertionis pœna restringat; videlicet, ut sacerdotes et clerici omnes, qui ausi fuerunt contra nostras prohibitiones præmissas matrimonia solemnizare, vel sacramenta ministrare, puniantur pœnis statutis et declaratis in constitutionibus matrimonia clandestina prohibentibus: et laici excommunicationis sententiam incurrant ipso facto.

as Latins, and to receive the sacraments in accordance with the rites of that Church. The second forbade any Greek priest to administer the sacraments to a Latin, except in cases of urgent necessity; and the same prohibition was extended to Latin ecclesiastics administering to Greeks, unless for similar reasons. All clerical offenders against this regulation, as well as all who ventured to celebrate marriages contrary to these statutes, were declared liable to the penalty pronounced against those performing clandestine marriages; while all lay persons assisting in the commission of such offences were threatened *ipso facto* with excommunication.

Letter of Urban V., 29th May, 1368. Cart. S. Sophia, No. 131 (H. de Chyp. iii., pp. 757-8).

The futility of these measures is fully exposed, however, in the letter which Urban V. addressed to the Archbishop, Raymond de la Pradèle,[1] from Montefiascone on 29th May, 1368. In it he informs the Latin metropolitan that the King, Pierre I., who was then on a visit to the Papal Court at Avignon, had charged his Latin subjects with two serious offences, which he requested him, as Supreme Head of the Church, to correct. The first was that a great many of the inhabitants of the capital, both nobles and burgesses, had, to the prejudice of ecclesiastical order and the interests of the See, abandoned public worship in the Cathedral for the services which they had instituted in their own private houses instead. But in the second and far more serious accusation complaint was made that numbers of females of all classes, though nominally members of the Roman Communion, were in the habit of attending the Greek services to the detriment of their own faith. As a remedy against these abuses the Pope charges the Archbishop, by virtue of his canonical obedience and under penalty of excommunication in the event of failing to do so, to use all his powers to compel all such offenders, not only in the capital, but everywhere throughout the island, to attend the services of their own proper churches. In case of disobedience he was instructed to invoke the assistance of the royal authority to ensure compliance with these orders.

Origin of the war between Cyprus and Genoa. Machæra, p. 215.

Shortly after the accession of Pierre II. occurred an event which we may justly regard as the primary cause of all the subsequent misfortunes that befell the island. In October 1372 he

[1] This is only a conjecture, as unfortunately the Pope does not mention him by name. He is regarded by De Mas Latrie as the immediate successor on the archiepiscopal throne of Philippe de Chambarlhac, who died in June, 1361. The date of his death is not known, but documentary evidence proves that he was no longer alive in 1382.

received, according to custom, at Famagusta the crown of Jerusalem.[1] That town then contained within its walls many natives of Genoa and Venice, attracted thither by the commerce of the place. The rivalry, which prevailed between the citizens of these two enterprising republics, led, as is well known, to frequent collisions. And just such an opportunity for the display of national animosity now presented itself. As the procession was returning from the cathedral a dispute arose between the consuls of the two communities for the honour of holding the right rein of the King's horse.[2] The Venetian seized it, despite the protests of the Genoese, who claimed it as his by ancient privilege.[3] To put a stop to the quarrel, which every moment threatened to become more serious, the King's uncle, Jean,[4] Prince of Antioch, drove away the disputants and, taking the right rein himself, gave the left to the Seigneur of Tyre. But, though bloodshed was thus averted, the angry feelings en-

Strambaldi, p. 131.

Amadi, p. 432.

F. Boustron. lib. iii., p. 288.

Loredano, lib. viii., p. 445 sq.

[1] The sovereigns of Cyprus at their coronation were accustomed to receive the crowns of Cyprus and Armenia in the Cathedral of Santa Sophia at Nikosia, and the crown of Jerusalem in the Cathedral of St. Nicolas at Famagusta.

[2] Æneas Sylvius, as the following extract shows, most erroneously represents the *fracas* as having occurred during the reign of Jacques I., at a banquet which was accustomed to be held annually.

"Post varias successiones regnum ad duos fratres pervenit, quorum alter nomine Petrus (Pierre I.).—Hic multo postea, ut nulla reperitur sancta regni societas, a fratre interfectus est (Jacques I.), et regnum ad occisorem delatum, cui nec longa quies, neque impune parricidium cessit. Cum sollenne convivium instituisset, quod annis singulis instruere mos erat, dira calamitas obtigit," etc."

The same writer among other historical inaccuracies makes the Genoese invasion to have taken place during the reign of Jacques, instead of during that of his nephew and predecessor, Pierre II., whom he completely ignores, while he repeats the now generally discredited story that Jacques was privy to the murder of his brother, Pierre I.

Cf. Amadi, p. 425.

[3] Loredano, as a Venetian, seems to have sacrificed truth to patriotism in his account of what occurred. He grossly misrepresents the Genoese as having caused the offence, which occasioned the subsequent affray: "Cedevano sempre li consoli Genovesi in tutte le funtioni e nella coronatione dei rè, senza pretensione e senza contrasto il luogo ai Venetiani". All the local chroniclers, however, without exception, state that the privilege of holding the right rein of the King's horse on such occasions belonged by right to the Genoese.

[4] Jean de Lusignan was created Prince of Antioch and Constable of Cyprus by his father, Hugues IV., at the same time that he caused his eldest son Pierre (I.) to be crowned King of Cyprus (24th Nov., 1358).

Amadi, p. 406.

Machæra declares that the right rein was jointly held by the Prince of Antioch and the Seneschal of Cyprus (ὁ συνεσκάρδος), who at this time was Jacques de Lusignan, afterwards Jacques I., another son of Hugues IV., and also an uncle of the King, while the Seigneur d'Arsur took the left.

Amadi also states that the holder of the left rein was the Seigneur d'Arsur, who would have been Philippe d'Ibelin, lieutenant of the seneschal, Jacques de Lusignan.

gendered by the incident still remained, and required very little to rouse them into action. Unfortunately the necessary provocation was not long forthcoming. At the banquet held after the ceremony the Genoese and Venetians were, by the king's orders, assigned places on his right and left respectively. There the hatred of these belligerent guests found expression in mutual insults and defiances. Pierre had scarcely retired, on the conclusion of the entertainment, when three of the Genoese rushed upon the Venetians, who were compelled to draw their swords in self-defence. Others of the assailants, who were standing outside, hearing the sounds of the affray, rushed up the stairs of the palace to the assistance of their compatriots, but were disarmed by the guards. Some of the nobles, on news of the *fracas* reaching them, hurried to the scene of disorder and, seeing swords drawn and men trying to force their way into the royal chamber, ordered the troops to arrest the rioters. In the scuffle, which ensued, four of the Genoese were killed. The rest taking to flight were pursued, and such as were captured were thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had taken refuge. The mob, by this time thoroughly excited against the Genoese, whom they had long hated for their pride and avarice, rushed off to the consulate and, after burning the archives, would have committed further damage, had they not been prevented. Genoa was not slow in taking steps to avenge the deaths of her slaughtered citizens. The king, foreseeing that war was inevitable, invoked the aid of Venice, but that state declined its assistance on the plea that its forces were then fully engaged elsewhere.[1] At length the Genoese fleet under its admiral,

Machæra, p. 216 sq. Strambaldi, p. 132 sq. Amadi, p. 432 sq. F. Boustron, lib. iii, p. 288 sq. Loredano, lib. viii., p. 474. Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii. pp. 320, 321.

Hist. de Chypre, tom. ii., pp. 359-60.

[1] The Signory was at that time occupied in the defence of its Dalmatian territories against Louis the Great, King of Hungary. De Mas Latrie quotes from the State archives the exact words, in which the Pregadi conveyed to the Cypriot ambassador, the Archbishop of Tarsus, their reason for refusing the assistance demanded (13th May, 1373). "De auxilio autem et favore respondeatur quod toto mundo potest esse notoria guerra magna quam habemus: que non est parva, consideratis personis que de ea se impediunt, ita quod opportet pro conservatione nostri honoris ut cum toto nostro posse attendamus ad illam."

The invasion of Cyprus by Genoa proved in the end most disastrous to that republic. Pierre (II.) de Lusignan, who burned to avenge the insults offered to him by the Genoese, after his marriage with Valentina, daughter of Bernabò Visconti, Duke of Milan, concluded on 14th November, 1377, an alliance against Genoa with his father-in-law and the republic of Venice. The latter state had a private ground of complaint against that city regarding the disputed ownership of the island of Tenedos. Genoa formed a counter-alliance with the King of Hungary, Francesco Carrara, Lord of Padua, and Marquarden, Patriarch of Aquileia. The war was prosecuted with varying success, until the blockade and capture of the Genoese fleet at Chioggia in 1380 by the Venetian admiral,

Pietro di Campo Fregoso, appeared off the coast, when the work of destruction and pillage at once began. The result might have been easily anticipated. Cyprus proved no match single-handed for her powerful adversary. Nikosia and other towns were sacked, and a crushing indemnity imposed upon the island, while Famagusta, the most important stronghold in the kingdom, was retained as security for payment. Thus did Cyprus experience the first of those successive blows, which, by weakening her resources, slowly, but surely, paved the way for her subsequent subjugation by the Moslem.

Machæra, pp. 221 sq., 233, 253, 277, 328.

Strambaldi, pp. 141 sq., 173 sq.

Amadi, pp. 439 sq., 454, 469.

F. Bustron, lib. iii., pp. 311, 312, 327, 332.

Loredano, lib. viii., pp. 455, 459, 466.

As time advanced the yoke imposed upon the native Church by the Bull of Alexander IV. proved more and more irksome. Its effect was to completely isolate the Orthodox Community in Cyprus. Through their forced subjection to the Latin Church they found themselves regarded by their co-religionists elsewhere as apostates from the national faith, and refused all intercourse with them. Their merchants and pilgrims were looked upon as excommunicated and denied admittance to the churches, more especially in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, while their prelates experienced the same harsh treatment also, because their elections had to be approved by the Royal Council and confirmed by the Latin bishops.[1] To remedy this state of things proposals were made at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the Cypriots for the definite union of their Church with the See of Constantinople. They represented as a reason why their petition should be granted that they had in no way deviated from the recognised standards of Orthodoxy, while they had always consistently refused to commemorate the Pope in their liturgy. This application was so far successful that in the year 1405 a learned and eloquent monk, Joseph Bryennios, was commissioned to proceed to Cyprus and by personal negotiation with the bishops arrange, if possible, for the liberation of the island

Disastrous results to the Orthodox of the Bulla Cypria.

Ph. Georgiou, p. 69.

Angelo Calepian apud Lusignan, p. 122 (a).

The Cypriots propose the union of their Church with the Œcumenical See.

Μελέτη περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων πρὸς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον Ἐκκλησίαν μελετηθείσης ἑνώσεως.

Bryennios sent to Cyprus by the Œcumenical Synod in 1405.

Vittore Pisani, virtually decided the struggle. Through the mediation of Amadeo VI., Count of Savoy, peace was at length concluded at Turin on 8th August, 1381. Genoa never recovered from the blow, which her maritime supremacy had received at Chioggia, and her commercial pre-eminence was gradually eclipsed by that of her more enterprising rival in the Adriatic.

[1] Esso Patriarcha (*i.e.*, di Constantinopoli) et li altri greci Patriarchi, masime quelli di Hierusalem, quando che li poveri Ciprioti mercanti et pellegrini andavano nelle loro Chiese, essi gli abborrivano tenendo li per excommunichati perche in Cipro davano obedientia alli Latini, et il simile dicevano imo di piu alli Vescovi greci de Cipro, perche erano eletti dal consiglio regale latino, et dalli Vescovi Latini erano confirmati.

His instructions before starting.

Church from the Papal yoke and its union with the Œcumenical Patriarchate. The instructions which he received before setting out on his mission were most explicit. If he should find that the Cypriot Orthodox acknowledged the Pope as holy and recognised the Latin bishops, communion with them was pronounced to be impossible. The conclusions, which the envoy was led to form from his investigations, were so unfavourable that no prospect of the desired union could then be entertained. Seven years afterwards, however, during the patriarchate of Euthymios II. the same question was again brought forward by the island bishops. This time they professed a readiness to place themselves entirely at the disposal of the Œcumenical See, and promised implicitly to carry out its behests. The Synod seemed favourably disposed towards their suit until the appearance on the scene of Bryennios, whose urgent representations led it to again declare the proposal impossible. The speech which he delivered on the occasion, before the assembly in the Church of the Eternal Wisdom on 17th March, 1412, contains a series of arguments against the measure, which may be condensed as follows.[1] The hostility of the orator is apparent even in the opening sentences of his address. After inquiring what advantage was likely to accrue to the Church of Constantinople from admitting the Cypriots to communion, he charges them with seeking union with the Orthodox, while at the same time desiring to retain all those outward marks of compliance, which they were obliged to render to the Latins. This compact, moreover, was to be kept secret lest, forsooth, their tyrants, on hearing of it, should compel them to forswear even the small remnant of Orthodoxy they still seemed to possess. The result of such an agreement would be, not to unite the Cypriot Church to the Œcumenical, but to secretly subject the Patriarch and his people to the Bishop of Rome, since the latter has never required the Orthodox to do more than to acknowledge him as holy, and to join in worship with his adherents. But such a profession of faith, secret or public, and such a voluntary co-subjection of a free Church with an enslaved has never been recorded in history. The Orthodox

Bryennios' report hostile to the Cypriot proposals, which were consequently rejected.

Proposals renewed in 1412.

Again rejected on the advice of Bryennios.

περιγραφὴ τῆς Κύκκου μονῆς, p. 31.

Precis of Bryennios' speech in Hagia Sophia on 17th March, 1412.

[1] This speech is included in an edition of the extant works of Bryennios printed at Leipsic in 1768 under the following title :—

Ἰωσὴφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὑρεθέντα ἀξιώσει τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου πρῴην ἡγεμόνος Μολδοβλαχίας κυρίου, κυρίου Γρηγορίου Ἀλεξάνδρου Γκίκα, Βοεβόδα, δι' ἐπιμέλειας Εὐγενίου διακόνου τοῦ Βουλγάρεως, ἤδη τὸ πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθέντα. Ἐν Λειψίᾳ Σαξονίας ἐν τῇ Τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Βρειτκόπφ, ἔτει α,ψξη'.

Church has never stooped or yielded to force, nor will it consent to unite with those who have, lest it imperceptibly lose its freedom also, and in its anxiety to extricate others be itself dragged down by them into the pit of slavery. Besides, how can the Cypriots promise to bestow upon the Church of Constantinople and guarantee that independence, which, whether by force or by consent, they have already lost themselves? We here suppose that there exists one autonomous ecclesiastical authority in Cyprus, while in reality there are as many of these authorities as there are bishops, since each of the four Orthodox prelates, though subject to his own immediate Latin superior, is independent of the others. Such a circumstance is a mark of schism and not of orthodoxy. But, if they plead compulsion as a reason for this state of affairs, this very excuse shows them to be unfitted for communion with us, for granting that it is against their wills, yet they tamely submit to it. Let them, therefore, keep company with Calabrians and Sicilians and all other victims of persecution for conscience' sake. Two hundred and forty years have elapsed since the Cypriots have bowed to the Latin yoke, during which period Constantinople has known forty-two Patriarchs and seventeen Emperors, yet to none of these did it occur to admit them to communion.[1] Shall we then now welcome to the ranks of Orthodoxy persons whom they passed by as unworthy of the privilege, as though we were holier and wiser than they? To do so would be either to convict them of excessive remissness, or to prove ourselves greatly devoid of sense. For his own part he would rather suffer a thousand deaths than see the Orthodox Church united to the Cypriot, which was no longer an independent community, since in many particulars it was subject to a foreign. How can there in fact be any real union when a thousand obstacles intervene, or how can there be any genuine Synod of the two Churches when the representatives of one must perforce be absent? To the argument that the Cypriot bishops do not materially differ from those of the Œcumenical See, since they do not expressly commemorate the Pope, he rejoins that they do worse, for they acknowledge him, both in writing and on oath, as most holy and the only genuine successor of Peter, the prince of the Apostles, while they promise for themselves and their

[1] The chronology of Bryennios is here somewhat at fault. The conquest of Cyprus by Cœur-de-Lion took place in A.D. 1191. The interval between that event and the delivery of his speech (17 March, 1412) comprises a period of 221 years only.

people obedience to him and the bishops, who are under him, as is evident from the terms of the oath taken publicly by each of them before his consecration. That this promise in itself amounts to a rejection of Orthodoxy and an accommodation with heretics is further confirmed by the procedure observed on such an occasion. The Greek prelates, too, with their clergy are compelled to present themselves at the services held in the various Latin cathedrals at the great festivals, when the chief of the priests reads the epistle from the ambon and the bishop the gospel from the steps of the altar, first saying to his Latin colleague, as our custom is, "Sir, bless this Evangelist," and then bowing to him as his fellow-minister and kissing his right hand. The bishops are also invited to the funerals and requiem masses of deceased Latins, while the priests have to attend all sermons preached on festival occasions, receiving pay for their attendance and participation in the service like their Roman brethren, as though no difference existed between them.

An additional ground for rejecting the application was to be found in the lax discipline then prevalent in the native Church, which was not due to outside pressure, but adopted from deliberate choice. Among the things enumerated by Bryennios as worthy of reprobation are the ordination of candidates who were known to have contracted second marriages, and the associating in worship with others who, after ordination, married again and had illegitimate families openly by harlots and concubines. Indeed, so widespread was immorality at this period among the Orthodox clergy that, according to him, there was no one in holy orders, who did not publicly keep a mistress during the lifetime of his lawful wife, as well as after her death, and also before marriage. Such persons as these venture to conduct the public services of the Church, and are permitted to minister in company with the bishops—the simple reason being that the bishops are just as great offenders themselves. In the administration of many of the sacraments they conform to the usages not only of the Latin Church, but even of the various heretical sects, which are scattered throughout the island. While Latins and heretics preserve their own rites and dogmas unaltered, the Greek prelates alone show themselves thus accommodating to the opinions of others. Despite all their efforts they cannot escape from their present degrading servitude, however willing they may be to do so, nor even after this contemplated union has taken place shall we be able to hinder the performance of any one of the observances, which

they are now compelled to render to the Latins. There is only one thing which it is within our power to do, and that is to unite with them in submission to the Pope. In face of this reflection all prospect of reunion must be abandoned. It will be urged in reply that the Cypriots promise, both verbally and in writing, to carry out all the orders of the Œcumenical See. Yet none of them will dare, notwithstanding, to come to Constantinople, when summoned, nor venture to openly proclaim themselves members of the Orthodox Church. And the truth of this statement is to be found in the provisions of the Bull of Alexander IV. which they dare not transgress, in spite of all their promises, for this instrument constitutes both communions in the island virtually one, under the headship of the Pope, as the speaker had discovered from personal observation when in Cyprus. He assures his audience that he would not hesitate to make any personal sacrifice, if he thought that this contemplated union would be of any real service to the Cypriots; but, since this cannot be, he warns his co-religionists to beware, lest, in their anxiety to save the former, they unwittingly imperilled the salvation not only of themselves and countless numbers of other Orthodox Christians, but also of generations yet to come. His hostility to the measure was not due to any personal motive, nor to malice, but solely arose from his anxiety to preserve inviolate the Orthodox faith. With this object he desired that the instructions, which he had formerly received on the eve of his departure for the island, should be strictly adhered to.

To the representations of some that this request of the Cypriots should be granted, so as to prevent their complete apostasy to the Latin Church, he replies that there is another consideration which ought to be taken into previous account, *viz.*, that such an act may be the means of inducing thousands of others elsewhere to conform also to Rome. This contemplated union has, as yet, attracted but little attention, but once it is established the case will be very different. Misleading reports will get abroad to the effect that the Œcumenical Patriarch, the Emperor, and all the Metropolitans of this See, with their suffragans, have, after a prolonged discussion in the Synod, at last submitted to the Bishop of Rome. And as for the Cypriots themselves, as soon as news of the union reaches the island, they will be regarded as traitors to the Latin Church and compelled to conform more rigidly than ever. The effect of this ill-conceived project will also be felt by the Orthodox inhabitants of Crete,

Rhodes, Lesbos, and the other islands, who will be forced to submit to the Latin bishops, or rather will avail themselves of this precedent as a pretext for a voluntary submission. And, what is worse, many, who are regarded here as the pillars of Orthodoxy, will go to Italy and swell the ranks of the Latin party, while legates glib of tongue and skilled in argument will be despatched from Rome to depict in glowing language to the Orthodox the joy of the Holy Father and the Catholics of Elder Rome at the tidings of their conversion and the union of the two Churches. And how will it be possible to contradict such statements? The synodical letters signed and sealed by the Patriarch and the Emperor will silence all denials. One of three things must inevitably follow, either the deposition and excommunication of those, who have appended their signatures thereto, or conformity to the Latins, or the rise of numerous schisms. The result will be that the Œcumenical See will be deceived, while the Cypriots will achieve an easy triumph over it, and the Orthodox elsewhere be filled with shame at the reckless and foolish way, in which they have been admitted to communion. Let them, therefore, remain in their present alliance with heretics, since all endeavours to rescue them from their position will only end in others being dragged down by them into the pit of destruction also. Their faith is the only possession still left to the Orthodox. Is it not enough that they have been banished from the East and West, from both land and sea, but must the devil, through the agency of the Cypriots, seek to deprive them of their religion also? But this attempt shall not succeed. Moreover, this present Synod is not properly constituted to decide such a question, lacking as it does representatives from the Syrian Patriarchs, as well as from Cyprus, while the majority of the Metropolitans should be present on so momentous an occasion, the matter in hand being one that cannot be settled on paper, but requiring personal discussion also. To those who would urge on behalf of the Cypriots that, as Christ did not reject one sinner who came to Him, in like manner so many thousands of Christians, when returning to the unity of the Church, ought not to be rejected, and that, if there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, how great will be the joy both there and on earth at the admittance of the Cypriots to communion, the reply might easily be made that God only receives the sinner, who repents of his sins, and that it is only over such an one that the angels of heaven rejoice. Why, even in the case of a man, who after the commission of some deadly sin wishes to par-

take of the Sacrament on confessing it, the bishops of the Orthodox Church cannot impart to him the awful mysteries until he has first desisted from his evil courses, even though he makes a thousand verbal and written promises to do so, since words without actions are of no value. Should any of them, indeed, venture to infringe this rule he is liable to the same punishment as the offender. And shall then so many myriads be received into communion, when they cannot refrain from manifest error? To do so would be both foolish and absurd. For if those, who continue in their errors, or who are unable or unwilling altogether to renounce them, are admitted, then it is high time to receive into fellowship Armenians, Jacobites, Nestorians and, above all, the Latin nations, as well as every profane person, robber and murderer, who still continues in his career of sin. Yet, if it can indeed be shown that the Cypriots are able to refrain, after their union with the Œcumenical See, from all those malpractices which have kept them apart for 200 years, why then let every one who refuses to receive them be anathema. But it is suggested that they should be admitted and tested and, if found to keep their promises, allowed to remain in communion; while, if they fail to do so, there will in that case exist a good reason for rejecting them. Suppose, by way of illustration, that this religious union with the Cypriots were to take place to-day and that within the next three months some Latin, as is very probable, should die in the island, will the bishops and hegoumenoi there, when invited to attend, as heretofore, the obsequies of the deceased with their Cross and clergy, be able to refuse? Certainly not. And at the annual festivals of the Latins will they be present, as they were last year and 200 years previously, or will they have the courage to decline when summoned? Why it is evident even to children that they will do as they are bidden. What need then of any such test, since it is manifest that, when confronted with the Pope's order and the King's command, they will be unable to refuse any of these customary observances? In fact the test has been already tried and signally failed. These very same bishops seven years ago, Bryennios remarks, after vowing by letter to carry out all the behests of the Church, when they met him in a Synod in Cyprus, were unable to perform any of the promises they had then expressly and publicly made. And just as they cheated then the Church of Christ, so are they endeavouring to deceive it now. Still, if a test is insisted upon, it should precede and not succeed this contemplated union, since, if subsequent to this measure, it would prove no

test at all, but merely a mockery and delusion. Otherwise, under existing circumstances, the proper course would be neither to admit, nor yet to harshly reject them, since in the latter case out of pure revenge they might of their own accord secede altogether from the faith; while in the former the Latins would immediately compel them to conform entirely, so as to destroy this union, the result either way being final separation from the Orthodox Communion. That suffering will certainly follow to the Cypriots from granting their petition is evident by reason of the close connection now existing between the chief Latin ecclesiastical and civil authorities in the island, where the brother of the King has lately been promoted to the archiepiscopal dignity.[1] This fact alone is enough to ensure for them the combined persecution of the Latin nobility and hierarchy.

The arguments conclude with the following impassioned appeal to the sympathies and prejudices of his audience, which is perhaps best given in the orator's own words. Who, after reading it, can wonder at the hostile effect the harangue must have exercised upon the minds of those who heard it?

"But that which is said to keep them apart from us, *viz.*, their acknowledgment of the Pope as holy, and the presence of Orthodox priests at the funerals and requiem masses of the Latins and at their public services, is it nothing, or does it in any way injure the orthodoxy of the Orthodox? Are you then willing, while the observances, which the Cypriots are compelled to render to the Latins, remain intact, for them to join in worship with us? Are you then contriving to secretly convert us into Latins? Do you not know that all great evils spring from trivial causes and so become great, and that error always originates from things which appear of no importance, and that from assenting to transgressions, which appear to be small, we come to be involved also in those that are great, and that there is a way, which seems to men to be right, the end of which leads to the abyss of hell?

[1] *Ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπακολουθήσει, καὶ πλείω, ἐκ τῆς πραχθησομένης ἀπράκτως ἐνώσεως ταύτης, ὅπερ καὶ ἔφθην εἰπὼν, εἴπερ ἐγκαταλείψει Θεοῦ αὕτη γένηται· τοῖς δὲ Κυπρίοις σύγχυσις ἅμα καὶ διωγμὸς ἕψεται πρὸς δὲ τῶν αἱρετιζόντων ἐκεῖ, καὶ τῶν τῆς Νήσου πάσης Ἀρχόντων, καὶ τῶν Φραγκεπισκόπων αὐτῶν. καὶ μάλιστα νῦν, ὅτε ὁ τοῦ Ῥηγὸς αὐτάδελφος τῷ τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς τετίμηται ἀξιώματι, καὶ τῇ κοσμικῇ ἀρχῇ τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Λατίνων εἰς πάντα συνέρχεται.*

The allusion is to Hugues de Lusignan, third son of Jacques I. and brother of Janus, the reigning sovereign. According to Le Quien he was first placed in temporary charge of the archdiocese in 1413. But the evidence of this speech, which was delivered on 17th March 1412, shows that his connection with the See must be somewhat antedated. Hugues was promoted to the Cardinalate by Martin V. in 1426.

Is this nothing? Is that nothing? Are all things then permissible? Not so. Away with this pernicious counsel! May this opinion perish with those who commend it! We will not deny thee, beloved Orthodoxy. We will not play thee false, O religion handed down by our fathers! We do not separate from thee, O godliness, our Mother! In thee we were born, and for thee we live, and in thee we will be laid to rest, and in defence of thee, if need be, we will die a thousand times. We are the disciples of the Apostles of Christ, who say: 'He who associates with the excommunicated is himself excommunicated' and 'if any man pray even at home with an excommunicated person, let him also be excommunicated'."

Canon., Apostol. No. 11.

During the reign of Janus (A.D. 1398-A.D. 1432) another misfortune befell the island kingdom. For years previously the Cypriots had given great offence to the Sultans of Egypt by their patronage of the Catalan and other pirates, who preyed upon the Egyptian shipping.[1] These sea-robbers utilised the numerous harbours of the island as convenient lurking-places from which to make their attacks, and as markets for the safe disposal of their rich prizes. Their comparatively isolated position should have taught the Cypriots how necessary it was for their own safety that they should live at peace with their powerful Moslem neighbours. But the traffic which they carried on with the corsairs proved so profitable that they allowed their greed of gain to outweigh all considerations of prudence. For a time the Sultans had been content merely to remonstrate with the Court of Nikosia on the unfriendly conduct of its subjects. But at length the annoyance and loss caused by these perpetual depredations became so great that Melec-el-Aschraf, who then occupied the throne of Egypt, determined to retaliate, and equipped a powerful fleet for that purpose. He is said to have been incited as much by a desire to avenge the destruction of Alexandria in 1365 by Pierre I. as by any other motive. When too late the eyes of the Cypriots were opened to see the peril to

Cyprus involved in disputes with the Sultans of Egypt.

Machæra, pp. 383, 384, 385 sq., 395 sq., 403, 405-6, 408.

Strambaldi, pp. 267, 268, 269 sq., 277 sq., 282, 284, 285, 286.

Amadi, pp. 498 sq., 501, 504 sq., 509, 513, 514.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 356 sq., 361 sq., 363, 369, 370.

Loredano, lib. ix., pp. 563 sq., 567 sq., 578 sq., 584, 586, 589.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., pp. 321, 322.

[1] An account of the Mameluke invasion was composed by Khalil Dhahéri, vizir of the Sultan Melec-el-Aschraf Ebi-el-Nasr Barsebai, in the year of the Hegira 831 (A.D. 1427-8), scarcely two years after the conquest of Cyprus. It forms the fourth chapter of his eleventh book and was translated with the rest of the work from the Arabic into French by M. Venture de Paradis. The translation bears the following title: "Abrégé géographique et politique de l'empire des Mamlouks, composé par Khalil, fils de Schahin-el-Zhahiri (ou Dhahéri), vézir du Sultan Melik-el-Eschref Ebi-el-Nasr Bersabai, et traduit par M. Venture de Paradis, secrétaire interprète du roi pour les langues orientales".

Khalil Dhaheri (H. de Chypre., tom. ii., p. 506 sqq.).

which their conduct had exposed them. Every effort was now made to meet the coming storm. Nicolas, Bishop of Famagusta, was sent into the West to enlist the assistance of the Christian powers. But, though furnished with the recommendation of Martin V., he was able to effect very little in that quarter. In 1425 a hostile fleet of fifty galleys appeared off the coasts of Cyprus, which, after capturing and destroying Limassol, returned to Egypt laden with much booty. The following year a still more powerful armament of 150 sail was despatched thither, having on board a land army under the command of the Emir Tangriverdi-el-Mahmoudi. After again capturing Limassol the invaders marched into the mountains towards Nikosia.

First Egyptian invasion in 1425.

Second Egyptian invasion in 1426.

Janus, on hearing of their advance, left the capital to meet them at the head of all the forces he could muster. The two armies encountered one another at the village of Chierochitia, near the Vasilipotamo River. There a battle took place on the 7th July, 1426. Victory at first seemed to incline to the Christians. But, seeing their King fall from his horse and supposing he was killed, the Cypriots were seized with panic and turned their backs upon the foe. Janus himself was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance. Most of the nobility either shared his fate, or were left dead upon the field. Among the latter was the King's brother, Henri, Prince of Galilee. The victorious enemy continued their march without further opposition to Nikosia, which they sacked, bearing off an immense quantity of plunder to their ships. This, with the King and other captives, they carried away with them to Egypt. The news of the terrible disaster at Chierochitia threw the country into the utmost confusion and dismay. The royal family took refuge in the impregnable maritime fortress of Kyrenia,[1] whence the government was carried on in the King's name by his brother, Cardinal Hugues, Archbishop of Nikosia. Taking advantage of the general disorder the peasantry rose in various parts of the island, while an Italian soldier of fortune, named Sforza, formerly in the service of the King, tried to seize the supreme power for himself. But all these movements were suppressed without much difficulty. After a captivity of ten months[2] Janus at length purchased his liberty for 200,000 ducats,[3] with the promise of an annual payment of 5000 more, and the recognition of the Sultan as his

Defeat of the Cypriots and capture of King Janus at Chierochitia, 7th July, 1426.

Capture and sack of Nikosia.

Revolt of the peasantry.

Janus ransomed and Cyprus declared an Egyptian fief.

[1] Loredano says that Buffavento was the place of refuge.

[2] His captivity lasted from 7th July, 1426 to 12th April, 1427.

[3] Æneas Silvius mentions 125,000 pieces of gold as the price of his ransom.

suzerain. Thus, after an interval of many centuries, the Moslem's baneful presence again obtrudes itself into the history of Cyprus. If we may believe the chroniclers many strange and startling portents only too clearly foretold the approaching disaster. A Christian lad of Alexandria on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land had a vision of three youthful warriors. These heavenly visitants informed him it had been their intention to assist the Cypriots against their Egyptian foes, but that they had been forbidden by the Almighty, as the islanders placed more faith in their fleshly swords than in Him. At Nikosia round the citadel and the palace the dogs had strangely howled, while the ravens and the owls had kept up a most persistent croaking and hooting. On the fatal Sunday, when the encounter took place, a dense mist had enveloped the whole country, and on the eve of the engagement a bright meteor, in the form of a great star, had burst over the Christian camp, causing great alarm.

Machæra, pp. 392-4. Strambaldi, pp. 275, 276. Amadi, p. 505. F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 363. Loredano, lib. ix., p. 580. Machæra, pp. 398, 403. [1]

In 1439 at the Council of Florence a final attempt was made to bring about the long-desired reunion of the Eastern and Western Churches. But the healing of the divisions, which had so long kept the two great communions apart, was more apparent than real. The proceedings of the Council excited the profoundest dissatisfaction among the Orthodox, who refused to recognise the agreement entered into by their representatives. The delegates on their return to the East were received with a storm of execrations, and branded as traitors to their ancestral faith.

Attempt to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Florence, A.D. 1439.

On the doubtful authority of Raynaldi we are informed that complaint was made in 1441 to Eugenius IV. by some of the Greek ecclesiastics in Cyprus on the subject of this Council. They represented that its decrees enjoining union between the two Churches were disregarded by the Latin clergy, who refused to allow them to take part in marriages, funerals, and other public functions. They pointed out that such conduct was likely to prejudice the lately-contrived union and to be productive of further troubles, and concluded by humbly petitioning the Pope to order the Latin prelates and clergy to no longer debar them from participation in such matters. The Pope, on receipt of this memorial, forwarded it to the Archbishop of

The Orthodox clergy of Cyprus complain to Eugenius IV. that its decrees were disregarded by the Latins. Raynald., ad ann. 1441, No. 6.

[1] Τὰ σημαδία δὲν λαλοῦν ψέματα, διατὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀποῦ τὰ δοκιμάζουν ἀγρανίζουν πῶς εἶναι ἀληθεία· οἱ σκύλλοι ἐγουριάζαν ἀπὸ καιροῦ, οἱ κωρῶναις ἐγουνιάζαν, ἡ κουκουφάδες εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ εἰς τὰ τειχόκαστρα ἐγουργιάζαν, ὥσπου καὶ ἐπῆραν τὸν βῆγα. Ὁμοίως τὴν αὐτὴν κυριακὴν ἐγίνετον μία καταχνία, ὅτι πάντες ἐχαθὴν ὁ κόσμος.

Rhodes with instructions to compel the Latins to comply with the decrees of the Council, and to admit the Greeks to communion with them. But the accuracy of this statement is open to considerable question. In matters of religion the Orthodox had never shown any wish for intercourse with their Western neighbours. All they had ever desired was freedom from interference. Besides, Greek interests in the island were now so prospering that they could afford to be independent. Men of their race were fast acquiring distinction in the service of the State, while their tongue was becoming, to a considerable extent, the official language and the medium of diplomacy.

But the Council of Florence, though it failed to secure the permanent union of the two Churches, had another effect never contemplated by its promoters. In the various Latin principalities scattered throughout the Eastern Mediterranean the adherents of the Roman Communion, who constituted the ruling class, had always formed but an insignificant minority. Divergence of religious views had hitherto served to keep them asunder from those, to whom for their temporal interests they ought to have been most closely united. When, however, Eugenius announced to the nations of the West that, as the result of the Conclave, the once-despised Orthodox were now not merely of one flesh and blood, but also of the same faith with themselves, it seemed to many of these Latin settlers no act of apostasy to abandon their ancestral creed for one, which by their own spiritual head had been pronounced so absolutely identical with their own. This tendency, which made itself felt within a very short period after the conclusion of the Council, called forth the most strenuous efforts of the Papacy to arrest its further growth. In 1448 Nicolas V. the immediate successor of Eugenius, felt constrained to write to the inquisitor and provincial of the province of Greece on the subject. By his own showing many Catholics had already, through the union of the two communions, deserted the Church, in which they had been born and nurtured, for the Orthodox rite. The Pope, while disclaiming any idea of condemning the tenets of the Orthodox, protests that it is not permissible to thus mix up the two rites—an act neither intended, nor sanctioned, by the Council of Florence. He, accordingly, enjoins upon these two officials, by virtue of their obedience, to take measures for checking the evil and to invoke for that purpose, if necessary, the assistance of the secular power. But the movement, so far at least as Cyprus was concerned, appears to have successfully defied all the efforts of the Papacy to stamp it out.

Raynaldi, ad ann. 1443, Nos. 14-19.

ad ann. 1444, No. 8.

Raynald., ad ann. 1449, No. 10.

So rapid, indeed, was its progress that, when Felix Faber visited the island, all distinctions between the two communions seemed fast becoming obliterated. He mentions with strong disapproval a case, which came under his own notice during his pilgrimage to Stavro Vouni, where the same cleric served both a Greek and a Latin Church. But the incident, together with his observations upon it, had best be given in his own words: "While we sat there (*i.e.*, in a Greek chapel in the village of Holy Cross), a clerk in orders came and said to us in the Latin tongue: 'What are you doing in the Greek Church? Here close by is a Latin Church of your own rite; it is there that you ought to pray and rest yourselves.' So we arose and went with him to the Latin Church. I found that this clerk was a monk, which however I could not discover from his dress, because he was covered with a camlet cloak, and that he was the parson of both Churches, both the Greek and the Latin one, and that in all respects he conformed himself to the rite of each; for on Sundays he first celebrated Mass in the Latin Church, and consummated it in the Western fashion with unleavened bread; and when this office was finished he crossed over to the Greek Church and consummated in the Eastern fashion with leavened bread. This displeased me much, and I held that priest to be a heretic of the worst kind, leading the people astray hither and thither: for the two rites cannot be performed by one and the same person; nay, hardly in the same city, because of their disagreement in many important articles. How can any honest man and good Catholic be a Latin and Greek parson at the same time? No one acts thus except to satisfy his avarice or his love of pleasure, for such men as this accept whatever is pleasant in either ritual, and renounce those things which are hard and grievous to be borne, whether they be in the one or the other. Many Latin priests transfer themselves to the Greek rite that they may venture upon marriage, yet at the same time they wish to enjoy the liberty of priests of the Latin rite, which is not theirs."

Evagator, F. Fabri. Palest. Pilg. Text Soc., vol. i., part i., pp. 199-200.

That this accommodating cleric was only a type of many among his fellows there cannot be much doubt, and that this indifference to religious distinctions continued to the end of the Latin occupation is evident from the testimony of Raynaldi. According to him when Filippo Mocenigo, the last Archbishop of Nikosia, assumed office (1560), it was a common thing to find within the same party walls a man, his wife, and children all professing different religions. This assertion, indeed, is amply borne out by what the historian Lusignan has recorded concern-

Raynald., ad ann. 1560, No. 91.

Lusignan, p. 79 (a).

ing the religious state of his own family.[1] Though he was himself a Dominican and eventually died as Bishop of Limassol *in partibus*, his brother Jean became a Basilian monk, under the name of Hilarion, and for his sanctity was proposed for the Orthodox See of Nikosia, while one of his sisters, Isabelle, took the name of Athanasia and entered the same order as a nun. His cousin Philippe was also a canon of the diocese of Paphos and Latin Archdeacon of Limassol, in which preferments, on his death, he was succeeded by his own brother, Jérôme.

Few, in fact, at this period adhered entirely and steadfastly to any one creed, but only observed and practised such parts of it as appealed most strongly to their own individual fancies. Thus a person, who on other days professed himself a member of the Orthodox Communion, would on Wednesdays, when the eating of meat was forbidden, follow the Latin rite, while *vice versâ*, Latin Christians, who on other days strictly observed the requirements of their own Church, would on Saturdays, when the use of flesh was prohibited, conform in this matter to the practice of the Orthodox Communion. Many Latin clerics, too, like their Orthodox colleagues, were married men, to the great scandal of their new Archbishop.

**The national sentiment strengthened by the marriages of Jean II.**

It was during the reign of Jean II., the son and successor of the unfortunate Janus, that the first great impetus was given in Cyprus to this new national movement. The consorts of the sovereigns had hitherto been sought in the West. His marriage in 1440 with Medea, daughter of John James Palæologos, the semi-Greek Marquis of Montferrat, was a tacit recognition of the altered condition of affairs. But this lady only survived the union a few months. Jean's second matrimonial venture was even more pronounced in its Hellenic tendencies. In the

Raynald., ad ann. 1458, No. 45.
Ibid., ad ann. 1459, No. 85.
Machæra, p. 408.
Strambaldi, p. 288.
F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 371, 372.

[1] Giovanni figliuolo di Jasone si fece monaco di San Basilio, et fù di una vita buona, et riputato Santo, per laquale concorse nell' elettione del Vescovado di Nicosia, et ciò fù contra ogni sua voluntà, et lo chiamavano Hilario, fatto monaco nel casale nostro detto Antifoniti, et fece una morte santa, come testifica il Reverendissimo Ragazzoni Vescovo di Famagosta.

Isabella figliuola di Jasone fù fatta monaca di San Basilio chiamata Athanasia.

Filippo figliuolo di Hettore fù canonico di Paffo et Archidiacono di Limissò, morto Hieronimo figliuolo di Hettore hebbe il Canonicato di Paffo et Archidiacono de Limissò, et altri et è al presente a Roma favorito da molti Signori et di sua Santità.

This predilection of so many of his kindred for Orthodoxy seems a sore point with the historian to judge from the vehemence, with which he expresses his intention of remaining in the Church of his fathers, *e.g.*, "Giacomo figliuolo di Jasone, presente scrittore, si fece frate di San Dominico, et persevererà insino alla morte con questo santo proposito".

following year he took as his second wife, Helena, daughter of Theodore Palæologos,[1] Despot of the Morea, and niece of the Emperor Constantine XII. This energetic princess soon entirely relieved her indolent husband of the cares of government. She is said to have been completely under the influence of her nurse, the latter being in turn controlled by her son, who thus became the virtual ruler of the kingdom. Orthodoxy regained much of its former importance under her patronage. Among her other benefactions to the native Church was the foundation of the monastery of St. George of Mankana, near Nikosia. During the whole of her career she showed herself a bitter opponent of the Roman Supremacy. Many of the Latins in consequence, observing in which direction lay the Queen's inclinations, professed the Greek rite to ingratiate themselves in her favour The Papacy quickly recognised that it had in her a most implacable enemy. Æneas Silvius, afterwards Pius II., describes her as being "clever and sagacious, an adept in Greek treachery, hostile to the Latin religion and an enemy of the Roman Church".[2] It was not long before an opportunity for a trial of strength arose between these determined foes.

Loredano, lib. ix., pp. 596, 597 sq., 600.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 322 sq.

G. Boustron, p. 413.

Helena Palæologos, second wife of Jean II.

Loredano, lib. ix., p. 598.

On the death in 1442 of Cardinal Hugues, uncle of the King and Archbishop of Cyprus, a vacancy occurred in the Metropolitan See. Helena, at the instigation of her nurse, nominated as his successor a relative of the latter, who was a member of the Orthodox communion, and requested the Pope to confirm her appointment. Eugenius IV., however, expressed his inability to comply with her wishes, as the vacant dignity had already been bestowed upon a more worthy recipient, Galesius Montolif, a man distinguished for his piety and learning. The Queen, accustomed to the most implicit obedience, was greatly exasperated at the receipt of this reply. She did not hesitate to imprison the envoy, who brought it, and would have put him to death, had not the Vicomte of Nikosia,[3] with the secret

Helena quarrels with Eugenius IV. on the appointment of a successor to Cardinal Hugues de Lusignan in the See of Nikosia.

Loredano, lib. ix., p. 601 sq.

[1] During the decline of the Byzantine Empire the two titles of Duke of Sparta and Despot of the Morea were conferred upon the same person. Theodore, the father of Jean's second wife, was a son of the Emperor Manuel II., and succeeded to the twofold dignity in 1407.

[2] "Ingeniosa et cordata mulier, verum Græca instituta perfidia, Latinis inimica sacris et Romanæ hostis ecclesiæ."

[3] This was not a title of nobility, but one borne by the chief civil functionary of Nikosia. According to the Assizes he had to be chosen from the feudatories of the kingdom and, under the Venetians, held office for two years. He presided over the Court of the Burgesses, and his jurisdiction extended to a radius of three leagues round the city, whence the district was called the Vicomté. He

Hist. de Chypre, tom. iii., p. 852 sq.

Raynald., ad ann. 1445, No. 20.

connivance of the King, assisted him to escape. An intimation was at the same time conveyed to Galesius that, though he might enjoy the empty dignity of Archbishop, he would not be allowed to take possession of the temporalities of the See. Galesius, thereupon, appealed to the Pope, who found himself placed in a position of some difficulty by this glaring act of defiance. He feared to adopt extreme measures lest he might, by doing so, alienate the Latin Cypriots, who had already shown strong leanings towards the Orthodox faith. So he had recourse to diplomacy instead. The settlement of the dispute was entrusted to two Cardinals, John, Bishop of Prænestе, and John, Cardinal Priest of St. Laurentius in Lucina. As the result of their action Galesius was temporarily appointed to the Archbishopric of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, while the administration of the See of Nikosia was entrusted to Giacomo Benedetto, Bishop of Orvieto. This prelate was instructed to threaten the King with the censures of the Church, unless he restored the archiepiscopal revenues, which he had seized. At length in 1446, through the good offices of Jean de Lastic, Grand Master of Rhodes, the King was induced to receive the nominee of Rome. De Lastic, taking advantage of the Queen's chance absence from the capital, presented himself at Nikosia, accompanied by Galesius and the Papal Legate, when he persuaded the weak-minded King to cancel the prohibition, which he had issued against the former's assumption of the See. Helena, finding that her enemies had outwitted her, sullenly acquiesced in the arrangement. But the Archbishop did not long enjoy his triumph, as he died a few months afterwards, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by his vindictive adversary.

The Latin faction tries to counteract the influence of Helena over the King.

The Latin faction, apprehensive of the hostile attitude of Helena towards them, endeavoured to find some means of counteracting the commanding influence, which she possessed over the King. As the readiest way of doing this they persuaded him to

was also the chief of the police and the "seigneur du nuit," in which latter capacity he exercised authority over all, both nobles and burgesses, found contrary to regulations in the streets two hours after sunset, whom he had the power to imprison or to punish with the strappado. It was his duty, moreover, to see that the town was well supplied with provisions. When he rode abroad in the streets he carried, as a badge of office, a gilt staff surmounted with two balls and was furnished with an escort of twenty archers. His lieutenant or deputy bore the title of mathessep or mactasib.* Famagusta also possessed, like Nikosia, a vicomte and his deputy.

* This is an Arabic title, "*matahaseb*," signifying "accountant". Conder. *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 173.

marry his only daughter and heiress, Charlotte, to some Western prince, through whose co-operation they hoped to restore the waning prestige of their Church.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 322 sq. Loredano, lib. ix., p. 608 sq.

The choice fell upon a Portuguese prince, John, Duke of Coimbra, grandson of John I., King of Portugal, who in 1456 became the husband of Charlotte. The expectations formed by those who had advocated the marriage were not disappointed. Soon after his arrival in the island he was created Prince of Antioch, when by his skilful management of affairs he made such a favourable impression that he was appointed regent. The Queen and her favourites now lost the power they once possessed, while the new adviser laboured earnestly to restore the Latin Church to the position which it had formerly occupied. But Helena was not inclined to suffer quietly the ruin of all her projects. To regain her lost influence she saw that she must remove her son-in-law, and bent all her energies to the task. By insinuating to the King how dangerous a rival John was fast becoming she so excited his jealous fears that he excluded him from any further share in the government. The prince, highly incensed at this prohibition, retired with his wife from the court. But he did not long survive his withdrawal from public affairs, dying suddenly the year after his marriage. It was commonly believed that he had been poisoned by Helena's familiar, her Greek nurse, at the instigation of the latter's son, who had fled to Famagusta, then in occupation of the Genoese, on the prince's arrival in the island.

Marriage of John, Duke of Coimbra, with Charlotte, the heir apparent of the Cypriot throne.

Loredano, lib. ix., pp. 611, 614.

G. Boustron, p. 414 sq. F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 373 sq.

John's suspicious death the year after his marriage.

There now appears upon the scene a person who, however much we may disapprove of his actions, is certainly one of the most remarkable characters that has ever appeared in Cypriot history. His abilities were of so high an order that, with a wider field for their display, there is no saying to what eminence he might not have attained.

Jacques, the natural son of Jean II.

In the interval between the death of his first wife and the advent of his second Jean II. had formed an illicit connection with a beautiful Greek lady, named Maria, a native of Patras. By her he had a son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne as Jacques II. Shortly before his birth Helena, hearing of her condition, summoned the King's mistress to the palace. No sooner did she appear than the Queen, not content with heaping the foulest abuse upon her, even proceeded to kicks and blows.[1]

F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 372, 373. Loredano, lib. x., p. 598 sq.

[1] Helena was not the only Cypriot Queen, who thus avenged her wrongs upon the partner of her husband's infidelity. Éléonore d'Aragon, the second wife of Pierre I., treated in an even more outrageous fashion his mistress, Jeanne

Machæra, p. 164.

Indeed so ungovernable was the fury, which possessed Helena on the occasion, that she is reported to have herself bitten off Maria's nose, who from this incident became known as Comomutena.[1] She hoped, no doubt, by this savage conduct not only to alienate the King's affections from the mother, but also to endanger the life of her unborn child. But in this she was disappointed. From the very first his father conceived so inordinate an affection for this offspring of his guilty love that it blinded him to all his faults. Not so, however, with Helena. She never ceased to regard him with feelings of suspicion and dislike. As the boy's character developed she recognised in him a kindred spirit, and trembled when she thought how formidable a rival her daughter might afterwards find in him for the throne.[2] To obviate all such danger she resolved to devote him to a clerical life and persuaded the King to bestow upon him, when only sixteen years of age, the See of Nikosia, then vacant by the death (?) of Archbishop Andreas. But his subsequent career shows how vain these precautions were.

Lusignan, p. 60 (b).

G. Boustron, p. 415.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 373.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 323.

G. Boustron, pp. 415, 416, 417, 418.

Full of grief at the death of her husband, and nourishing feelings of revenge against his supposed murderer, Charlotte ap-

Amadi, pp. 419-420.

Strambaldi, pp. 92-94.

F. Boustron, p. 268.

Loredano, lib. vii., p. 402 sqq.

L'Aleman, widow of Sire Jean de Montolif, Seigneur of Choulou. During the King's second visit to Europe in 1367 the Queen, hearing of the intrigue, sent for Jeanne and, for the purpose of destroying her yet unborn child, subjected her to treatment so revolting that decency forbids its publication. Though she failed in her malevolent design she caused the child on its birth to be brought to her and made away with it. The wretched Jeanne herself was consigned to an oubliette in the fortress of Kyrenia, whence, after a year's imprisonment, she was removed to the convent of Santa Chiara at Nikosia.

Sakellarios, tom. iii., pp. 39-46.

The guilty loves of Pierre and Jeanne have inspired the mediæval Cypriot muse with a theme, in which the former figures as the King of the East and Monarch of the West (ὁ Ῥήας τῆς Ἀνατολῆς κὴ ὁ Βασιλέας τῆς Δύσης), while the latter appears under the legendary name of Arodaphnousa.

Du Cange, Glossar. Med. et Inf. Græcitatis, tom. i., Coll. 700, 929.

[1] Comomutena, Greek, *κομμομύτην*, accusative of *κομμομύτης* (*cf.* *κοντομύτης*), composed of *κόπτω* and *μύτη*, the same as *μύτις*, *μήτη*, *μίτη*, all of which are derived from *μυκτήρ*.

[2] Even from his earliest years Jacques gave indications of that masterful spirit, which so distinguished his subsequent career.

F. Boustron, p. 372.

"Quando fu il tempo lo mandava alla scuola a imparar lettere: ma lui era tanto fiero, et haveva tanta forza, che tutti li scolari erano da lui battuti ancorchè di età molto maggiori di lui fossero. Andava più volontieri a veder a giuocar di scrimia che alla scola delle lettere; ma dove trovava cavallo da cavalcare non lo dismontava se non lo faceva arivar sangue, ne si vedeva mai stracco per fatica che facesse; e se alcun scolaro gli diceva alcuna parola a lui spiacevole, o faceva alcun atto meno che honesto, guai a lui et agli suoi compagni, perchè non dormiva, se non faceva vendetta, tanto gli dispiaceva d'esser tocco dall' honore. Di modo che tutta la città haveva rispetto di lui, et alcuni cominciavano a dubitare di qualche grandezza, che doveva aspirare, vedendolo di si elevato animo."

pealed to her half-brother for protection against the insults of Thomas, who had now returned to Nikosia. Jacques readily promised his assistance. In doing this he was doubtless led more by considerations of personal interest than by any other motive. He saw that so long as this upstart Greek lived he would prove a formidable obstacle to his own ambitious designs. Accordingly, taking with him two Sicilian desperadoes, whom he could trust, he proceeded under cover of night to the Chamberlain's residence. On entering the house he ordered them to slay him, looking on while the deed was being done. The news of this terrible crime filled the whole community with horror and dismay. Jacques was deprived of the revenues of the archbishopric and, to escape the vengeance of his victim's friends, withdrew to Rhodes, where he was honourably received by the Knights. There he was shortly afterwards joined by one whose counsels and suggestions exercised the greatest influence over his after life.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., ut supra.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 374, 375.

Jacques retires to Rhodes.

Guillaume Goneme, for such was this individual's name, was the scion of an ancient Cypriot family and a member of the Augustinian fraternity. He had formerly acted as the King's confessor, but, through the hostility shown him by the Queen, had been obliged to withdraw himself from Court. Recognising the ambition and abilities of the young prince he quickly attached himself to his party, and continued his most trusted adviser until the latter's death.

G. Boustron, p. 413. F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 376.

Finding his sojourn in Rhodes becoming daily more irksome Jacques resolved to return to his native land. Accordingly, embarking in a Catalan vessel in company with his trusty friend Goneme and an envoy of the Pope, named Sulpicius, whom he had won over to his side while in Rhodes, he suddenly landed with a small armed force at Kyrenia on 1st May 1457 and marched the same night to Nikosia. His first act after scaling the walls was to proceed to the house of Jacques de Gourri, Vicomte of Nikosia, who, as the creature of the Queen, was one of his bitterest enemies. Suddenly bursting open the doors he rushed into the room, where his enemy was sleeping, and caused him to be despatched with repeated dagger thrusts. Another party of his adherents, under the guidance of the Papal envoy, at the same time proceeded on a similar errand to the residence of the Vicomte's brother, Thomas. But he managed to save his life by a timely flight. The tidings of this second act of bloodshed caused the greatest consternation. Meanwhile Jacques retired to the archiepiscopal residence,

Jacques returns from Rhodes, 1st May, 1457.

G. Boustron, pp. 419, 420, 421.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 376, 377.

Jacques murders Jacques de Gourri, Vicomte of Nikosia.

where, with a chosen band of associates, all fully armed, he awaited the course of events. Once again the misplaced affection of his father was allowed to come between him and the punishment he so richly deserved. The King, who at first made a show of bringing him to justice, suddenly abandoned his intention and a reconciliation was effected between them on the following terms :—

Jacques pardoned by the King for his crimes.

G. Boustron, p. 423.
F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 378.

1. A full pardon to all who had assisted him in his late enterprise.

2. The retention by his followers of all the plunder they had captured in the houses of the brothers Gourri.

3. The restoration to him of the revenues of the Archbishopric.

Henceforward Jacques became the most powerful personage in the realm. Warned by the fate of the Chamberlain and the Vicomte men hesitated to oppose him. But to the Queen this triumph of her deadliest foe caused the keenest mortification. The rage which she felt at the defeat of all her schemes brought on an illness, which terminated fatally on 11th April, 1458. Thus the last obstacle to the complete supremacy of the Archbishop was removed. The King's regard for his son became so extravagant at last that he is said to have intended making him his successor to the exclusion of Charlotte, the rightful heir. But, if ever he contemplated such a step, death overtook him (26th July, 1458), before he could carry it out. All the hopes, which the partiality of the late King may have led Jacques to form, were by this event completely shattered. Charlotte was immediately proclaimed Queen, and the first to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign was the formidable Archbishop. Though Jacques has been charged with great duplicity at this period, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his loyal professions. But his enemies were determined to destroy the good understanding, which existed between the brother and sister. Their constant misrepresentations of Jacques' motives were at last successful. The first serious indication of the change was an order from the Queen, forbidding him to officiate at her coronation. Such an affront was not to be tamely endured. The breach now became rapidly wider until at length Jacques, fearing that he might fall a victim to the malice of his enemies, resolved to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, quitting Nikosia secretly with a few faithful companions towards the close of 1458, he rode under cover of night to Larnaka, where he took

Death of the Queen 11th April, 1458, removes the last obstacle to the Archbishop's supremacy.

G. Boustron, pp. 426, 427, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 440.

Death of Jean II. 26th July, 1458.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 380, 384, 391.

The enemies of Jacques create suspicions against him in the mind of the new sovereign, Charlotte.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 386, 387, 390.

Jacques secretly leaves Cyprus for Egypt.

ship for Egypt. The quarrel between Jacques and his sister has also been otherwise explained.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 324.

It is reported that, when he petitioned the Pope for the restitution of his Archbishopric, which he had forfeited for the murder of the Chamberlain, Charlotte and her mother wrote to the Pontiff representing him as unfit through his crime, and that these disparaging letters subsequently fell into his hands.[1] But this explanation seems to be unknown to the local chroniclers.

Ibid., p. 323.

The news of the Archbishop's flight caused the gravest misgivings at Court, as it was rightly felt that his journey boded no good to the Queen. Jacques on his arrival in Cairo threw off the mask and showed that the object of his ambition was the throne of Cyprus. Presenting himself before the Sultan, Melec-el-Daher, he complained that, though the next male heir to the throne, he had been driven from his native land, and appealed to him, as suzerain, for redress. His appearance and misrepresentations so won over the Sultan and his courtiers that it was resolved to proclaim him King of Cyprus and to assist him in recovering his inheritance.[2] But an embassy which Charlotte sent to counteract the schemes of her fugitive brother nearly succeeded in its object. Fortunately the receipt of a letter from the Turkish sovereign, Mohammed II. threatening Melec-el-Daher with the writer's vengeance if he failed to support Jacques, caused him to adhere to his original intention. On the 18th September 1460 the fugitive, escorted by an Egyptian fleet of eighty galleys, landed once more in his native land. Everywhere the Cypriots, disgusted with the overbearing con-

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 392, 393, 394.

Jacques solicits the Sultan of Egypt to assist him to the throne of Cyprus.

Raynald., ad ann. 1460, No. 95.

G. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 442.

G. Boustron, pp. 443, 444.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., pp. 326, 327.

Jacques returns to Cyprus with an Egyptian army and usurps the crown.

[1] Per amicos apud Nicolaum Pontificem Maximum instat, ut ecclesiæ Nicosiensi præficiatur. Sed Helena et Carlotta contra nituntur, negantque sanguinarium hominem, et qui regnum seditionibus agitet, in ecclesiæ militia recipiendum. Litteræ casu a Jacobo intercipiuntur, etc.

[2] Among other slanders circulated against Jacques was one to the effect that he had renounced Christianity to secure the assistance of the Egyptian Sultan. The most malignant of his traducers was Pius II., who for private reasons cherished the bitterest animosity against him. This veracious Pontiff professes in his commentaries to give the very words of the oath of fealty taken by Jacques before his acknowledgment by the Sultan as King of Cyprus. But the absurd nature of some of the promises, which it contains, suggests grave doubts as to the genuineness of the whole, *e.g.*, "Quodsi aliquid horum neglexerim, ero apostata, et mandatorum sancti Evangelii Christianæque fidei prævaricator; Dicam Evangelium falsum esse: negabo Christum vivere, et matrem ejus Mariam virginem fuisse: super fonte baptismatis camelum interficiam, et altaris presbyteris maledicam: divinitatem negabo et Jesu nuncii humanitatem adorabo; super altari cum Judæa fornicabor, et sanctorum patrum maledictiones in me omnes recipiam."

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 325.

G. Boustron, pp. 426, 442, 444, 469 (*a*).

F. Boustron, pp. 392, 394, 411.

duct of the Savoyards, whom Charlotte's second husband, Louis, son of the Duke of Savoy, had brought in his train, received him with open arms and flocked to his standard. On the news of his approach Charlotte and her husband abandoned the capital and retired to Kyrenia. Jacques thus became master of the whole island, with the exception of that fortress, which, after a siege extending over three years (1463), was finally betrayed by the treachery of its commandant.[1] Charlotte made several vain attempts to recover her dominions. She eventually died at Rome on 16th July 1487, after bequeathing her claims to the house of Savoy.[2]

Raynald., ad ann. 1461, No. 31.

G. Boustron, pp. 474, 475.

Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vi., p. 301; lib. vii., p. 327.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 394, 432.

Loredano, lib. xi., pp. 725, 726.

Alleged reason for the hostility shown to Jacques by Pius II.

The first care of the usurper was to secure the recognition of his accession to the throne by the Court of Rome. For this purpose he sent two envoys to the Eternal City in 1461, one of whom was the Bishop of Limassol. But they were received with scant courtesy by Pius II. who was a warm partisan of Charlotte, and, after being reproached with their master's alleged apostasy from Christianity, ignominiously dismissed. The hostile attitude of the Supreme Pontiff has been ascribed by Florio Boustron, however, not so much to religious zeal as to personal pique. It appears that the Pope wished to give him one of his nieces as a wife, but that the King declined the proffered alliance on account of certain unfavourable rumours, which he had heard concerning her. Whereupon the Pope, being nettled at his refusal, wrote as badly as he could against him. But, remarks

[1] He was a Sicilian named Sor de Naves, whom Charlotte had taken into her service when she retired to Kyrenia in 1460. On quitting Cyprus she placed him in chief command of that fortress, which he surrendered to Jacques in 1463, after the garrison had been reduced to the verge of starvation, as is evident from the testimony of George Boustron. "*καὶ εἰς τοὺς α,υξγ' ἐστενοχώρησεν ὁ βὲ Τζὰκ τὴν Κιρινιαν τόσον πολλὰ, ὅτι πίον ζωὴν δὲν εἶχαν· καὶ ἔφαγαν καὶ σκύλλους καὶ κάτταις, καὶ ἕναν αὐγὸν ἔξαζεν ἕναν λοκοτίνιν*". (*a*) The price of Sor de Naves' perfidy was said to have been the hand of Charlotte, a natural daughter of Jacques, who died in 1469. The traitor stood high in the favour of the usurper, being appointed by him Prince of Antioch and Constable of Cyprus.

G. Boustron, pp. 426, 442, 444, 469. (*a*)

[2] She was buried in St. Peter's between the chapels of St. Thomas and Our Lady, with this inscription over her grave:—

Carola Hierusalem, Cypri et Armeniæ regina
Obiit xvi. Julii, Anno Dom. MCCCCLXXXVII.

[3] S'ha detto da molti malivoli, e falsi raportatori, che il re fece giuramento al soldan, e renegò la croce, et altre ciancie, le quali non solamente credette papa Pio II. ma le scrisse anco in mala forma: pur non si deve maravigliar alcuno, perochè il detto papa trattava di darli per moglie sua nipote, et il re Giacomo la rifiutò per alcune informationi, che gli furono date della detta novizza; onde sdegnato per questo il papa scrisse del re ogni male; ma quando havesse tolta per moglie sua nepote saria stato il miglior christiano del mondo basta che si conosce che Sua Santità scrisse con passione.

the chronicler, had Jacques only taken the lady as his wife, he would have been in the Pope's eyes the most exemplary Christian in the world.

In 1468 the King took a step which was destined to have most important results upon the fortunes of his kingdom. Among those, who stood highest in the royal favour, was a certain Venetian nobleman of ancient family, Andrea Cornaro, who had been created Auditor of Cyprus. He is said to have ingratiated himself with the King by advancing the latter large sums of money while engaged in the struggle with his sister Charlotte. One day, by design or accident, he let fall from a letter, which he was reading in Jacques' presence, the miniature of his niece, Catarina, daughter of his brother Marco. Full of curiosity the King requested to see the portrait, when he was so struck with the beauty of the lady that he resolved forthwith to marry her. Jacques' choice was not altogether influenced by the mere dictates of passion, but was swayed by motives of policy also. He felt the insecurity of his present position, exposed as he was to the frequent attempts of such watchful enemies as Charlotte and the house of Savoy. An alliance with the powerful republic of Venice seemed to promise him the protection he so much needed. Accordingly he despatched an ambassador to Venice to request the sanction of the republic to his marriage with Catarina, and to propose a perpetual alliance. For a long time that State had cast covetous eyes upon the island kingdom. Its possession could not fail to be of great service to her commerce in the Levant, while its valuable forests promised abundant supplies of timber for the construction of her fleets. In the person of Catarina Cornaro Venice recognised that she had to hand a convenient instrument for the accomplishment of her deep-laid schemes, and so readily agreed to the King's proposals. At a solemn function held in the Cathedral of St. Mark Catarina was invested with the emblems of royalty, publicly declared the adopted daughter of the State and presented with a dowry of 100,000 ducats. On the day appointed for her departure she was escorted by the Doge and Senate in the state galley, the *Bucentaur*, as far as Lido, where she was entrusted to a specially accredited envoy and accompanied by the Venetian fleet to her new home. In 1472 she landed at Famagusta, where she was received by the King, nobles, and people with the utmost enthusiasm. Her beauty excited such universal admiration that it was said Venus had returned to her favourite isle. But the married life of Jacques was fated to be

Jacques marries a Venetian lady, Catarina Cornaro.

G. Boustron, p. 475.

Loredano, lib. x., p. 660.

Cf. Æneas Sylvius, Comment., lib. vii., p. 324.

Loredano, lib. xi., pp. 728, 730, 733, 734.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 433.

Lusignan, p. 72 (a).

Death of Jacques 6th July, 1473.

of short duration. On 6th July in the following year he died at Famagusta, after a brief illness of only nine days, in the thirty-third year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. Grave doubts were, however, entertained at the time that his death was not due to natural causes. Some accused the adherents of the dispossessed Charlotte with having poisoned him. They, to avert suspicion from themselves, charged the Queen's uncles, Andrea Cornaro and Marco Bembo, with being the authors of the deed. This rumour, which was credited by Sixtus IV. among others, acquired considerable strength from the strange conduct of the accused in not allowing any one to see the King after his seizure. Thus prematurely perished this most remarkable man, concerning whose merits his contemporaries were strongly divided. Some regarded him as a monster of perfidy, utterly without scruples as to the means he employed to attain his ends, while others held him in affectionate remembrance for his many good qualities both of heart and head. These latter affirmed that he had never appealed to arms until compelled to do so for his own safety and in defence of his own dignity; that, in addition to many other services rendered his native land, he had freed her from enemies, who had long held her in terror,[1] and that, though forced at times by circumstances to commit deeds of cruelty and violence, he held them naturally in the greatest abhorrence.

Suspicions excited by it.

Various estimates of Jacques' character.

Loredano, lib. xi., p. 732.

Shortly before his decease Jacques was visited by his firm friend the Venetian admiral, Pietro Mocenigo, who on hearing of his illness put into Famagusta with the fleet. To him the dying King confided the care and protection of his kingdom and successor. The management of affairs was entrusted to a council of regency, consisting of eight persons, among whom were his reputed murderers. Catarina was named Queen until the birth of the heir, which was shortly expected, and other provisions were also made for the succession in the event of his dying before coming to the throne.

G. Boustron, pp. 475-76.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 433.

Catarina proclaimed Queen Regent.

Increase of Venetian influence in the island.

The Venetians, who were already numerous and powerful in the island, naturally acquired increased importance from the fact that the crown was now in possession of a country-woman of their own. And she, too, was not long in showing where her sympathies lay. At the christening of the youthful heir to the kingdom, who was born on the 28th August of the

Birth of Jacques III. 28th Aug., 1473.

G. Boustron, p. 483.

Loredano, lib. viii., p. 471.

[1] The fortress of Famagusta, which had been vainly besieged by his father Jean II. in 1441, was surrendered to him by the Genoese on 6th January 14[illegible] after being in their possession since 1373.

same year, the honour of holding him at the font was assigned to the admiral, Mocenigo. This preference for her compatriots deeply offended the regents and Cypriot nobility.

Discontent of the Cypriot nobility at the Queen's partiality for the Venetians.

Chief among the malcontents was a small group of foreigners, mostly Spaniards, whom Jacques had raised to some of the highest dignities and offices in the kingdom. Their hostility to the Venetians was prompted by the fear they felt lest their influence and position, hitherto all powerful, might be endangered by the course events were taking. At the head of this faction was Louis Fabricius, successor of Goneme on the archiepiscopal throne, and brother of Jean Perez Fabricius, Count of Jaffa and the Karpassos. When the death of Jacques occurred he was absent from the island, negotiating a marriage between Alfonso, natural son of Ferdinand, King of Naples, and an illegitimate daughter of Jacques, named Charlotte. Seeing that he had little to expect from the Venetians he offered his influence in procuring the vacant kingdom for Alfonso, representing that it would be a matter of no difficulty. Ferdinand, the implacable enemy of Venice, grasped eagerly at the proposal. He was anxious, too, to remove Alfonso from Naples, since he was hated by the Queen and his lawful children. Fabricius, thereupon, returned to Cyprus, accompanied by a Neapolitan emissary with two armed galleys and a plentiful supply of money to buy off all opposition. His design was warmly approved by the members of his own party and by the majority of the regents, who were deeply incensed at the arrogant conduct of Cornaro. The reading on the steps of Santa Sophia of a letter from Sixtus IV., in which the writer expressed his surprise that Cornaro and Bembo had been allowed to usurp the kingdom after poisoning the King, brought matters to a crisis. Stung to fury by the Papal censures the Spanish party swore to kill the uncles of the Queen and set out for Famagusta to accomplish their vow. But at the last moment some, whose courage failed them, refused to join in the enterprise. The Archbishop, foreseeing the danger to himself should they now hold back, resolved to effect his purpose by stratagem. He feigned to have discovered a counterplot between Cornaro and Giovanni Visconti, captain of the Italian troops, whereby the latter on the ringing of the tocsin was to slay the regents and imprison the rest of the conspirators. On hearing this they resolved to assemble in arms and, at the sound of the bell, anticipate their own destruction by the slaughter of Cornaro and Bembo. Three hours before daybreak on the 15th November

G. Boustron, pp. 438, 489, 490-93, 512.

Loredano, lib. xi., pp. 743, 744, 745, sq.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. 438, 439 sq.

Plot to kill the uncles of the Queen.

the wily Archbishop bribed a servant of the palace to sound the expected signal. The foremost among the conspirators to reach the palace were the Count of Tripoli [1] and the Chamberlain, Rizzo di Marino.[2] While vainly searching for the Queen's uncles they encountered a Cypriot noble, named Paolo Zappe, a confidential adviser of the Queen, and her physician, Gentile, whom they put to death. The latter, indeed, for a while eluded his pursuers by hiding in the Queen's bedroom, but Rizzo slew him there at last, in spite of all her efforts to save him. Meanwhile Cornaro and Bembo were proceeding armed to the palace to ascertain why the alarm had been sounded. Hearing, however, of the murders, which had already taken place, they went to the house of the Venetian podestà and demanded an escort for their protection. But he refused on the plea that he did

[1] Jean Tafures was one of the most devoted adherents of Jacques II. He was originally captain of the vessel, which conveyed Jacques to Rhodes after the murder of the Chamberlain Thomas. He took a leading part in the assassination of Jacques Gourri, Vicomte of Nikosia. On the accession of his patron to power he was created Count of Tripoli and Captain of Famagusta and was nominated by Jacques, before his death, chief governor of the kingdom. He joined the Neapolitan party in opposition to the Venetians and was, in consequence, obliged to leave the island. In 1476 his family was also removed from Cyprus to Venice by order of the Signory.

[2] Rizzo di Marino, a Neapolitan, came to Cyprus after the death of Jean II. and attached himself to the party of Jacques. He accompanied the latter to Egypt and was subsequently appointed by him Chamberlain of Cyprus, being the last to hold that distinguished office. Nominated by Jacques when dying to the Council of Regency he proved himself a most determined opponent of the Venetians and warmly supported the scheme of Archbishop Fabricius to marry Alfonso, natural son of Ferdinand of Naples, to one of Jacques' illegitimate daughters and place him upon the Cypriot throne. He it was who played the most conspicuous part in the tragedy at Famagusta, slaying with his own hand not only Cornaro, but also Zappe and Gentile. To escape the vengeance of Venice for his share in these murders he was obliged to quit Cyprus, which he did in a Neapolitan vessel from Famagusta (Dec., 1473), in company with the Archbishop and others of his fellow conspirators. The republic, recognising in him a most dangerous enemy, placed a price of 10,000 ducats upon his head if taken alive, and half that sum if brought in dead. He was eventually captured in Cyprus near the Fons Amorosa on the western coast in 1488, while visiting the island in disguise, and conveyed to Venice, where the following year he was secretly strangled at night in the armoury of the Council of Ten. The order for his execution is still extant among the archives of that dread tribunal, dated 13th May, 1489, and runs as follow:—

H. de Chypre, tom. iii., p. 433.

"Volunt quod iste Ritius, infra terminum dierum trium proximorum, stranguletur sive suffocetur, per illum secretiorem modum et sicut capitibus hujus conçilii videbitur et ordinabitur, sic quod moriatur et anima a corpore separetur. Utque hujusmodi executio tam mortis quam sepulture sue, quanto fieri possit, transeat secreta, faciant illum reduci et poni ex carcere forti in turricellam, sub illa custodia que videbitur capitibus prefatis: cui in illo loco conducto, per unum ex secretariis hujus consilii, notificetur sibi presens deliberatio mortis sue, sed non genus mortis, ut possit disponere super omnia sua.

not wish to involve his government in any untoward event, which might occur. On receiving this reply they proceeded for shelter to the Citadel, the commandant of which was a friend of theirs. He declined to admit them, alleging that his orders from the regents were to allow not even the Queen herself to enter after nightfall. Soon afterwards they were discovered by a search party under the guidance of the Chamberlain and the Count of Tripoli, and slain.

Murder of Cornaro and Bembo, the Queen's uncles.

When they had time to reflect on what they had done the conspirators were filled with alarm for their own safety. They knew that Venice would not allow the murder of her citizens to remain unavenged. And they were disappointed, moreover, at the hostile attitude of the native population, who were averse to exchange the Venetian for a Neapolitan yoke. The unexpected arrival of two Venetian galleys in the harbour of Famagusta only served to increase their fears. To account for the deaths of Cornaro and Bembo they requested Catarina and the Venetian podestà to represent to the Signory that the former had been murdered by his soldiers for withholding their pay when due. The Queen, to gain time and lull their suspicions, feigned to do as they requested. At the same time they despatched an envoy to Venice to try and minimise, as best he could, the resentment of the republic. Having thus, as they supposed, provided for their safety the conspirators next proceeded to publicly announce the betrothal between Alfonso and Charlotte. But the arrival shortly afterwards of the Provveditore, Vittorio Soranzo, with a squadron of ten ships, the advance guard of the whole Venetian fleet, and his demand for the surrender of the fortresses of Kyrenia and Famagusta, at length opened their eyes to the dangers of their position. Observing that their adversaries were daily increasing in strength while their own party was gradually dwindling away, they resolved, before the toils finally closed around them, to seek safety in flight. Accordingly, after collecting all the valuables upon which they could lay hands, they embarked secretly one night (Dec., 1473), in a vessel placed at their service by Ferdinand and escaped from the island. Shortly afterwards the remainder of the Venetian fleet appeared off Famagusta. Its presence served to overawe the disaffected and to restore the Queen's authority. After taking such vengeance, as was possible, upon the authors of the late murders and stamping out the last vestiges of the conspiracy Mocenigo sailed away, leaving a squadron of thirteen ships under Soranzo to preserve order.

Alarm of the conspirators at the deed.

Loredano, lib. xi., pp. 748, 749 sq., 751, 753.

G. Boustron, pp. 495, 496, 503, 504, 514, 538.

F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 451.

Ibid., pp. 442, 445 sq., 447, 452.

Flight of the conspirators from Cyprus.

Venice virtual mistress of Cyprus.
G. Boustron, p. 540.
H. de Chyp., tom. iii., pp. 408 sq., 822.
F. Boustron, lib. iii., p. 453.

The republic was now at liberty to pursue her own schemes, without any danger of further interference. All those known to be hostile to her interests, or likely to cause trouble, were removed to Venice,[1] while Venetian commandants and garrisons were introduced into the cities and fortresses of the island. To such lengths did her preparations go that it was at one time even proposed to settle a colony of 100 of the Venetian aristocracy in Cyprus, to act as a kind of local militia.[2] But the project failed owing to the monetary difficulties connected with its execution.

Death of Jacques III.
G. Boustron, pp. 483, 529, 542,3 543.
F. Boustron, lib. iii., pp. pp. 454, 458.

The opportune death of Jacques III., the youthful heir to the throne, which happened in 1474 (26th Aug.), removed the last serious obstacle to the realisation of her designs. Catarina, it is true, was allowed some time longer to pose as the ruler of

[1] Among the number were the late King's mother, Maria, and his three illegitimate children, Charlotte * (to be distinguished from the wife of Sor de Naves), Eugène and Jean. They were interned for safe custody at Padua, where Charlotte died 24th July, 1480, aged twelve and three-twelfths years, while Maria survived until 12th April, 1503. De Mas Latrie asserts that Jacques' two sons died in that town also, but Lusignan's testimony seems to throw doubt upon the statement, at least with regard to Eugène. He represents him as having come to the island, in the guise of a Minorite friar, to recover his ancestral patrimony and, on being discovered, to have fled. But his language, which is perhaps purposely obscure, had better be quoted in the original: "Li altri duoi bastardi (*i.e.*, Ianno and Giovanni) vissero alcuni anni dipoi, et massime l'ultimo; il quale già 15 anni in circa era vivo, et l' altro fù spento in un canale, et si annegò; et questi alcuni anni innanti andò in Cipro vestito da Frà Minore, chiamato Frà Bernardino, era nobile ancho dalla madre di Casa di Flatri, et cercava d' impatronirsi di Cipro: ma essendo discoperto, si fuggì, et di questi poneremo silentio".

Navigiero, Hist. Venet. (Muratori, tom. xxiii., col. 1137, 1146, 1156).
H. de Chypre, tom. iii., p. 346, Note 3.
Lusignan, p. 74 (b).

[2] It was arranged that they should be distributed as follows: "Del numero delli cento, 25 habbino a star a Famagosta, 25 a Cerines, et 50 in la città de Nicossia". It was further enacted that for the period of five years, under penalty of losing their estates, they were not to quit the island on any pretext whatever: "No possano partirse de Cipro per cinque anni continui, sotto pena de privation del feudo, nè con licentia, nè senza".

H. de Chypre, tom. iii., p. 822.

[3] George Boustron distinctly states that Catarina's mother was the first agent employed in the work of persuasion and afterwards her brother Giorgio Cornaro, as the subjoined extract will show. Florio Boustron, however, omits all mention of Catarina's mother in this transaction, as does the despatch of the Council of Ten to Francesco Priuli, captain general of the fleet, dated 3rd Nov. 1488. The apparent discrepancy may be reconciled by supposing that Giorgio Cornaro was the official agent of the republic, while Catarina's mother was only sent to ensure the success of his mission. The date assigned by George Boustron to her arrival in the island, 1486, seems to strengthen this supposition, though the date he gives for Cornaro's does not agree with that of the despatch.

H. de Chypre, tom. iii., pp. 425 sqq. 3

"Καὶ ἡ ἀφεντία ἔπεμψεν τὴν μάναν τῆς ῥήγαινας καὶ ἤρτεν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, διὰ νὰ τὴν ποίσῃ νὰ πάγῃ εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν α,υπς' Χριστοῦ, καὶ μὲ πολλαῖς στραταῖς ἀποῦ εἶχεν

* Navigiero calls the daughter Carola.

Cyprus. But, though nominally Queen, she enjoyed in reality only the semblance of royalty. All the principal offices and dignities of the realm were in the hands of the Venetians. Catarina, who to all outward appearances quietly acquiesced in this state of affairs, was known to the authorities at Venice to be secretly impatient of the restraint to which she was subjected. As she was yet quite a young woman, there was a chance of her marrying again and leaving descendants to inherit her claims. There was always the danger, too, of her refusing to submit any longer to her present dependent position and inducing the Sultan of Egypt, her suzerain, and the nobles of the kingdom to take up arms in defence of her rights. So, to guard against these threatening contingencies, which would have marred the success of its own projects, the Signory resolved at last to drop the mask and, after removing Catarina to Venice, seize the island for itself. To compensate her for the loss of her throne it proposed to allow her to retain for life the empty title of Queen, with an ample allowance to maintain the dignity of her position. The agent selected for the the purpose was her own mother, whom in 1486 the republic sent to Cyprus to induce

Catarina a mere nominal sovereign.

Venice plots her removal from the island.

*νὰ ποίσῃ, εἶπέν της πῶς τὴν παρακαλεῖ. ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς Βενετίας νὰ πάγῃ νὰ ποίσῃ κανέναν χρόνον, καὶ πάλε νὰ στραφῇ. Καὶ ἐπρουμουτίασέν της νὰ πάγῃ· καὶ πηγαίνοντα ἡ μάνα της εἶπέν της—πάγω, καὶ πέμπω τὸν ἀδελφόν σου νἄρτῃ νὰ σὲ συντροφιάσῃ εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν. Καὶ ἦρτεν ὁ ἀδελφός της εἰς τοὺς α,υπζ' (1487) ὁ μισὲρ Τζόρτζους εἰς τὴν Κύπρον.*"

Considerable uncertainty also prevails as to the exact date, on which Catarina left Cyprus. George Boustron states that it was the 1st March 1488, *καὶ τῇ α' μαρτίου α,υπη' Χριστοῦ ἐμπῆκεν εἰς τὸ κάτεργον καὶ ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν.* The following inscription relative to the unfurling of the standard of St. Mark, which was found at Famagusta in 1873 or 1874, would tend to confirm the accuracy of his statement, if the date can be accepted as correct.

L'île de Chypre, p. 400.

Fran. de Priulis Venetae class.
Imper. Divi Marci Vess.
Cypri feliciter erectum est.
no. MCCCCLXXXVIII. 28 Febru.

This, coupled with what George Boustron has said, would fix the date of Catarina's departure for the day after the surrender of the island to the republic. But Florio Boustron gives the 14th March 1489, as the actual date of the transfer of the island to Venice: "E a questo modo fu redotto il regno di Cipro in provincia, del 1489, alli 14 marzo". Navigiero, however, reports that the abdication of Catarina and the unfurling of the banner of St. Mark in presence of Francesco Priuli took place at Famagusta on Thursday, 26th Feb. 1489. He adds, too, that the Queen did not quit the island until the 14th of the following May. Contemporary records show that she reached Venice on 5th June.

Navigiero, Hist. Venet. (Muratori, tom. xxiii., col. 1198).

H. de Chypre tom. iii., p. 432.

She was permitted to enjoy the empty title of Queen of Cyprus together with an annual pension from the Government of 8000 ducats for life. She died at Venice on 10th July 1510, aged fifty-six years, and was interred in the Church of the Holy Apostles in that town.

her daughter to go to Venice. At first Catarina refused to leave, but, on the understanding that she should be allowed to return, finally consented. Accordingly in 1489 she embarked at Famagusta for her native city, under the escort of her brother, Giorgio Cornaro.[1] She never, however, returned, as the Signory kept her instead in honourable exile at Asolo in the province of Treviso.

Catarina leaves Cyprus.

Cyprus passes under the flag of Venice. Agreement with the native nobility.

Lusignan, p. 74 (b).

To reconcile the nobility and clergy to the changes which now took place, the republic confirmed them in their ancient privileges and possessions, and promised to govern in accordance with the code of laws introduced by the first Lusignan Kings. It was further agreed that, while the customary imposts and tithes should continue to be paid as heretofore, no new taxes or burdens of any kind should be imposed. The administration of local affairs was entrusted to a lieutenant chosen from one of the noblest families of the republic and sent every two years from Venice. With him were associated in the government two other nobles called Consiglieri. These three constituted the Rettori, or Governors, of the kingdom, and resided at Nikosia. Another official, known as the Provveditore, was placed in charge of military matters, while the collection of the revenue was provided for by the appointment of two others, called Camerlenghi. These three also, like the Rettori, were of Venetian nationality.

Organisation of the local government.

Precautions taken by Venice to ensure the safety of Cyprus.

Evagat. Felicis Fabri, tom. iii., p. 229.

H. de Chyp., tom. iii., pp. 484-5.

The republic, true to that tortuous policy, which seems so characteristic of all her diplomacy, adopted the most curious precautions to ensure the safety of her new possession. Faber, whose two visits occurred shortly before the actual abdication of Catarina, declares that the Venetians purposely circulated false reports concerning the insalubrity of the island, so as to deter the princes of Christendom from attempting the re-establishment of its former kingdom. Emissaries were despatched throughout the country to visit the various localities and any whom they heard advocating the restoration of the ancient Kings, or finding fault with the present *régime*, were sent in chains to

[1] Giorgio Cornaro played subsequently an even more conspicuous part in the history of the republic. He twice acted as Venetian ambassador at the French Court. In 1503 he was appointed podestà of Padua, in 1507 purveyor general (provveditore generale) of Friuli during the war with the Emperor Maximilian. He occupied the same rank the following year at the time of the league of Cambrai, when he was promoted to the dignity of Provveditore of St Mark. In 1517 he served as purveyor of the land forces (Provveditore di terra firma), in 1521 he was candidate for the office of Doge. He died in 1524 at the age of seventy and was buried at Venice in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

Venice to answer for their language to the Senate. "In my first journey," he says, "when I spent many days in the island, I observed in the city of Nikosia a certain friar of our Order frequently riding through the city on a well-caparisoned mule, as though he were a bishop. When we re-embarked he came on board our ship, in company with certain of the Queen's servants, and set sail with us. He always came down to me in my cabin early in the morning to say his office with me, as he did not possess a prayer-book of his own. When I asked him where his own breviary was, with sighs and tears he told me secretly that he was a prisoner because he had, in a certain unguarded speech of his, alluded to the election of a King for Cyprus. For this he had been suddenly arrested and hurried on board the galley, nor had he been allowed to return to his house even to bring away his breviary and cope."[1]

Another of the devices Venice had in contemplation for the better security of this fraudulently acquired addition to her empire was the erection of a strong fortress at Akrotiri in the extreme south of the island. Thither it was proposed to remove the native aristocracy, of whose loyalty the republic was long doubtful. In such a place, surrounded as it was by the sea and, consequently, within easy reach of the Venetian fleet, it was considered they would be able to accomplish little mischief. But the project was abandoned owing to the scarcity of water in the vicinity. Lusignan, p. 8 (a).

The presence of these new masters seems to have had little influence at all upon the relative positions of the two Churches. Questions of ecclesiastical policy had naturally but little attraction for the merchant princes of Venice. Though indisposed to intervene in the disputes between the rival communions, yet by the terms of their agreement they were bound to support the existing order of things. Thus, though the natives were in many instances admitted to higher civil privileges, the domination of the hateful alien Church was still maintained. The Venice makes no change in the relative position of the two Churches.

[1] In prima peregrinatione mea multis diebus in insula degens vidi in civitate Nicosina quemdam fratrem ordinis nostri per civitatem in mulo ornato frequentem spatiantem, ac si fuisset episcopus, et in nostro recessu intravit ad nos in galeam cum quibusdam reginæ clientibus et recessit nobiscum. Semper autem mane descendit ad me in cumbam meam ad dicendum mecum officium, quia per se librum non habuit. Quem dum interrogarem, ubi suum haberet breviarium, cum gemitu et lachrimis occulte dixit mihi, se esse captivum pro eo, quod mentionem fecisset in quadam vaga locutione de rege eligendo in Cypro, propter quod subito eum rapuissent in galeam nec ei reditum in suam habitationem ad tollendum breviarium et cappam indulsissent.

Upholds the ecclesiastical policy of the Lusignans.

new-comers continued to conduct ecclesiastical affairs on exactly the same lines as their predecessors. The Roman prelates enjoyed no more licence under the Venetians than they had done under the Lusignans. They still had cause to complain of the leniency and consideration shown towards the Greek clergy by the authorities. The wretched peasants, too, who had been reduced to the condition of serfs by the tyranny of their feudal lords and regarded as of less value than dogs and horses, were delivered to a great extent from the thraldom to which they had been so long subjected, and allowed to purchase their freedom for a certain fixed sum. But in all other respects Venice observed that traditional policy, which governed her treatment of all her colonies. "If the gentlemen (nobles) of these colonies do tyrannise over the villages of their dominion, the best way is not to seem to see it, that there may be no kindness between them and their subjects; but if they offend in anything else, 'twill be well to chastise them severely, that they may not brag of any privileges more than others." If, however, the Signory hoped by such trifling concessions to win the esteem and allegiance of its new subjects events proved how greatly it had miscalculated. Centuries of oppression and contumely had so embittered the Greeks against their Latin tyrants that no amount of conciliation would now have removed the feelings of hatred which existed. The Greeks were resolved to be satisfied with nothing less than the complete removal from the island of the Roman Church, whose presence they regarded as an insult to their own communion, and a sign of their servitude, as well as the restoration of the native hierarchy to that position, from which it had been so unjustly deposed. To this of course the Venetians, as owning the supremacy of the Holy See, could not consent. Thus the Orthodox were led to seek elsewhere that deliverance which they seem never to have quite despaired of eventually obtaining. Their eyes naturally turned for assistance to a power which for years had been the terror of the whole Christian world. For centuries the Turkish Sultans had been advancing to fresh conquests. One after another the Latin kingdoms of the East, which the piety and valour of bygone ages had erected as bulwarks against the encroaching tide of Moslem fanaticism, had disappeared. Rhodes had been forced to yield (20th Dec., 1522) in the unequal contest after a glorious, but futile, resistance. Cyprus alone remained, the only outpost of the Cross in the Levant still unsubdued by the victorious Crescent. The storm, which at length burst over the

Grants certain concessions to the peasantry.

Paruta, lib. i., p. 6.

Finlay, Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination, p. 100.

The Orthodox come to regard the Turks as their only deliverers.

last fortress of Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean, had been long foreseen. But when it came the ease, with which it carried everything before it, was due not so much to the apathy and indifference of Venice, nor yet to the bravery of the Turkish soldiers and the skill of the Turkish leaders, as to the attitude of the native population. That thorough subjugation of the island, which centuries before it had taken the Latins years to effect, was now accomplished in the brief space of a few months. The Greek inhabitants everywhere readily welcomed the invading forces, once a prospect of getting rid of the detested Latins seemed really to have come at last. But they learnt subsequently to lament the part they had taken against their former masters, when they discovered by bitter experience that the Sultan's little finger was thicker than the Pope's loins.

Bull of Leo X. enforcing the decrees of the Council of Florence. Bullæ Beatissimi Papæ Leonis X. de privilegiis Græcorum, etc. Venetiis, apud A. Bartoli.

No ecclesiastical event of any especial importance seems to have occurred during the Venetian occupation, except the publication in 1521 of a Bull by Leo X. enforcing the provisions of the Council of Florence. After enumerating the concessions then obtained by the Greeks the Pope goes on to state it had come to his knowledge that the Latin ordinaries, in defiance of the Council, had endeavoured to suppress them. He, accordingly, reaffirms them and declares that the Orthodox were not to be molested for observing their ancient customs and usages. The Bishops of the two Churches were forbidden to admit to Holy Orders members of the opposite communion. In dioceses inhabited by a mixed population, where there happened to be no Orthodox bishop, the Latin ordinary was in all matters exclusively concerning the Greeks to be represented by a functionary of that nationality, either chosen by them, or at least with their approval. The same regulation was to be observed, too, in cases of appeal, where there was no Orthodox metropolitan. The Latin metropolitan was then directed to appoint a Greek as his representative in all matters affecting Greeks only. The Pope censures the practice of the Latin priests in forcibly invading the churches of the Orthodox and anticipating the regular minister in the celebration of the Mass. As it was customary among the Greeks only to celebrate once daily in each church this proceeding, he remarks, prevented numbers of them, to the great injury of their souls, from hearing Mass at all. The Latins were, therefore, prohibited from celebrating or conducting any services whatever in the Greek churches, and were further cautioned against condemning or speaking disparagingly of any rites or

ceremonies which had been sanctioned in the Council of Florence or elsewhere. In places where both communions were presided over by prelates of their own, the Latin bishop was enjoined not in any way to interfere with his Orthodox colleague, but to strictly confine his attention to matters, which came within his own province. Latin clerics were on no account to be present at or take part in the weddings, baptisms and funerals of the opposite communion, without express invitation. The Greek ecclesiastics were to enjoy the same privileges, exemptions and immunities, both in their persons and property, as their Latin brethren; while in the matter of the monasteries and monastic property the inmates of these establishments were to possess the same rights, as had been conferred upon the Franciscans by the Bull "Mare Magnum" and other charters. Finally the widows of Greek ecclesiastics, living in accordance with the regulations of their Church, were to retain the same status and position as they enjoyed during the lifetime of their husbands.

Offenders against these enactments, of whatever ecclesiastical grade they might be, were threatened with various severe pains and penalties. To the Bishops of Caserta and Ascoli was entrusted the task of seeing that the Orthodox were left unmolested. For this purpose they were invested with full discretionary powers and instructed to appeal, if necessary, to the secular authorities for assistance.

**Bull of Leo X. confirmed by Clement VII. in 1526.**

This Bull was renewed and confirmed by Clement VII. in 1526. That it practically remained a dead letter, at least so far as Corfu was concerned, we learn from a fresh pronouncement on the same subject, issued in 1540 by Paul III. in response to the complaint of the Greek Protopapa of that island. Compliance with the decrees of the Council of Florence was again enjoined, under similar threats, and the aid of the Doge was, moreover, invoked to protect the Orthodox of Corfu from all further annoyance in religious matters.

**Fresh Bull on the same subject issued by Paul III. in 1540.**

**The Papal Bulls but slightly regarded in Cyprus by the Latins.**

That the same disregard was shown in Cyprus by the Latins to the decrees of this Council is evident from the testimony of one of them, Angelo Calepio, Vicar General of the Dominican Province of the Holy Land at the period of the Turkish invasion, who has well portrayed the harassing conduct of his Archbishop towards the Orthodox and the resentment occasioned by it. "When the most reverend Archbishop, Filippo Moccionico (Mocenigo) returned from the Council of Trent, and like a most watchful shepherd, with all diplomacy and modesty, urged them to accept the sacred Œcumenical Council of Trent, with no little warmth

**Lusignan, p. 108 (a). Excerpta Cypria, p. 164.**

they refused to yield, and proved how deadly was the venom of disobedience hidden deep in their hearts. Every one can see the hatred they bore to the dogmas of the Latin Church, and knows that they held it to be heretical. Hence they would not allow any Latin to celebrate upon their altars, but held their priests to be profane persons, and when the Chiefs of the State desired to hear Mass in their churches, they made portable altars. And through all the time up to the siege what did not the poor Archbishop suffer! How he kept exhorting the Greeks, Armenians, Copts and Maronites, Jacobites and Nestorians! and yet many times these Greeks laid snares for him. Witness the arms which they carried under their cloaks to extirpate the Latins! They would never accept the Council nor its decrees, nor the Eighth Council of Florence. Nay, the Greek bishop Loarà said to me openly, when I was sent by the said Archbishop to enlighten him and to exhort him to obey our Holy Church, and fulfil his oath. "My son (said he) there are bounds set between us Greeks and you Latins, and the cures are divided between us and the flocks, so that on me lies the care of my Greeks, and on your Archbishop of the Latins. The Eighth and Ninth Councils were held concerning matters in question among you Latins, but they have nothing to do with us." Did not the Archbishop give him a citation to appear at Rome? But he came to Venice, and did not go on to Rome, the Signory sending him back boasting of the rich present it had given him. Did not God clearly visit him with His vengeance, and the punishment of his rebellion? For as soon as he returned from Venice he died suddenly, that this schism might not spread, although he said that he acted herein out of respect for the people."[1]

[1] That this spirit of interference was not confined to the Latin clergy is evident from the language of Bernardo Sagredo in his report to the Senate (circ. 1562). After describing the ignorance of the Orthodox bishops and their malevolence towards the adherents of the Roman Church, and charging them with abuse of their privileges by simoniacally admitting criminals to Holy Orders for the purpose of screening them from justice, he recommends their suppression on the ground that this act would render the Orthodox population more obedient to the Romish hierarchy. In justification of this course he instances the opposition offered by them to the promulgation by Archbishop Mocenigo of the decrees of Trent, and says that they employed the occasion to excite their co-religionists against the Latin bishops. He affirms that their abolition would not only obviate all future cause of scandal and dissension between the two communions, but would cause intending criminals to hesitate from the knowledge that they could no longer rely upon the protection of the Orthodox prelates, while it would also mitigate the anger felt at present by those who had relatives and friends wounded and murdered, at the sight of the authors of the crimes going

Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 542.

Though from the year 1426 nominally a fief of the Egyptian Caliphate, the independence of Cyprus was not seriously threatened until the conquest of the suzerain power by the Turks in 1517. From the time the Ottoman Sultans always regarded the island as forming part of their empire from its previous subjection to the rulers of Egypt. And their claim the Venetians tacitly admitted by remitting to them the annual tribute of 8000 ducats formerly paid to the Mameluke sovereigns. Its possession by the Westerns must always have rendered Cyprus a standing menace to the safety of the Turkish dominions. But it was the asylum afforded by its harbours to the galleys of the Knights of St. John in their constant attacks upon the Ottoman shipping and pilgrims, which taught the Sultans the necessity of wresting the island from the hands of the Christians.

Paruta, lib. i., p. 5.

Ludovici Tuberonis Dalmatæ Abbatis Comment., lib. vi., p. 244.

Sereno, lib. i., p. 9.

Real cause of the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus.

The Venetians had long foreseen that they would eventually have to justify their retention of it by force of arms.[1] Accordingly in 1563 they despatched the eminent engineer, Giulio Savorgnano, to Cyprus with orders to place it in a state of defence. This precaution so enraged Solyman II., surnamed the Magnificent, that he swore to be revenged on the presumptuous

Measures taken by Venice for its defence.

Sereno, lib. i., pp. 9, 10.

Paruta, lib. i., p. 77.

through the island unpunished. But perhaps the passage had best be given in the original language: "Sono ignoranti et maligni contra quelli che osservano il rito della corte romana, tenendoci per scommunicati. Non è male che per danari no fanno, per il che guadagnano assai, massime per in far zaghi, perchè, dopo che uno havera fatto qualche debbito, li fanno privilegio d'esser zago, et se fa parere che sia fatto molti anni davanti; et con tal modo i rei s'assolvono, per il che loro non li danno alcuno castigo. Finalmente credero, anzi son certissimo, che saria bene, con bel modo, fare che detti vescovi non stessero sopra l'isola, massime quel di Nicosia. Che non essendo detti vescovi, tutti quelli populi sariano obedienti all 'arcivescovo et altri vescovi italiani, nè mai li saria alcuna controversia, come fu quando l'arcivescovo volse publicare il sacro concilio, che detti vescovi non solamente non volsero publicarlo, ma cercavano di suscitar i populi contra l'arcivescovo et vescovi nostri. Con il levar detti vescovi, cessaria ogni dissensione et scandalo che potesse succedere, et anco quelli che hanno animo di far qualche delitto, col scuso d'essere o farsi zago, s'asteneriano, perchè non essendo dimandato dal vescovo come huomini sotto la giurisdittion sua, saperiano d'esser castigati certamente, il che saria cagione d'ovviare qualche scandalo che potria succeder da gli offesi, vedendo che quelli che hanno ferito o amazzato qualche suo pertinente di parentela over amicitia caminino per le città et luoghi, senz' esser puniti.

[1] The precarious nature of the tenure by which Venice held the island, as well as the unpopularity of her rule, have not escaped the observant eye of Nicole le Huen, who so early as 1487 writes as follows:—

"Et est (*i.e.*, Cypre) aujourdhuy soubz les Venitiens; et sont en danger de la perdre briefment, car les soudars ou gendarmes qu'ilz ont ne sont paiés et si n'ont de quoy vivre que en chestiveté et en grant desplaisir. Partir ne peut quelque homme sans congé; par quoy plusieurs qui la ont demeuré aulcune fois s'en vont avec les Turcs soy rendre, comme pour eviter ce lieu et la jurisdiction."

republic for fortifying against himself a part of his own dominions. But his opportune death in 1566 at the siege of Sigeth in Hungary fortunately removed for a while the threatened danger. The long-impending catastrophe was at length brought about by his son and successor, Selim II., surnamed the Sot.[1] To commemorate his accession he determined to erect a beautiful mosque at Adrianople. On declaring his intention he was informed by the Mufti that the Moslem laws forbade the expenditure upon such a building of any money, save what had been captured from vanquished enemies. The conquest of Cyprus, it was thought, would provide the required funds and was immediately resolved upon. The enterprise was one, moreover, which Selim had long contemplated. It is said that he was led to undertake it chiefly through the fame of its celebrated vintages.[2] When governor of Cilicia, during the lifetime of his father, he had caused careful inquiries to be made as to the extent, climate, fertility and resources of the island. Its proximity, too, to his own dominions and remoteness from Venice seemed to promise an easy victory for the Ottoman arms. He was encouraged in his designs by a Portuguese Jew named Miquez, his most trusted friend and adviser. This individual, who had embraced Christianity in the country of his birth to escape the disabilities attaching to Judaism, ultimately came to Constantinople, where he reverted to his ancestral faith. Full of resentment against the republic for some fancied wrongs which he had received, he craftily excited the Sultan's ambition to further his own schemes of revenge. The ridiculous Hebrew is reported to have assumed the arms and title of King of Cyprus on the strength of a promise once made by his patron, when in his cups, that he should receive the sovereignty of the island in the event of the enterprise proving successful. But Cyprus was not fated to have the Jew

Selim II. undertakes the conquest of Cyprus. Lusignan, p. 93 (a). Paruta, lib. i., p. 9.

Reasons which led him to do so. Sereno, lib. i., pp. 6, 10, Paruta, lib. i., pp. 8, 9.

Ibid., lib. i. p. 66.

[1] "Amò tanto il vino che i suoi sudditi medesimi il chiamavano Sarkok e Mest." Sereno, note, No. 1, p. 379.

[2] By an appropriate kind of Nemesis Selim's death is said to have been occasioned through an immoderate indulgence in his favourite beverage, he having slipped, when under its influence, upon the polished marble floor of his bath and fractured his skull. Other accounts, however, refer his death to apoplexy. Selim's fate is not the only recorded instance of the danger attending over-indulgence in the vintages of Cyprus. In the journal of a voyage made to Jerusalem by a Mr. John Locke in 1553 occurs the following notice: "The 4 of November. This day departed this present life one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia"—with the addition—"who onely took his surfet of Cyprus wine," as though that were not a sufficient reason for the untimely demise of the too bibulous Teuton! Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii., p. 110.

Thuanus, lib. xlix., p. 925. Paruta, lib. i., p. 13.

for its King, as he had to console himself with the dukedom of Naxos instead.[1]

The better to conceal his plans from the vigilance of the Venetian ambassador a divan was held on horseback in the outskirts of Constantinople, under the pretext of a hunt, when the project was revealed by Selim. In vain did Mehemet Sokolli, the Grand Vizier, protest against the scheme, representing the dishonour and injustice of attacking in a time of profound peace a nation with whom he had only just concluded a treaty of friendship. He asserted that, if his Majesty must have war, he should turn his arms rather against Philip II., the relentless persecutor of the Spanish Moslems. The opinions of Piali and Lala Mustapha,[2] two of the principal pashas at the Turkish Court, however, prevailed. They were personal enemies of the Grand Vizier and, besides wishing to contrive his downfall, hoped to obtain the chief commands in the coming expedition. They urged in its favour the powerlessness of the republic to resist aggression and the little assistance to be expected from the other Christian powers, the favourable position of Cyprus, which warranted the success of the attempt, the necessity of its conquest for the safety of Turkish commerce, and the disgrace attaching to the Ottoman Empire in allowing it to remain any longer a refuge to the corsairs, whose attacks so seriously hindered the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. The Council having unanimously declared in favour of the attempt there only remained a favourable opportunity for carrying it into execution. This seemed to present itself shortly afterwards on news reaching Constantinople of a terrible explosion in the Arsenal at Venice (13th Sept., 1569), the supposed work of incendiaries, whereby an immense quantity of munitions of war was destroyed. The Sultan immediately issued orders for a general arming and concentration of his forces. These warlike preparations did not escape the watchful eye of Marc' Antonio Barbaro, the Venetian envoy to the Porte, who speedily

The Grand Vizier protests against the contemplated invasion.

Lusignan, p. 93 (b). Sereno, lib. i., p. 18 sq. Paruta, lib. i., pp. 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 71.

The opinions of his enemies prevail.

Lusignan, p. 93 (a).

Sereno, lib. i., p. 16.

Commencement of the Turkish preparations.

[1] Naxos had been previously owned by the Greek family of Crispo, which also possessed the adjacent islands of Paros and Milo. In 1263 for the zeal it displayed in the cause of Venice against the Emperor Michael Palæologos its name was inscribed in the Libro d' Oro of that city. In 1537 the family was deprived of Naxos by the famous Turkish corsair Hayradin (Barbarossa), and in 1570 it suffered the loss of the rest of its possessions at the hands of the Turks. It then retired to Venice, where it became extinct in 1600.

[2] Piali and Mustapha had served in the disastrous expedition to Malta in 1565, the former as admiral of the fleet, the latter as generalissimo of the land forces. They had lost the favour of the Sultan through the machinations of the Grand Vizier.

divined their real purpose. But his warnings fell on unheeding ears. The Signory assured him that he must be mistaken, as the State had nothing to fear from the well-known friendship of the Sultan. Precautionary measures, moreover, implying distrust might have the effect of inducing him to entertain projects for which so far he had shown no inclination. But more urgent letters received at the beginning of 1570, conveying the startling intelligence that the Turkish troops were on the march for the southern coasts of Asia Minor, at length aroused the Venetians from their apathy. Orders were at once despatched to the governors of the islands in the Archipelago to be prepared against a sudden attack. At home the Procurator of St. Mark, Girolamo Zane, a skilful and hitherto successful leader, was appointed to the supreme command of the fleet. But the land forces, with which the republic proposed to resist the onset of the greatest military empire of the age, were contemptible in point of numbers.[1] Three thousand Italian infantry under Hieronimo Martinengo, sent to strengthen the garrison of Famagusta, constituted the sole reinforcement. But their leader dying off Corfu, only part of these troops proceeded to their destination.

The Venetian envoy in vain warns his government.

The Signory at length takes the alarm and prepares to resist. Sereno, p. 47.

Lusignan, p. 94 (a). Sereno, lib. i., pp. 32, 47.

Meanwhile the work of preparation went on in the Arsenal at Constantinople under the personal supervision of the Sultan. At length everything being completed, the military and naval forces were placed respectively under the command of Mustapha and Piali. But hostilities did not even then at once commence. For on Barbaro representing to the Grand Vizier how discreditable it would be for the Sultan to attack a nation, with which he had concluded peace and which had relied upon his assurances, and that his Majesty should first inform the Venetians what cause of complaint he had against them that, if well founded, they might make reparation, it was resolved to send an envoy to Venice. The Cavass Cubat was accordingly despatched with instructions to demand the immediate surrender of Cyprus under threat of war in case of refusal. The Sultan's messenger was received in solemn audience by the Doge and Senators. On presenting his master's ultimatum he was informed that the republic would not shrink from the contest, as she trusted for

Lusignan, p. 94 (a). Paruta, lib. i., pp. 35, 37, 65. Sereno, lib. i., p. 31.

Despatch of an ultimatum to Venice. Sereno, lib. i., pp. 36, 40, 41.

[1] As a proof of the defenceless condition of the island Calepio states that the armoury at Nikosia contained only 1040 arquebuses, while many of the soldiers were so devoid of training in the use of their firearms that they could not discharge them without singeing their beards. "La munitione non haveva altro che 1040 archibusi—molti de l'istessi (*i.e.*, soldati) tanto erano esperti che nel dar fuoco a l'archibuso si brusciavano la barba." Lusignan, p. 96 (a).

Spirited reply of the Signory. Lusignan, p. 97 (b). Paruta, lib. i., p. 48.

success to the righteousness of her cause and the help of God. The news of his envoy's reception and the undaunted reply of the Senate so enraged the Sultan that he caused Barbaro and the other Christians, who were at Pera, to be arrested.

The Cypriots previously warned. Lusignan, pp. 94 (a), 95 (b).

The peril which threatened them did not take the Cypriots wholly by surprise. Letters had been previously received from the ambassador at Constantinople, and also from Venice, urging the inhabitants to prepare for hostilities and to resist as vigorously as they could. Unfortunately the supreme authority at this period was vested in Nicolo Dandolo, a man quite unfitted for dealing with the momentous crisis, which had arisen. Though his term of service was now at an end he was continued at the head of affairs, and by his presence contributed in no slight degree to the subsequent disasters.

Paruta, lib. i., p. 73. Sereno, lib. i., p. 54.

Reception of the declaration of war at Nikosia. Lusignan, p. 94 (b) Paruta, lib. i., p. 81.

The news of the declaration of war filled the citizens of Nikosia with consternation. While those entrusted with the defence of the capital busied themselves in preparing for resistance, the churches of all denominations were thronged with crowds of anxious worshippers, beseeching Heaven to protect them in the coming trial. In a sermon preached before the notables and inhabitants in the Cathedral of Santa Sophia the Bishop of Paphos, Francesco Contarini, who represented the Archbishop then absent from the island, thus sought to sustain their drooping courage :—

Sermon by the Latin Bishop of Paphos in the Cathedral of Santa Sophia.

Paruta, lib. i., pp. 82-84. Lusignan, p. 98 (a).

"If I regard the magnitude of the present dangers I cannot but feel the gravest fears for the public safety and at times, through uncertainty as to the ultimate result, yield dejectedly to adverse fortune. And if, on the other hand, I bring myself to think of your conspicuous virtue, your loftiness of soul, courage and constancy I feel an unmistakeable glow arising within my breast, which bids me hope for the better. But if from these more lowly thoughts I rise to the contemplation of the divine providence and goodness, not only is that former fear of mine allayed, but it is changed into an assured confidence, because, comprehending then the truth better, I know that to brave men dangers and difficulties are not insuperable, while to faithful Christians impossibilities become easy likewise. Therefore, if your ancient and peculiar valour does not fail you, and if your faith, which you have undertaken to protect together with your lives, remains firm and constant in your hearts, I am very sure you will in the end discover that these troubles have been ordained not for your destruction, but for your exceeding praise and imperishable glory. We know by numberless ex-

amples in every age how many sieges have been bravely sustained and rendered abortive by a mere handful of men against the most numerous armies, an unshaken valour and a noble resolution springing from an invincible determination being very often sufficient to effect a rescue from the very gravest perils; while those nations, whose special protector God has been pleased to show Himself, not only has no power of men been able to harm, but even Nature herself has assisted them, and the very heavens and elements have helped them. Thus the waters by standing on an heap opened an easy and safe passage for the Hebrews through the midst of the sea, the parched earth caused fountains of the purest and most abundant waters to flow for their refreshment, and the heavens furnished them with that strange and marvellous food, the manna, for their sustenance. These, indeed, or similar aids we should now look for at the mighty hand of God for our preservation, since Ottoman Selim is a no less impious and cruel persecutor of the Chosen People than was Pharaoh of old, nor are we Christians, who have been bought with the blood of His Son, less dear to God and less beloved by Him than any other people ever was. You have an illustrious and recent instance to inspire you with confidence that this miracle will come to pass. Do you not know in what straits but five years ago the island of Malta found itself, harassed with so long and so severe a siege, attacked by so many assailants, with so few defenders, deprived of almost every hope of assistance, and reduced to the utmost extremity? Yet the bravery and faith of the defenders, unimpaired by any reverse, rendered vain and feeble the might of the barbarians, and mocked their overweening designs. And, that the power of divine providence might the more appear, that fortress, already reduced to the last gasp, was delivered from the hostile blockade before succour reached it from its friends.[1] You must imitate those stout and valiant men by exposing yourselves voluntarily to all the hardships and perils of military duty, nay rather it is incumbent upon you to surpass them. For those knights, foreigners from various countries, fought only for religion and renown, whereas you, in addition to these incentives, are at the same time fighting on behalf of your native land, your wives, your children, and your

[1] The Turkish fleet of 180 sail containing upwards of 30,000 men appeared off Malta on 18th May 1565 and the shattered remnant of the Ottoman army re-embarked on 8th Sept. 1565. The first succours reached the besieged from Syracuse on 6th Sept.

property. Thus every motive, both human and divine, bids you display invincible valour, and that with a resolution the more bold and intrepid, inasmuch as you, freemen and the scions of a noble and illustrious race, are called upon to contend with slaves, an ignoble and unwarlike rabble, accustomed to achieve victory more by the numbers than by the valour of its soldiery; an advantage which they will not now enjoy, since this city is surrounded by very lofty walls and defended by an artillery so numerous that it alone will be able to repulse the enemy, who are of such a sort that, rest assured, if you only beat off their first attack, when they have screwed up their courage to deliver the assault, the victory will certainly be yours. For the succour cannot long delay its arrival, which you have heard is being prepared with a very powerful fleet by our republic, as she will never hesitate to send all her forces for the defence of this kingdom, which is regarded as the noblest portion of her dominions and is most dear to all. These human measures, though of themselves sufficient for your protection, your prayers, your faith, and your firm resolve to forsake your sins will render altogether invincible, while you, chastened more by fear than by actual punishment, will have time and cause to praise, honour and glorify the most High God, Who, with singular kindness showing you the appearance only of His anger through the rage of this Ottoman barbarian, has been pleased to provide for the safety of your souls and for the obtaining of the heavenly riches, and at the same time for the preservation of your lives, your native land and property, to the intent that you may henceforth devote all these things to the glory of Him Who is your true and bountiful Lord and the giver of all good gifts."

The discourse kindles the enthusiasm of the audience. Lusignan, p. 93 (a).

When the reverend orator descended from the pulpit he was affectionately embraced by the notables and warmly thanked for his patriotic and inspiring harangue. The burning words to which they had just listened roused the martial enthusiasm of his hearers. They vowed to shed their last drop of blood in defence of their homes and to bury themselves beneath the ruins of their city rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the hated Moslem.

Shortsighted policy of the local authorities towards the peasantry. Lusignan, pp. 93 (b), 98 (a).

The local government at this juncture was guilty of an error, which yet further increased the difficulties of the situation. It was well known both at Venice and Constantinople that the peasantry were dissatisfied with their lot, and ripe for rebellion. In fact, just prior to the invasion, two Cypriots had reached the

latter city with letters expressing the desire of many of the parici to pass under the Sultan's rule by reason of the excessive burdens, to which they were subjected. But these emissaries were for a bribe secretly delivered over by the Grand Vizier to the Venetian envoy and never seen again.[1] Many of the serfs,

[1] Many other instances occur to mark the extreme aversion, with which the Orthodox at that period regarded their Venetian tyrants, and the satisfaction they displayed at the prospect of a Turkish invasion. Gratiano, Bishop of Amelia, in his history of the war, has indicated the cause which occasioned this hostile attitude on the part of the natives, as well as recorded the last attempt they made during the Latin supremacy to free themselves from the foreign yoke. "At apud Cyprios ad primos belli nuncios cum ingens pavor et trepidatio, tum variis cujusque generis studiis animorum habitus: agrestes, ut quique graviori servitute premebantur, passim lætari, et cujuscunque, dum novæ, fortunæ spem fovere. His enim Cyprii pro servis utebantur, et acerbe crudeliterque habebant. Quem illi dominatum ita non abjecto animo ferebant, ut ad eum excutiendum sæpe cum Turcis prodendæ insulæ consilia miscuerint. Et peregissent aliquando facinus, si validum auctorem invenissent; qui usque eo illis defuit, ut proximis superioribus annis didascalum quemdam infimæ sortis hominem secuti, eum regem facturi viderentur, nisi, antequam cum Turcis, in quorum se clientelam ille dedebat, transigeret, detectâ conjuratione, eum magistratus Venetus supplicio subito affecisset." The individual here alluded to as Didaskalos was James the Cretan, who raised the standard of rebellion in 1546. The same historian in a monograph, which he composed on the hero of this revolt, bears the following further testimony to the hostility evinced by the Cypriots of all classes towards their Venetian masters: "Nobilitas, ut tum invita sic nunquam libenter alterius quam regis imperii patiens fuit; quamquam enim communicato cum magnis et claris familiis connubio se se Venetis miscuerit, et eorum moderato et æquabili prope septuaginta annorum imperio, oblitterata illius temporis memoria videatur, tamen permanet insitum animis regii nominis desiderium. Plebes, præter quam quod omnis natura inconstans mobilisque, et novarum rerum cupida, Græcis maxime innata levitas est. Hæc communi civitatum morbo adversa nobilitati, et eadem pertinacia, qua olim in sacris conciliis consentientibus ceteris patribus, uni Græci, etsi cessere tum quidem post modum ad ingenium redeuntes, publicam auctoritatem neglectui habuerunt, suo more sacrorum cærimonias colit, et ingenti odio ab iis dissidet qui romanæ ecclesiæ religione et ritibus continentur, quorum est tota insula satis magnus numerus. Quod quidem odium sæpe in populares tumultus erumperet, nisi magistratuum metu omnes cohiberentur, qui veteri concessu Græcos suis uti sacris permittunt; præter quam nobiles, quorum tamen ipsorum permulti infecti vulgi superstitionibus, respuere Latinorum rationem videntur, quamvis palam id facere, quod lege nobilitati Græcorum ritibus interdicitur, non audeant.

Gratiani, De Bello Cyprio, lib. ii., p. 62.

Mai, Spicileg. Rom., tom. viii.

Antonii Mariæ Gratiani Episcopi Amerini de Jacobo despotæ fratre, etc. (Mai, Spicilegium Roman, tom. viii., pp. 219-20.

This James is described as the brother of the despot of the Wallachians (despota Valachorum). The same volume contains his biography also by the same author.

Soon after the landing of the Turkish forces a very significant proof was given of the prevalent disaffection. The invaders, under the guidance of a Greek priest of Levkara, occupied that important village without encountering any opposition from the inhabitants, who seemed to have readily transferred their allegiance to the Sultan. To check the serious consequences this disloyal example might have otherwise entailed, the Venetian authorities at Nikosia sent a body of cavalry with orders to fire the place and kill all the inhabitants irrespective of age or sex.

Lusignan, pp. 98 (b) sq., 103 (b).

Angelo Calepio in his account of the siege of Nikosia reports that it was a drunken Greek, who on the fatal 9th September hauled down from the Governor's palace the standard of St. Mark and hoisted the Ottoman ensign instead.

who still remained in bondage to their feudal lords, had for some time been awaiting with impatience the declaration of their unconditional release. Reports had got abroad that orders to that effect had been received from the authorities at Venice. The refusal to comply with their demands only served yet further to alienate their affections. Perceiving that they had been deceived in their expectations, and despairing now of ever obtaining their long-desired freedom except through the Turks, they were eager to receive the invaders with open arms.

Sereno, lib. i., p. 61.

Appearance of the Ottoman fleet.

On 1st July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared off Paphos and on the 4th of the same month a landing was effected at Larnaka. Mustapha made immediate preparations for prosecuting the campaign with vigour. Before, however, proceeding to actual hostilities he summoned Nikosia to surrender, offering favourable terms to all who would submit quietly to the Sultan's authority. His messenger on the occasion was a blind Corfiote monk named Nikodemos. But the inhabitants rejected his proposals with scorn, declaring they preferred death to capitulation. Nikosia was selected as the first object of attack from its being the capital and containing all the treasures of the kingdom.

Lusignan, pp. 98 (b), 99 (a), 103 (b), 104 (a), 105 (a), (b), 106 (b).

Sereno, lib. i., p. 55.

Paruta, lib. i., pp. 71, 77, 91 sq., 93.

The siege of Nikosia begins.

On the 26th July the Turkish army, with a numerous train of artillery, sat down before the town. For six weeks the beleaguered garrison sustained with unshaken courage all the assaults of the besiegers, until the failure of their ammunition prevented them from keeping the enemy any longer at bay.

Its capture, 9th Sept, 1570.

On 9th September the final assault was delivered. The heroic Bishop of Paphos, Contarini, in the garb of a soldier urged the defenders to one last desperate resistance, while the Superior of the Carmelites, crucifix in hand, ably seconded his efforts. But all was in vain. The ferocious soldiery of the Porte swarmed over the defences, and the work of massacre began. Contarini himself, who had been taken prisoner by a Mollah on the understanding that his life should be spared, was mortally wounded by a Janissary while his captor was engaged in plundering. For three whole days the town was given up to pillage and slaughter.

Sereno, lib. i., p. 62.

Ibid., lib. i., p. 63.

Massacre of the inhabitants.

Twenty thousand persons of both sexes are said to have been butchered in cold blood.[1] Even the very churches were not respected, all who had taken refuge in them being killed. Among the slain were two bishops of the Orthodox Church

Lusignan, p. 106 (a).

[1] Among the victims was Lucretia Calepia, the mother of the historian of these atrocities, whose head was cut off on her maid's lap.

"Lucretia Calepia, mia Madre, tagliandoli la testa nel grembo della sua servitrice."

with many priests and nuns belonging to the same communion.[1] Of the captives the most beautiful children and girls were first sold, the remainder being disposed of at a mere nominal price, except the more robust, who were sent to the galleys. The Cathedral of Santa Sophia, with many other Latin churches, was converted into a mosque. On the 15th September, when Mustapha attended in state to return thanks for his recent victory, this noble fane, which for so many centuries had re-echoed to the holy strains of Christian worship, was for the first time desecrated by the profanities of the Impostor of Mecca. The Turks were now free to undertake the siege of Famagusta, which they began on the 18th September.

Santa Sophia converted into a mosque.

Siege of Famagusta begins 18th Sept., 1570.

On the first appearance of hostilities the Venetians had concluded an alliance with the Pope and Philip II. of Spain. A combined fleet, with a land army on board, assembled at Crete. During the end of September it arrived at Castelorizo, where tidings of the fall of Nikosia reached it. The news filled the allies with dismay. A council of war was immediately held to decide what steps should be taken. The majority of the members were in favour of proceeding at once to the assistance of the garrison at Famagusta. But Doria, the Spanish commander, acting it is supposed under secret instructions from his sovereign,[2]

The Holy League.

Parruta, lib. i., pp. 99, 100, 101. Sereno, lib. i., pp. 68, 69.

[1] The clergy of all denominations suffered severely during the siege, as is evident from the following list of those killed and made prisoners, which has been furnished by Angelo Calepio.

*Del clero morto.*

Lusignan, p. 112 (a).

Il Reverendiss. Contarini Vescovo de Paffo.
Il Reverendiss. de Coron. Sufraganeo de Nicosia.
Il Reverendiss. Vescovo greco de Nicosia.
Il Reverendiss. Vescovo greco de Paffo.
Il Reverendiss. Vescovo greco de Limissò, schiavo.
Il Vescovo de Cofti.
Il Rever. Monsig. Vicario de l'Archivescovato frate Thomaso Tacito de l'ordine Eremitano. Tutti li Reverendi Canonici e de altre dignitate ritrovati in quella Città, e quasi tutti li Preti, e Frati sone ammazzati e pochi fatti schiavi.

*Capi delle Religioni.*

Il Reverendo Vicario Generale di Frati de S. Dominico, il P. Maestro Angelo Calepio, schiavo in Constantinopoli.
Il Rever. Provinciale delli Carmini Maestro Nicolò, schiavo in Soria.
Il Rever. Guardian de Hierusalem di Zoccholanti, schiavo a Scio fu liberato.
Il Rever. Comissario de S. Francesco, Maestro Andrea Tacito, si dice essere morto.
Il Reverendo Vicario de Santo Augostino, F. Luca, schiavo, e mo libero.
Li Reverendi Abbati de Monaci greci, e li loro Monaci tutti quasi sono ammazzati, e pochi furono fatti schiavi.

[2] The fact, too, that he was a native of Genoa, the hereditary foe of Venice, increased the suspicions attaching to his conduct.

opposed this decision. He represented that the object of the expedition, the relief of Nikosia, had failed, that it would be madness to engage an enemy so superior in numbers, and that the safety of his vessels at that advanced season compelled him to return to port. In vain did they try to dissuade him from his purpose. He not only remained obdurate, but sailed away, whereupon the rest returned to Crete without accomplishing anything. This splendid armada, however, the following year in a measure retrieved its previous inactivity. By the total destruction of the Turkish navy at the famous battle of Lepanto (7th Oct., 1571), it effectually freed the Western Mediterranean from all subsequent fear of the Ottoman arms.

The Christian fleet retires without engaging the Turks.

Battle of Lepanto, 7th Oct., 1571.

Capitulation of Famagusta, 1st Aug., 1571. Lusignan, p. 118 (b). Sereno, lib. iv., p. 249. Paruta, lib. i., pp. 193-94.

Meanwhile Famagusta was left to its fate. After one of the most memorable sieges on record, in which the brave garrison covered itself with imperishable renown, the town capitulated on the 1st August, 1571 on the following terms :—

The terms of surrender.

1. That the lives of the citizens and soldiers should be spared.

2. That the troops should be allowed to march out with all the honours of war.

3. That the Pasha should furnish vessels to transport the garrison to Crete, with as many of the townspeople as were willing to accompany them.

4. That such of the inhabitants, as were desirous of remaining, should be allowed to do so, and be further granted the full enjoyment of their liberty and property, together with the free exercise of their religion and the use of their churches.

Treachery of Lala Mustapha.

Lusignan, p. 119. Sereno, lib. iv., p. 250. Paruta, lib. i., p. 196 sq.

But Mustapha soon showed the value attaching to his plighted word. Enraged at their strenuous resistance, which had caused such enormous losses among his troops, he had no sooner got the survivors of the brave garrison into his power than he put them to death. Marc' Antonio Bragadino, the heroic commander, was reserved for a more terrible fate, which he suffered with a fortitude worthy of the name he bore (17th Aug., 1571).[1]

Surrender of the remaining fortresses in the island. Lusignan, p. 105 (b).

The fortresses, which still remained in possession of the Venetians, despairing of assistance and deterred by the fate that had overtaken Nikosia and Famagusta, hastened to surrender to the

[1] The inhuman Mustapha caused him to be flayed alive in the grand square of Famagusta immediately in front of the Venetian Governor's palace. His skin after being hung at the yard-arm of the Turkish admiral's galley was preserved in the Arsenal at Constantinople for twenty-five years, when it was purchased for a large sum by his brother and sons and deposited by them in a

victorious Ottomans, and thus the complete subjugation of the island was achieved in little more than twelve months. Paruta, lib. I., p. 94.

Thus tragically ended the domination of the Roman Church in Cyprus. During the four centuries that it had reigned supreme its course had been marked by the grossest oppression towards the sister communion. But, tyrants though its chief pastors ever showed themselves to be towards their Orthodox brethren, we cannot withhold our tribute of admiration from the heroic Contarini, Fortebrazza, and their fellows, who, however deficient they may have been in Christian charity, yet in the hour of their Church's sorest need "jeoparded their lives unto the death in her defence and waxed valiant in fight, turning to flight the armies of the aliens".

Unfortunately for the credit of the Roman Church it is impossible to speak in the same eulogistic terms of the action of all her sons in Cyprus. There is one name especially which suggests very different reflections. It is that of Angelo Calepio,[1]

marble urn in the Church of SS. John and Paul at Venice with the following inscription:—

D. O. P.
M. Antonii Bragadini dum pro fide et patria
Bello Cyprio Salaminæ contra Turcos constanter
fortiterque curam principem sustineret longa
obsidione victi a perfida hostis manu ipso vivo ac intrepide sufferente detracta
Pellis
Ann. Sal. CIↃ IↃ LXXI. XV. Kal. Sept. Antonii Fratris opera et impensa Byzantio huc
advecta
Atque hic a Marco Hermolao, Antonioque
Filiis pientissimis ad summi Dei Patriæ paternique nominis gloriam sempiternam
posita
Ann. Sal. CIↃ IↃ LXXXXVI. vixit Ann. XLVI.

[1] Fra Angelo Calepio, D.D., Superior of the Cypriot Dominicans and Vicar General of the Province of Terra Santa, was the author of the two descriptions of the siege and capture of Nikosia and Famagusta placed by Lusignan at the end of his *Chorograffia, or Short General History of Cyprus*. The latter event he did not personally witness, but derived his information from the narratives of fellow prisoners present at it, whom he met in captivity at Constantinople. After the capture of Nikosia he became the property of a Dervish (Talisman or Turkish monk he styles him, "Talismano, religioso Turcho"), who sold him to a certain Osman Chelebi, the Rais, or Captain, of a Turkish galley. By him he was restored to liberty on 8th January 1571 on payment of a ransom of 4500 aspers. Having resumed his monastic habit after his release he was in consequence rearrested by the Turkish corsair, Uluj Ali (3rd February 1572), on suspicion of being a Papal spy, but liberated three days afterwards through the good offices of Ababamach, Dey of Algiers, when he returned to Europe. Mr. Cobham conjectures that he may have been connected with one of the oldest and noblest houses of Bergamo in Lombardy. Lusignan certainly reckons the Lusignan, pp. 109 (b), 112 (b). Excerpta Cypria, p. 143. Lusignan, p. 82 (b).

Doctor of Theology in the Order of the Preachers, and Vicar General of the Province of Terra Santa, whose facile pen has so graphically described the thrilling scenes, which marked the closing days of the Venetian occupation. Blinded by prejudice and passion to the real cause of the disasters he then witnessed, he can see in the horrors which took place nothing but the righteous judgment of God upon the Orthodox for their perversity and stiffneckedness. To quote his own words: "This was indeed a punishment and act of justice upon the Greeks of this kingdom, many of whom while they were under the rule of the Latin Christians abhorred the limpid water of the Holy Roman obedience, and despised the lifegiving stream of its Head; for as these Greeks preferred to be subjects to that gangrened limb, the Patriarch of Constantinople, because he and his fellow patriarchs, especially the Patriarch of Jerusalem, when the poor Cypriot merchants and pilgrims went to their churches, held aloof from them, considering them excommunicate, because in Cyprus they gave their allegiance to the Latins, and saying the same in even stronger terms to the Greek bishops of Cyprus, because they were elected by the Royal Latin Council, and confirmed by the Latin bishops—hence this ignorant people began to nourish a secret hatred against the Latins, as persons excommunicate and accursed. So our Lord God, yielding to their impious wishes, and to inflict upon them lasting pain and chastisement, removed nearly all the Latins from before their eyes, left them at liberty to subject themselves to the divided members of the Church, and made them for all time the wretched slaves of the Turks." In this language we seem only to recognise the mingled shriek of impotent fury and despair at the thought that the long night of ecclesiastical tyranny had at length reached its appointed end!

Lusignan, p. 122. Excerpta Cypria, p. 182.

With the departure of the Latins the ecclesiastical history of Cyprus undergoes a striking change. Those constant bickerings and wranglings, which were once matters of such ordinary occurrence between the rival communions, are now a thing of the past. Their dearest wishes were realised at last and the Orthodox once more found themselves in undisturbed possession of their native Church. But the price, which they had to pay for the fulfilment of their desires, was indeed a very heavy one.

Calepii among the distinguished families of Cyprus. Sathas asserts that his account of the two sieges was composed in Greek, but there is no evidence in support of this statement. It was furnished by the author to Lusignan at his request in the Dominican convent at Bologna on 4th December 1572.

Sathas, Νεοελλην. φιλολ. σελ. 228. Lusignan, p. 92 (a).

They found to their cost that they had only exchanged one kind of servitude for another. It is true that the independence of their Church was no longer threatened, yet that circumstance brought very little real benefit to them at all. Though they were now released from the active persecution of the Roman hierarchy, they had at least to endure the contemptuous toleration and open insolence of the new conquerors. And occasionally, too, they were made to feel how dire were the effects of Moslem fanaticism when once aroused.

## CHAPTER IV.

Mustapha reorganises the government of Cyprus.

Kyprianos, p. 300 sq.

Lusignan, p. 80 (a).

The first care of the victor on the conclusion of hostilities was to introduce some kind of order into his new conquest. For that purpose he appointed a Pasha of the highest grade to the supreme command at Nikosia, with two others of inferior rank at Famagusta and Paphos. Among other administrative changes the former division of the island into twelve districts was abolished, and seventeen new divisions, called Qaziliqs, established instead.[1] As a security against both external and internal foes, in addition to a corps of regular troops, or Janissaries, 1000 strong, he established a body of the usual mounted militia, called Sipahis or Timariots.[2] The protection of the coasts from the attacks of hostile vessels and the supervision of the maritime towns and fortresses were likewise entrusted to certain officers specially appointed for the purpose. To provide for the due administration of justice a Mollah was sent for some months annually from Constantinople. His jurisdiction extended over five of the new Qaziliqs, where he took cognizance of all matters affecting the relations of his co-religionists with one another and with the Christian inhabitants. In the remaining Qaziliqs were placed Qazis, taken from the order of the Readers of the Koran, who were invested with similar powers and authority.

[1] The twelve former districts were: Nikosia, Famagusta, Limisso, Paphos, Kyrenia, Salines, Mesaoria, Karpassos, Masoto, Avdimou, Chrysochou, Pentagia.

Kyprianos, p. 303.

The seventeen Qaziliqs are: Levkosia with Orini, Kythraia. Mesaoria, Ammochostos, Karpasion, Paphos, Chrysochou, Kouklia, Avdimou, Larnaka, Lemesos, Episkopi, Kilanion, Kyrenia, Morphou, Pentagia, Levka.

Finlay, Greece under Othoman and Venetian domination, p. 50 sq.

[2] The irregular troops of the Ottoman Empire were composed chiefly of feudal cavalry. This militia was divided into three classes according to the extent of the fiefs. First in rank were the Sandjak Begs, who were bound to bring into the field more than twenty well-armed followers on horseback. The second class were the Ziams, who were bound to take the field with from four to nineteen mounted followers, and who may be compared to the holders of knight's fees in feudal Europe. The third class was called Timariots, and might be bound to take the field alone, or with as many as three followers. Until the time of Suleiman the Legislator the timars or fiefs were granted only for life.

The condition of the wretched Cypriots immediately after the war was pitiable in the extreme. The few representatives of the once proud local aristocracy, who had escaped to the mountains, were compelled to surrender to the mercy of their conquerors.[1] Deprived of their possessions and degraded to the level of the peasants they were forced to purchase their freedom at a heavy ransom. Indeed to such straits were they reduced that they were glad to follow the humble callings of labourers and muleteers, in order to eke out a precarious livelihood and to raise money for the payment of the poll-tax.[2] The inhabitants in general, who had survived the horrors of the war, were now threatened with destruction by famine. Through the failure of the crops from the recent operations a terrible dearth prevailed in the island. The new-comers did all in their power to encourage the resumption of agricultural labours, but with little success, owing to the scarcity of seed.

Pitiable condition of the Cypriots. Lusignan, p. 106 (a).

The demands made by the Porte upon its Cypriot subjects were not at first excessive. The old social distinctions, which had existed in the island even before the advent of the Latins, were obliterated, and the Christian population divided into three classes according to the assessment of the poll-tax or kharaj.[3] The land, which had formerly been the

Exactions of the Porte not excessive at first.

[1] The names of those who succeeded in escaping from Nikosia to the mountains on 9th September, have been preserved in the narrative of Angelo Calepio. They were :— Lusignan, pp. 106 (a), 111 (b).

Jean Philippe de Lusignan.
Jeanneton de Norès and his son Hector.
Flatro de Flatri.
Alfonso Bragadino.

To these must be added Pierre Paul Sinclitico and Scipio Caraffa, who were appointed to command the troops in the hills before the siege began, Gioane Sinclitico and others. These latter are said by Calepio to have been clothed by Mustapha on their submission with brocade from head to foot: "Li vestì Mustafa de brocchado alto basso". Ibid., p. 111 (a). Kyprianos adds the following names to the above lists, *viz.*, Tutio Constanzo, Livio Podocataro, Giovanni Muscorno, and Orsatto Gustiniano, whom Lusignan, however, mentions among the noble Cypriot Captains made slaves after the capture of the city. The Pasha is reported to have restored to them their property, as well as enrolled some in the Ottoman army, but Kyprianos doubts the story both from the well-known hatred of the Turks to other nations and the general mistrust they felt towards Christians, and especially towards those they had vanquished in war. Kyprianos, p. 500.

[2] Quelli pochissimi poveri gentilhuomini che rimaseno nel' isola rischatati con gli altri cittadini de Nicosia volendosi viver posero a fare l'essercitio di mulatieri, et portitori di vino, et di telle, et altre cosette, essercitio certo assai differente dal primo di essi." Lusignan, p. 121 (b).

[3] According to Kyprianos the scale was fixed as follows :— Kyprianos, p. 501.

First Class, eleven piastres. Second, five and a half. Third, three.

The great financial distinction between the true believers and the infidel subjects of the Sultan was the payment of the haratsh or capitation-tax. This

exclusive property of the nobility, was transferred to the peasants.

Those, who for centuries had been mere bondmen on the soil, were now on payment of a trifling sum constituted its possessors, with the right of succession to their descendants. The only impost levied upon them was the tax of a nominal third of their crops in kind. This, with the kharaj and a further sum of six piastres each to secure the free exercise of their religion, formed their sole contribution to the government. But this lenient treatment, which was designed to retain the native population in the island, only partially succeeded. Many, warned by what they had already experienced, emigrated to other parts of the Venetian dominions rather than submit to the yoke of these new masters. To supply their places and to compensate for the losses caused by the war Mustapha was obliged to settle 20,000 of his compatriots in the depopulated districts. Still these expedients were powerless to arrest the steady diminution in the population, which had now set in. At the census taken immediately on the return of Mustapha to Nikosia those liable to tribute of all nationalities, from the ages of fourteen to fifty, exclusive of old men, women and children, amounted to 85,000. But not many years elapsed before the usual effects of Turkish greed and misgovernment became only too apparent. The officials, who were sent from Constantinople to administer the island, thought solely of enriching themselves at the expense of those over whom they were placed. Frequent droughts, coupled with the destructive ravages of the locusts and the grinding exactions of the tax-gatherer, caused such a general exodus that in less than a century after the conquest the male population had dwindled down to 25,000, including old men and boys of twelve and fourteen. In vain did the Rayahs appeal to the Porte for redress. The evils, however, became at length so pronounced that shortly after 1640 the Sultan sent a commissioner to inquire into the complaints of the Cypriots. In consequence of his report some alleviation of taxation was granted, and the two Pashas withdrawn from Famagusta and Paphos, while the Pasha of Nikosia suffered a considerable re-

**Gradual diminution of the population.**

**Remedies taken by the Porte to arrest it ineffectual.**

**Finlay, Greece under Othoman and Venetian domination, p. 26.**

tax was levied on the whole male unbelieving population, with the exception of children under ten years of age, old men, and priests of the different sects of Christians and Jews. The maimed, the blind, and the paralytic were also exempted by Moslem charity. This payment was imposed by the Koran on all who refused to embrace the Mohammedan faith, as the alternative by which they might purchase peace.

duction in his establishment. But the orders of the central government were so ignored by the local authorities as to render these measures of relief practically useless. The drain in population continued, until about 1670 the Porte in despair transferred Cyprus from the Grand Vizier to the Qapudan Pasha, who delegated his authority to an official called a Muselim. For more than two centuries and a half it was possessed alternately by these two powerful ministers. At length, during the reign of Mahmoud II., an effort was made to remove the abuses under which it had so long suffered. In 1838 a firman was issued by that enlightened Sultan introducing the new method of government, which he sought to establish everywhere throughout his dominions. The system of leasing the island to the highest bidder was abolished and a paid governor substituted, who was compelled to remit to the imperial treasury the whole of the taxes levied. This wise measure of reform was further strengthened by the publication in the following year of the Khatti-Sherif of Gulhané (3 Nov., 1839), by his brother and successor, Abdul Medjid. The Governor of Cyprus now received the title of Caimakan, and was invested with full executive and administrative powers. To assist him a supreme Council, called the Divan or Surah, was established, consisting of eight members, among whom were included representatives not only of the Orthodox Church, but also of the Armenian and Maronite communities.[1] But these well-inten-

Reforms inaugurated by Mahmoud II. in 1838.

Continued by his successor, Abdul Medjid.

[1] This court was originally composed of :—

1. The Mufti, the highest Mussulman religious authority in the island.
2. The Cadi (Qazi), or judge, of Nikosia.
3. The local Commander of the forces.
4. The chief Aghas of Nikosia.
5. The Orthodox Archbishop.
6. One of the three elders chosen by the Orthodox as their representatives.
7. A representative of the Armenians.
8. A representative of the Maronites.

But in later times it seems to have been increased to thirteen members besides the Pasha. Nine of these were Mussulmans, of whom six sat in virtue of their office, and four were Christians, *viz.* :— Saville, Cyprus, p. 133.

1. The Cadi.
2. The Mufti.
3. The Mal-i-Mudiri, or treasurer and financial agent.
4. The Administrator of Mortmain property.
5. The Administrator of Crown Lands.
6. The Public Registrar.
7. 8. 9. Three Mohammedan representatives of Nikosia.
10. The Archbishop of Nikosia, who sat *ex-officio*.
11. 12. 13. Three Christian elected members.

One writer, however, puts the number at ten only, all told, and in the following order :— Lang, Cyprus, Ch. xiii., p. 269.

tioned measures again proved of little practical avail. The canker of Turkish misrule had taken too deep a hold to be now eradicated. Commerce and industry, which had been scared away from the island by the former rapacity of its rulers, refused to return. The soil still remained in great part uncultivated, while the cities and villages continued to mourn the loss of their inhabitants, who sought elsewhere that prosperity and security which were denied them at home.

**Return of Mustapha to Constantinople.**

**Lusignan, p. 122 (a) sq.**

As soon as the work of reorganisation was completed Mustapha[1] with twenty-one galleys set sail for Constantinople. But unfortunately his return occurred while the Turks were still feeling the effects of the stunning blow dealt them at Lepanto. Hardly a family at the capital had not to mourn the loss of some member fallen in that famous battle. The conqueror of Cyprus, known to have been the chief advocate of the war, was accordingly received in silence by the populace, who regarded him as primarily responsible for the disaster. His departure was speedily followed by the despatch of an envoy from the inhabitants of Famagusta to demand from the Grand Vizier the fulfilment of the promises which Mustapha had made to them. In consideration of the important services which the Greeks had already rendered, and to secure their goodwill, the following favourable terms were granted to them :—

**Favourable terms granted to the Greeks.**

1. The free enjoyment of their religion with the undisturbed possession of their churches.[2]

1. The Pasha.
2. The Mufti.
3. The Greek Archbishop.
4. The Financial Agent, Mubasebegi.
5. The Evcaf-nazir, or administrator of Mussulman religious property.
6. 7. 8. Three Mussulmans, and
9. 10. Two Christian notables.

[1] Mustafa ritornò in Constantinopoli con 21 galera, et perchè era gionto in quelli giorni che fu fatta la maravigliosa vittoria navale, il popolo secondo il solito non gli andò a incontrarlo, non gli fu fatto feste, ne scharcato artegliaria, et pochissimi se ne andorno a congratularsi seco, la causa fu perche perdendo la giornata navale tutta Constantinopoli ha pattito assai, perdendo, qui il figlio, qui il padre, altri li fratelli et mariti, davano a questo la colpa del movimento della guerra.

[2] In quelli giorni quasi venne da Famagosta un ambasciatore per confirmare li capitoli fatti da Mustafa alli Famagostani, et li fu confirmato, che essi puossino vivere alla Christiana con questo però, che non si trovi nissun Christiano della Chiesa Latina, à quali non volse conceder ne chiesa, casa, ne cosa alcuna. Li Famagostani Latini erano constretti di simular religione, et ritto. Li altri Greci speravano d'haver tutte le loro chiese greche, ma non gli fu concessa altra che la cathedrale grecha, et sporgendo in questo megio bonissimi presenti, ottennero

2. The right of ransoming the monasteries seized by the Ottomans.[1]

3. Permission to acquire houses, estates and other kinds of property, with the power of transmission to their heirs.

4. The supremacy of the Orthodox community over all the other Christian denominations in the island.

No concessions made to the Latins.

To the Latins, however, no consideration at all was shown. As the avowed enemies of Islam, the conquerors refused to grant them any indulgence whatever. They were not allowed to possess property of any description, while such of their churches as were not converted into mosques, became stables and warehouses. Thus by a strange irony of fate those of them, who remained in the island, were compelled to attend the services of that rival communion, which they had erstwhile so despised and oppressed.

Great destruction wrought among the higher ecclesiastics by the war.

Our information as to what happened immediately after the cessation of hostilities is derived from the narrative of Angelo Calepio, Vicar-General of the Cypriot Dominicans, who, after witnessing the invasion and its attendant horrors, was carried off a slave to Constantinople. But, as his attitude is one of evident hostility towards that Church, which alone was fortunate enough to survive the shock of arms, his statements must be taken with considerable reservation. According to him great destruction was caused by the war among the ranks of the higher clergy. With the exception of the Archbishop, who had gone to Venice before the outbreak of hostilities, all the members of the Latin hierarchy, as well as the heads of the religious orders, were either captured or slain. Of the monks some were fortunate enough to escape from the island in secular attire, while others saved their lives by timely flight to the mountains. The Orthodox prelates, too, had fared no better, those of them who had not fallen in the struggle having been carried off into captivity. Accordingly some of the more influential among the surviving Greek inhabitants waited upon the Grand Vizier, Mehmed Pasha, urging him

Lusignan, p. 122 (b).

The Orthodox request that the Sees formerly held by the Latins may be bestowed upon them.

la chiesolina de San Simeone. Li concesse anchora le case che li Turchi non possedevano, et se un Turcho voleva vender una casa che li Famagostani fusseno piu anciani di ricomprarla, ma non volendo venderle, che fusseno i Turchi patroni, che li godevano. Il resto delle chiese sonno fatte stalle et altre habitatione immonde, et la Chiesa Cathedrale de San Nicolò latina e fatta Muscheada.

[1] Kyprianos asserts that the Christians redeemed nearly all the monasteries and a great part of the Church lands also after an interval of from fifteen to twenty years from the date of the Ottoman conquest.

Ἕως μετὰ δεκαπέντε καὶ εἴκοσι χρόνους οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἐλευθέρωσαν σχεδὸν ὅλα τὰ Μοναστήρια ἀπὸ τοὺς κυριεύσαντας αὐτὰ, καὶ πολλὰ τούτων ὑποστατικὰ δμοίως. Kyprianos, p. 308.

to bestow the Sees formerly held by the Latins upon monks of their own communion, who were to receive consecration at the hands of the Œcumenical Patriarch. A Servian monk—"a scion of those old heretics who were condemned in the early councils"—so Calepio describes him, happened to be sojourning at Constantinople when the deputation arrived.[1] Hearing of the object which had brought them to the capital, he induced the Grand Vizier by a bribe of 3000 sequins to bestow the primacy of the island upon him instead. After being duly consecrated by the Patriarch, who was forced to perform the ceremony, the newly-appointed Archbishop left for his province, escorted by two Janissaries and furnished with letters to the governor, Muzaffer Pasha, directing the latter to instal him in office. An alien to those over whom he presided, ignorant alike of their language and customs, and actuated solely by the desire of wringing as much money as possible out of his flock, he rendered himself so odious to the Cypriots that they resolved to agitate for his removal. Selecting as the bearer of their complaints an abbot (hegoumenos) of their own nationality, they sent him to Constantinople with instructions to oust the tyrant and get himself appointed in his stead. Meanwhile a second competitor had appeared upon the scene. A monk, the scion of a noble Cypriot family, who was then resident in the capital, was also

[1] The exact words are: "un Caloiro de Suruia, quale era una reliquia di quelli antiqui Erretici quali furono condemnati nelli primi Sinodi," which translators have almost universally rendered as implying that he was a native of Syria, *e.g.*, Kyprianos, "ἕνας καλόγερος Ἀραψ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τὴν Συρίαν". It is probable, however, that Calepio intended to convey that Servia, and not Syria, was his place of origin, as indeed Le Quien understands him: "Monachus quidam qui e Servia venerat". And in support of this conjecture is the fact that Syria is always rendered Soria, and not Siria, by Lusignan.

Kyprianos, p. 306.

Le Quien, O. C., tom. ii., col. 1054.

Calepio affects a most righteous indignation at these proceedings on the ground that the canonical Archbishop (Mocenigo) was then alive, "non curando che Cipro habbia vivo il suo Illustriss. Arcivescovo". Romish writers have conveniently short memories, otherwise he might have been expected to remember the treatment shown by his own Church not only to the Orthodox primate of Cyprus on its first intrusion, but also to scores of other Eastern prelates. The instance, which will most readily recur to the student of ecclesiastical history, is that of John Kamater, Patriarch of Constantinople, whose miserable flight from that city on its capture by the Latins in A.D. 1204 has been so graphically described by his contemporary and fellow-sufferer, the historian Niketas, "Προῆγε δὲ ἡμῶν ὁ οἰκουμενικὸς ἀρχιποιμὴν, μὴ πήραν φέρων, μὴ χρυσὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν, ἄραβδος καὶ ἀσάνδαλος καὶ χιτώνιον ἓν περικείμενος, ἐντελὴς εὐαγγελικὸς ἀπόστολος, ἢ μᾶλλον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀντίμιμος, καθ' ὅσον ὀναρίῳ πτωχικῷ ἐποχούμενος μεθίστατο τῆς νεᾶς Σιὼν, οὐ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐσχεδίαζε θρίαμβον".

Choniates, Urbs Capta, c. 5 (Pat. Græc., tom. cxxxix., col. 977.

Besides, the Orthodox in demanding for themselves these Sees were not guilty of usurpation, but only endeavouring to recover that of which they had been most unjustly deprived.

endeavouring to secure the coveted distinction through the aid of the Patriarch, with whom he was on terms of the closest intimacy.[1] The new-comer from Cyprus, anxious not to risk the large sum, with which he hoped to secure his nomination, applied to Calepio for advice in his perplexity. His chief concern was to ascertain whether the Latins would recognise him as Archbishop in the event of their recovering the island, or reject him as the nominee of the Porte.

The Dominican would have us believe that he dissuaded him from having recourse to such simoniacal measures, while at the same time revealing to him the rival, of whose existence he had till then been ignorant. The hegoumenos on receipt of this news hurried off to Adrianople, where the Porte had taken up its quarters. Finding the funds he had brought with him insufficient for the purpose, he borrowed a large sum of money and with it bribed the Grand Vizier to bestow the archbishopric upon him. But he was subsequently compelled to resign in favour of the Patriarch's *protégé*, when he received the See of Paphos instead by way of compensation. The diocese of Limassol was bestowed upon the hegoumenos of St. John Chrysostom at Kutzuventi, who having been released from slavery happened to be then at Constantinople, while that of Famagusta was conferred upon a Cretan monk, the chaplain of St. Simeon's in that town. Such in brief is Calepio's account of the re-establishment of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. But fortunately for the credit of that Communion this disreputable story of bribery and simony appears to rest solely upon its author's unsupported testimony.

The Orthodox prelates seem at first to have been totally ignored by the Ottoman authorities, whose sole recognition of their existence consisted in the issue of the necessary Berats confirming their appointment to the various Sees. According to Kyprianos nearly a century elapsed after the conquest (1660),

Kyprianos, pp. 313, 314.

[1] Calepio describes him as "un monacho de casa d' Acre, gentilhuomo Ciprioto et amico del Patriarcha de Constantinopoli".

Lusignan, p. 123 (a).

Lusignan includes the name D'Acre, which is also mentioned by the local chroniclers, among the families of Cyprus.

Ibid., p. 82 (a). Cf. Fl. Boustron, pp. 403, 424.

An order of the Council of Ten dated 17th March, 1490, concerning the lands and fiefs of a member of this family, Jean d' Acre, is still extant.

Docs. Nouveaux, p. 524.

A village of the same name in the island, from which the family doubtless derived its own, is mentioned in a Bull of Honorius III. (29th January, 1218) taking the abbot of St. Theodosius at Jerusalem and the property belonging to the monastery under the protection of the Holy See, *e.g.*, "cum casali in insula Cypri, quod dicitur de Acra".

Röhricht, Regesta Regni Hierosolymit, p. 343.

before they acquired any importance at all. The primary cause which brought them out of their original obscurity was the desire of the home Government to devise some check upon the rapacity of its local representatives. With this object the Primate and his suffragans were constituted the guardians of the Christian community and encouraged to lay their complaints, when necessary, before the supreme authorities at the capital. Of this privilege, as we shall presently see, many of the occupants of the archiepiscopal throne were not slow to avail themselves. In process of time the influence of the Archbishop overshadowed even that of the Governor. He possessed nearly all the executive power and was not only independent of the Mouhassil, but generally decided the question of that functionary's selection and recall. In fact he became virtual master of the situation, appointing the various officials, fixing the annual amount of taxation to be raised, and remitting to the Grand Vizier, or the imperial treasury, the sum agreed upon for the farming out of the island. The influence thus imperceptibly acquired reached its highest point during the reigns of Selim III. (1789-1807), and his immediate successor, Mustapha IV. (1807-8). The resident Turkish notables at first regarded with favour the growing importance of the Primate as a much-needed restraint upon the despotism of the civil governor. But their attitude changed on perceiving that all the machinery of government was gradually becoming centred in him. The first open expression of their dissatisfaction occurred in 1804, when the Turks of Nikosia and the neighbouring villages, purposely excited by a rumour of the insufficiency of the food supplies, rose against the authority of the Archbishop, whom they regarded as responsible for the threatened famine. The movement was promptly quelled by the despatch of troops from Asia Minor, seconded by the intervention of some of the European consuls. Another and more successful attempt occurred, however, in 1821. This, which resulted in the massacre of all the bishops and leading personages of the Orthodox Communion, both lay and clerical, overthrew the government of the Mouhassils, destroyed the commanding influence of the Greek clergy, and restored the authority of the Pashas. From this deadly blow the ascendancy of the Archbishops never recovered, and we find them ever afterwards occupying an inferior position to that which they had before enjoyed.

Timotheos.

From a document preserved in the Monastery of St. Catharine at Mount Sinai, in which his signature immediately follows

those of the Patriarchs, the name of the second occupant of the archiepiscopal See is conjectured to have been Timotheos.[1] The exact date, however, of his accession is unknown, but, as he appears to have been still a resident of Constantinople in 1575, it could not have taken place before that year. On his death, which occurred in 1592, dissensions broke out between the bishops and the community regarding the choice of his successor. The matter, though involved in some obscurity, appears to have been mainly due to doctrinal disputes. The most prominent part in the controversy was taken by a monk named Leontios Eustratios,[2] a native of the village of Kilanion in the district of Limassol. This individual, after a short sojourn at Constantinople, attached himself for a while to Matthew, Metropolitan of Thessalonica, whom he subsequently left for a course of study at Corfu and Zante. On its completion he returned with deacon's orders to Cyprus, where for a time he gave instruction in Greek. In the Ionian Isles, which were then in possession of the Venetians, he had imbibed certain notions on the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist and the dual procession of the Holy Spirit, strongly savouring of Romish doctrines and directly opposed to the practice and teaching of the Orthodox Communion. The inculcation of these views among his compatriots seems to have caused the differences, which for a while agitated the Cypriot Church. Being chosen by the community of Nikosia as their representative in the dispute which had arisen between them and the bishops, he wrote to Meletios Pegas, the well-known Patriarch of Alexandria with whom he was on terms of friendship, requesting letters to the Œcumenical Patriarch approving of his action. Meletios in his reply, while admitting that his knowledge of

Philippos Georgiou, p. 75 sq.

[1] The following note concerning him occurs in Kyprianos's history :— Αὐτὸς συμπεραίνομεν νὰ ὠνομάζετο Τιμόθεος, εὑρισκόμενος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἔτει 1575. εἰς ἓν Συγγιλιῶδες τοῦ Μοναστηρίου Σινᾶ ὑπέγραψεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τοὺς Πατριάρχας ὡς φαίνεται ἐν τούτῳ, "Τιμόθεος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου," κ.τ.λ.

Kyprianos, p. 307, n. (a).

[2] Philippos Georgiou has the following note concerning him, copied from Sathas, Νεοελλην. Φιλολογία (p. 182).

"Λεόντιος Εὐστράτιος ἐγεννήθη εἰς Κοιλάνιον τῆς Κύπρου καὶ ἐχρημάτισεν ἄξιος μαθητὴς Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου. Διέτρεψεν ἐπ' ὀλίγον εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, προσκολληθεὶς εἶτα τῷ μητροπολίτῃ Θεσσαλονίκης Ματθαίῳ. Ἐπεσκέφθη χάριν διδασκαλίας τὴν Κέρκυραν καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὅθεν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Μαργούνιον. Ἱεροδιάκονος ἤδη ἐπανέκαμψεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα του καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ἐπ' ὀλίγον τὰ ἑλληνικά. Ἀπεβίωσεν ἡγούμενος τῆς ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πίπη ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τριάκοντα πέντε ἐτῶν."

Sathas in his Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλας, p. 189, n. 1, conjectures him to be the same individual as the Bishop of Paphos who, in conjunction with Archbishop Christodoulos, wrote to Carlo Emmanuele, Duke of Savoy, in 1608.

the matter was too slight to allow of his forming an opinion, advised his correspondent to instil into the minds of his followers a proper regard for constituted authority and to preserve the peace. In a second letter, addressed to another monk named Paisios and the community of Limassol in response to their request for an authoritative decision upon the tenets in dispute, the Patriarch censured Eustratios for raising such questions at so inopportune a time, when the island had so recently passed into infidel hands, and recommended his readers to adhere to the doctrines already accepted and professed by their fathers. This letter seems to have had the effect of preventing any further discussion on these controverted points. The author of the disturbance, which at one time so seriously threatened the peace of the Church, eventually died at Nikosia in the thirty-fifth year of his age, as Abbot of the Monastery of St. John Bibi in that town.

**Athanasios.**

**Philippos Georgiou, p. 78 sq.**

The next name, which occurs on the list of Archbishops, is that of Athanasios. During his tenure of the See Meletios Pegas again intervened in consequence of certain grave accusations brought against him by members of his Church. The whole of the circumstances, of which the following is a summary, are fully recorded in the letter of deposition issued by the Œcumenical Patriarch, Matthew II. The Archbishop was charged among other things with :—

1. Tearing and burning certain ancient antiminsia [1] of great sanctity for the profit to be derived from the sale of new ones, as well as putting others to unseemly uses.

2. Breaking open with an axe the throne [2] of Germanos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and abstracting the sacred relics deposited in it.

3. Sanctioning fourth marriages for bribes, and pronouncing divorces without just cause.

**Neale, Eastern Ch., vol. I., p. 186.**

[1] *ἀντιμίνσια* are consecrated corporals used for celebration where the Altar is itself unconsecrated. Relics being pounded up with fragrant gum, oil is poured over them by the bishop, and, distilling on to the corporals, is supposed to convey to them the mysterious virtue of the relics themselves. The Holy Eucharist must then be celebrated on them for seven days, after which they are sent forth as they may be wanted. It is usual that the date of dedication be written or worked on them. The Greeks always spell the word as antiminsia, and derive it from *μίνσος*, a canister, though the derivation from mensa, which would spell it antimensia, and explain it as the substitute of a table, seems to Dr. Neale the more probable.

**Philippos Georgiou, p. 78 n. (a).**

[2] Philippos Georgiou's comment upon the presence of this throne in the island is as follows: *Ἀπορίας ἄξιον πῶς εὑρέθη ἐν Κύπρῳ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων.*

4. Admitting to the priesthood monks who had broken their vows of celibacy.

5. Permitting the ministrations of remarried priests.

These charges were supported by the evidence of numerous witnesses, among whom was the Abbot of St. John Chrysostom at Kutzuventi. On receipt of these complaints the Alexandrian Patriarch addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Archbishop. Finding, however, that his admonitions were treated with scant courtesy he resolved, while in temporary charge of the Œcumenical See, to adopt more active measures. Accordingly he despatched two commissioners from Constantinople to Cyprus with full powers to make inquiries in conjunction with the local hierarchy. These emissaries on their arrival assembled the island Synod and, after causing the letter of the Œcumenical Synod to be read, summoned Athanasios to appear and defend himself. On his failing after three citations to put in an appearance it was decided that the case should be heard in his absence. The result of the investigation, as might have been anticipated, tended to confirm the charges that had been made against him. But the Archbishop had no intention of submitting tamely to his judges. Seizing the persons of the two envoys he handed them over to the Turkish authorities, who cast them into prison, whence they barely escaped with their lives. Matters now remained in abeyance until the return to the Œcumenical throne of Matthew II., which occurred soon afterwards.[1] That Patriarch with the approval of Meletios, who had then retired to Alexandria, issued, on a renewal of the former complaints, a sentence of deposition against the Cypriot primate.[2] His flock were at the same time released from their canonical obedience, while those who continued to support him were threatened, if clerics, with suspension and deprivation, if laymen, with excom-

[1] Matthew II. first became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1594. The same year he was forced to retire when Gabriel of Thessalonica and Theophanes of Athens were successively raised to the Patriarchate. On the latter's death Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria, governed the Œcumenical See for one year. In 1596 Matthew was restored, but again deposed in 1600. He occupied the See a third time in 1601 or 1602.

Manuel I. Gedeon (Ἀθήναιον, ἔτος ς', τομ. 6, σελ. 51) gives an order of succession apparently somewhat different to that of Le Quien.

Matthew II., 1594. Theophanes I., 1595. Gabriel I., 1596. Theophanes II. (Karykes), 1597. Meletios Pegas, 1598. Matthew II. (second time), 1600.

[2] In the Περίληψις Πατριαρχικῶν Ἐγγράφων (1538-1684), published by Sathas in vol. iii. of the Bibliotheca Medii Œvi occurs the following notice (p. 549):—

Ματθαῖος Β', τὸ γ'—7108, ἰνδ'. ιγ'. κατ' ἰουνίον (1600), καθαίρεσις τοῦ Κύπρου Ἀθανασίου, γνώμῃ καὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας Μελετίου Πηγᾶ.

munication. Philippos Georgiou, from whose work the above facts are derived, though expressing the greatest respect for the learning and piety of Meletios Pegas, is of opinion that the charges brought against Athanasios were not in themselves sufficient to procure his condemnation in accordance with the canons. He suspects that the real cause of the Archbishop's downfall was his insolent behaviour towards the two Patriarchs, which irritated them into pronouncing not only his deposition, but also his degradation from the episcopal order.

It was at this crisis in the history of the island Church that Joakim,[1] Patriarch of Antioch, made an attack upon its liberties, which recalls to mind the similar attempts of some of his predecessors centuries before. Taking advantage of the confusion caused by the misconduct of Athanasios he asserted that to him alone belonged the prerogative of restoring ecclesiastical order in Cyprus. He based his contention partly upon an alleged commission, which he pretended to have received from the Patriarch of Constantinople, and partly upon that fictitious canon (forty-second ?) of the Council of Nice, which conferred upon his See the right of consecrating the bishops of Cyprus. The inhabitants of Famagusta appealed to Meletios against this threatened aggression. That Patriarch in his reply, while regretting his inability to assist them, as the matter did not come within his jurisdiction, counselled them to have recourse to the Œcumenical throne. At the same time he wrote on 5th September, 1600, to Joakim, strongly remonstrating with him on his conduct. This letter, extracted from the register of the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, is given at length as exhibiting the amenities of patriarchal correspondence.

"All-holy Patriarch of Antioch, our beloved brother and fellow-worker in the Lord, peace be to thee and mercy from our Saviour.

"Thou hast already addressed to us two letters very unworthy of patriarchal good sense, and now thou writest to us again on the subject both of the irregular Laurentios[2] and the condemned

Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 772.

[1] He was the seventh of the name and the hundred and forty-sixth occupant of the See.

Neale's Patriarchate of Antioch, p. 180.

The list of the Patriarchs of Antioch by Constantios, Patriarch of Constantinople, in Neale's Patriarchate of Antioch shows Athanasios III. as occupying the See at this period, to which he succeeded in 1598 as the hundred and forty-third Patriarch. He had previously been Bishop of Chabranion.

[2] Laurentios is so called because he was irregularly consecrated Bishop of Sinai by the Patriarch of Antioch, instead of by his own Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Athanasios. And in the first letter thou assertest that the Patriarch of Constantinople appointed thee his proctor to decide the question of Cyprus. But in this thou dost not agree with the holy Patriarch of Jerusalem, who writes, and writes well, that the question of Cyprus should be decided in Constantinople by twelve bishops.[1] And in the second letter thou writest to us that the consecration of the bishops of Cyprus belongs to thee according to the Forty-second Canon of the First Council of the 318 holy fathers. And in regard to this, in the first place what need is there for thee to write that thou art his proctor, if the appointment is thine by right? And in that case how comes it that Athanasios is not irregular, since he was consecrated not by thee, but by him of Constantinople? Secondly, I wonder how thou daredst to cite a Forty-second Canon of the First Council and dost not know that the Orthodox Church possesses only twenty canons of the First Council, although it is for this reason that the third holy Œcumenical Council, when decreeing that the Patriarch of Antioch shall not take part in the consecrations of Cyprus, witnesses and says that neither long-established custom nor ecclesiastical law permits the Patriarch of Antioch to take part in the consecrations of Cyprus. Thou seest then that the Orthodox Church possesses the twenty canons only.[2] But the rest are considered apocryphal, wherefore the Church holds them not. But thou sittest and listenest to those who are ignorant, and who do not love thee according to God, and thou departest from the law of God, though an old man and a Patriarch. I know not, too, why thou citest also the canons of Sardica,[3] the

[1] This is an evident allusion to the Tenth Canon of the Synod of Carthage held in A.D. 387 or 390, which provides that "a bishop can only be judged by twelve bishops, a priest by six, a deacon by three bishops (besides his own)". Hefele, Councils, vol. ii., p. 391.

[2] This passage in the original runs as follows: *δεύτερον θαυμάζω πῶς ἐτόλμησες νὰ ἀναφέρῃς κανόνα τῆς πρώτης Συνόδου μβ΄ καὶ δὲν γνωρίζεις πῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δὲν ἔχει παρὰ εἴκοσι κανόνας τῆς πρώτης Συνόδου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁρίζουσα ἡ ἁγία τρίτη Συνόδος ἡ οἰκουμενικὴ νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ὁ Ἀντιοχείας νὰ κάμῃ εἰς τὰς χειροτονίας τῆς Κύπρου, μαρτυρεῖ καὶ λέγει πῶς οὐδὲ μακρὰ συνήθεια, οὐδὲ νόμος ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἔχει ὅτι ὁ Ἀντιοχείας νὰ ἐπιχειρίζεται εἰς τὰς χειροτονίας τῆς Κύπρου· βλέπεις πῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν ὀρθοδόξων δὲν ἔχει παρὰ τοὺς εἴκοσι κανόνας.* Philippos Georgiou, pp. 84, 85.

[3] The two canons referred to are as follows:— Hefele, Councils, vol. ii., pp. 109-111.

*Canon* I. *Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος πολέως Κορδούβης εἶπεν· Οὐ τοσοῦτον ἡ φαύλη συνήθεια ὅσον ἡ βλαβερωτάτη τῶν πραγμάτων διαφθορὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεμελίων ἐστὶν ἐκριζωτέα, ἵνα μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξῇ ἀπὸ πόλεως μικρᾶς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν μεθίστασθαι· ἡ γὰρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης πρόφασις φανερά ἐστι, δι' ἣν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρεῖται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ πώποτε εὑρεθῆναι ἐπισκόπων δεδύνηται, ὃς ἀπὸ μείζονος πόλεως εἰς ἐλαχιστοτέραν πόλιν ἐσπούδασε μεταστῆναι, ὅθεν συνέστηκε διαπύρῳ πλεονεξίας τρόπῳ ὑπεκκαίεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπως ἐξουσίαν δοκεῖν μείζονα κεκτῆσθαι. εἰ πᾶσι τοίνυν τοῦτο ἀρέσκει, ὥστε τὴν*

first and second of which nearly affect thee, who hast deserted thy Metropolis and become a Patriarch.[1] For they pronounce that thou shalt not receive at the end of thy life even lay communion. Are not thine own affairs sufficient for thee, blessed one,[2] but dost thou meddle also in the disturbed affairs of others that Holy Scripture may condemn thee as a busybody?[3] Finally, why dost thou write to me about Cyprus? I seek nothing either by delegation or by right, though this throne possesses, as it is, the judgeship of the world.[4] So far with regard to the Archbishop of Cyprus. If he had only been willing to listen to us originally there would not have been there so much misfortune and death and losses." The text of the rest of this interesting letter, which is not given, contains severe censures on the Patriarch for his illegal consecration of a certain Laurentios to the bishopric of Sinai.

Benjamin. Philippos Georgiou, p. 86.

Of Benjamin, the immediate successor of Athanasios, but little is known. Though his election to the vacant See was approved by the Patriarch Matthew its legality would appear to have been questioned.[5] For in 1602, after the accession of Neophytos

τοιαύτην σκαιότητα αὐστηρότερον ἐκδικηθῆναι; ἠγοῦμαι γὰρ μηδὲ λαϊκῶν ἔχειν τοὺς τοιούτους κρῆναι κοινωνίαν· πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι εἶπον· Ἀρέσκει πᾶσιν.

*Canon* 2. Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· Εἰ δέ τις τοιοῦτος εὑρίσκοιτο μανιώδης ἢ τολμηρὸς, ὡς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων δόξαι τινὰ φέρειν παραίτησιν, διαβεβαιούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἑαυτὸν κεκομίσθαι γράμματα, δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὀλίγους τινὰς δεδυνῆσθαι μισθῷ καὶ τιμήματι διαφθαρέντας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ στασιάζειν, ὡς δῆθεν ἀξιοῦντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐπίσκοπον· καθάπαξ οὖν τὰς ῥαδιουργίας τὰς τοιαύτας καὶ τέχνας κολαστέας εἶναι νομίζω, ὥστε μηδένα τοιοῦτον μηδὲ ἐν τῷ τέλει λαϊκῆς γοῦν ἀξιοῦσθαι κοινωνίας· εἰ τοίνυν ἀρέσκει ἡ γνώμη αὕτη, ἀποκρίνασθε· ἀπεκρίναντο· Τὰ λεχθέντα ἤρεσεν.

[1] Previous to his elevation to the Patriarchate Joakim had been Bishop of Emesa.

[2] Εὐλογημένε. This expression is generally used in a contemptuous sense = Lord bless you, or, silly fool.

[3] ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος. This word, which is a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, is to be found in 1 Pet. iv. 15, μὴ γάρ τις ὑμῶν πασχέτω ὡς φονεὺς, ἢ κλέπτης, ἢ κακοποιός, ἢ ὡς ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος.

[4] An allusion to the title of "Œcumenical Judge" (κριτὴς τῆς Οἰκουμένης) borne by the Patriarchs of Alexandria.

The source, whence these various Patriarchal letters are derived, is thus indicated by Philippos Georgiou (p. 85, n. (a)).

Τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ταύτας τοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας μετεγράψαμεν ἐκ χειρογράφου κώδικος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Τάφου· τὸ δὲ γράμμα τοῦ Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγιοταφίτου μετοχίου.

Sathas, Biblioth. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 549.

[5] Cf. Περίληψις Πατριαρχικῶν Ἐγγράφων.

Ματθαῖος Β' το γ'—7109—ἰνδ. ιϐ', κατὰ ἰανουάριον (1601) γράμμα πρὸς τοὺς Κυπρί-

to the Œcumenical throne, he proceeded to Constantinople, presumably to get an authoritative decision upon the matter. The new Patriarch not only acknowledged the validity of his appointment, but also furnished him with Patriarchal and Synodical letters to the Cypriots, confirming his predecessor's deposition and his own election to the primacy.

Philippos Georgiou merely mentions the name of Christodoulos, the next on the list, whom he represents as having been in possession of the See for more than twenty years (1609-1631). But contemporary records show that his tenure of office was not altogether uneventful in the history of his Church and nation. Philippos Georgiou, p. 145.

Even after Cyprus had become a part of the Ottoman Empire the Dukes of Savoy never abandoned the claims, which had been bequeathed to them by Charlotte, the last legitimate sovereign of the house of Lusignan. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Carlo Emmanuele I., taking advantage of the discontent displayed by the natives towards their new masters, resolved to attempt its reconquest. With this object he despatched to the Levant in 1600 a confidential agent named Francesco Accidas, a native of Rhodes, to ascertain the feelings of the islanders towards him. This emissary first proceeded to Jerusalem, where the Patriarch, who heartily approved of the scheme, gave him letters for the Duke and the Primate of Cyprus. Bearing these missives with him Accidas crossed over to Famagusta, where he found the Archbishop engaged in visiting his province. The latter received the Patriarch's letter at first in silence. But on arriving at Limassol, whither Accidas accompanied him, he threw off all reserve and, in the house of a trusted friend, discussed the project freely. The Archbishop assured his visitor that the enterprise would present no difficulty from the small numbers of the Turkish garrison.[1] In fact Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 574 sq.

ους, ὅτι καλῶς ἐκλεχθεὶς ὁ Βενιαμὶν, ἔλαβε τὸ μπεράτιον (Berat) καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Κύπρον.

Νεόφυτος Β'—7110—ἰνδ. ιε'. (1602) κατ' αὔγουστον, πρὸς τοὺς Κυπρίους, ἐπικύρωσις τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου αὐτῶν Βενιαμίν. Ibid., p. 551.

[1] Marc Memmo, an inhabitant of Paphos, who visited Turin to urge Carlo Emmanuele to undertake the conquest of the island, wrote in 1590 to the Duke to inform him that the garrison consisted only of 4800 men, split up into small bodies of 200 or 300 each. In 1608 Pierre Gonème, dragoman of the Pasha at Nikosia, writing in the name of the inhabitants of that town to incite the Duke to undertake the invasion of Cyprus in concert with Philip III. of Spain, puts the number of Christians capable of bearing arms at 35,000, while he estimates the Turkish force at not more than 8000. Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 575, n. 1. Guichenon, tom. ii., p. 558.

he had himself already arranged with the bishops and heads of the monasteries for a general rising of the Orthodox population. This was to take place the following Easter Day three hours before the time usually appointed for the singing of the "Gloria in excelsis," when the Turks would be off their guard. So advanced, indeed, were the preparations of the conspirators that he had but to give the signal, when a general massacre of the oppressors would take place immediately. Accidas endeavoured to persuade his informant to commit the substance of their conversation to writing, but to this the cautious prelate would not consent. On 3rd December of the same year Accidas quitted Limassol, being furnished by the Archbishop with an exhaustive report on the island and the terms of an agreement, drawn up by one Claudio Cenchi, an Italian. This individual, the leading spirit in the proposed rebellion, was then acting as superintendent of the island salt-works, a post he had previously held under the Venetian administration. On the 11th April of the following year Accidas handed to the Duke the various documents entrusted to him. The most important of these was the paper containing the conditions upon which the Cypriots were willing to recognise Carlo Emmanuele as their sovereign. This instrument, which they required to be ratified by him, comprised twenty-four articles. Among them were the following affecting the status of the native Church and its ministers:—

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., pp. 566 sq., 570 sq.

1. The Archbishop and his suffragans were not to be removed from the positions then occupied by them, until a sum sufficient for their maintenance in accordance with the dignity of their rank had been assigned to them. This was to be raised from the revenues of the former Latin dioceses. They were further to be permitted to retain the titles of their Sees and to live unmolested in conformity with the tenets of the Orthodox Church, as defined by the seven Œcumenical Councils. To the Latin bishops were to be left merely the honorary titles of their Sees with the enjoyment of the revenues.

2. Similar conditions were to be observed with regard to the heads of the Orthodox monasteries.

3. The Duke was to promise for himself and his successors not to attempt anything prejudicial to the Orthodox faith.

13. No professors of any of the new sects, such as Lutherans, Hussites, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Huguenots, Arians, or Atheists, were to be allowed into the island.

14. The Jesuits were not to be admitted nor to have any place assigned to them for their settlement, without the previous con-

sent of the Royal Court, as was customary in the time of the Lusignan Kings.

18. The Inquisition was not to be conducted on Spanish principles, but on those which were in force under the Lusignans and the Republic.

21. The Archbishop and his relatives to the fourth degree were to be declared exempt from all taxes, obligations, and penalties, to be ennobled, and all actions affecting them, civil and criminal, were to be tried by the sovereign or his representatives.

23. The establishment of a university for the education of the nobles and people, to be called the Royal Seminary, at Nikosia, as in the time of the Lusignans.[1] At the head of this establishment was to be placed an ecclesiastic distinguished for learning, who was to be appointed by the Duke and to be changed about every four years.

The success of this first attempt emboldened Carlo Emmanuele to continue the negotiations. In a letter of thanks to the Archbishop for the favourable reception accorded to his envoy the Duke announced his intention of sending two others, to hold further conferences with him upon the proposed expedition. But his thoughts being soon afterwards diverted to more pressing matters nearer home the project was abandoned. In vain did the Cypriots through the agents, whom they sent to the Court of Turin, urge the despatch of the promised succours. The Turks at length becoming aware of the plot, the Archbishop fled to Albania to avoid arrest. Meanwhile his compatriots had recourse to arms, but the movement was easily suppressed. From his place of refuge Christodoulos informed (8th July 1609) the Duke of what had occurred, and tried once more to induce him to carry out his design.[2] But the advisers of the latter dissuaded him from the attempt, representing that, though the actual conquest of the island might prove comparatively easy, its maintenance and protection against the Sultan would involve enormous expense. If Philippos Georgiou's chronology is correct more

Guichenon, tom. ii., pp. 559-560.

[1] Ludolphe, curé of Suchen in Westphalia, who visited the island in 1350 during the reign of Hugues IV. speaks of schools for the study of languages: "in specialibus scolis docentur omnia ydeomata cuncta," while Jacques II. is reported to have established at Nikosia an Academy for the education of the youth of the nobility.

H. de Chyp., tom. ii., p. 216.

Jauna, H. de Chyp., tom. ii., liv. xxii., c. 2, p. 1015.

[2] This letter the Archbishop caused to be written in Italian that the Duke might be able to read it direct.

than one primate must have been involved in the conspiracy. Though the name of Christodoulos alone is mentioned, it is represented to have commenced towards the end of 1600, when Benjamin is known to have been in possession of the Archiepiscopal throne.

The hopes of deliverance through the aid of Savoy, though doomed for the moment to disappointment, were not finally extinguished till long afterwards. Twice again during the same century overtures for assistance were made on the part of the Cypriots to the Court of Turin. In 1632 a monk named Theophilos, a member of the monastery of Cochenichy in Macedonia and nephew of the Archbishop of Cyprus, while in France collecting the sum of 5500 livres to pay the fine imposed upon his house by the Turks for facilitating the escape of five French prisoners, wrote[1] to Vittorio Amadeo, in the name of his uncle and other relatives at Nikosia, to undertake the liberation of the island. In 1668 also another occupant of the See, Nikephoros,[2] seems to have entered into a similar correspondence. The agent selected on this occasion was a vendor of cheese and fish, by name Luigi de Barrie. Embarking secretly at Cape San Andrea he in due course reached Villefranche near Nice, whence he proceeded to Turin and delivered the letters confided to his care. These he said had been handed to him by the Archbishop, in the presence of his chaplain, with strict injunctions to throw them overboard in the event of his being stopped by a Turkish vessel. But this last endeavour to invoke the aid of the West was no more successful than the previous ones had been. The Dukes, satisfied with the empty title of Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem, relinquished henceforth all further intentions of acquiring by force the goodly heritage left them by Charlotte.

Hist. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 576 sq.

About the middle of the same century the Œcumenical Patriarch again busied himself in the ecclesiastical affairs of Cyprus. On this occasion the cause for intervention was furnished by the dissensions, which had broken out between the then Archbishop and his colleagues on the subject of jurisdiction. The names

Philippos Georgiou, p. 86 sq.

[1] This letter was in Greek accompanied by a French translation.

[2] Nikephoros would appear to have made the first advances some four years earlier, as on the 9th Dec. 1664 he addressed a letter in Greek and Italian to the Duke Carlo Emmanuele II. urging him to the same effect. "Che la vostra altezza si degna di venir, tosto il nostro regno sarà nelle sue mani, poichè adesso non si ritrova altro che 5000 Turchi, et noi siamo 40 mille persone: et li Turchi sono sparsi per le ville". The fewness of the Turks, it will be observed, is also held out as an augury of success.

H. de Chyp., tom. iii., p. 577, n. 1.

Ibid., tom. iii., p. 575, n. 1.

of the disputants, however, have not been preserved. It appears that the suffragan bishops, either through ignorance or ambition, claimed the same rights and privileges in the primate's diocese which he exercised in theirs, as though their position towards him was one of perfect equality. Some were even charged with having solicited the assistance of the Turkish authorities in the enforcement of their claims. Another cause of offence was their attempting to employ in their correspondence with him the same epistolary style which he used when addressing them. On the matter being referred to the Patriarch Joannikios a meeting of the Great Synod was held under his presidency, when the conduct of the refractory prelates was condemned, and their position with regard to the Archbishop defined in accordance with the canons. This decision he was directed to have read in all the churches throughout the island. Philippos Georgiou admits that it is somewhat peremptory in tone, but he explains this as being customary at the period when it was written, and perhaps necessary under the circumstances. The letter, which is dated July, 1651, commences with a general denunciation of ambition, which it charges with despising the divine laws, trampling under foot the canons, and subverting ecclesiastical order and harmony. It next refers to the various irregularities then prevalent in Cyprus, and concludes by laying down certain directions for the guidance of the bishops and clergy, to which it requires obedience under threat of ecclesiastical and temporal censures. The following is a summary of its contents:—

1. Priests when leaving their own diocese for another were to show their letters of commendation to the bishop of the diocese into which they might go, and were forbidden to take part in any services there without his express sanction.

2. On the occasion of any of the suffragan bishops visiting Nikosia and attending service in any of its churches the priests there were directed to follow the usage of Constantinople in the honours which they paid him, *viz.*:—

(*a*) To assign him the place immediately behind the Archbishop's throne.

(*b*) To cense him with three single wavings of the censer, but not crosswise.

(*c*) At the Little Entrance[1] the priest, after concluding the

[1] The ceremony of the Little Entrance (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος or εἴσοδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου), that is, the bringing in of the Gospel, is one of considerable pomp. Preceded by tapers the deacon carries the volume before the priest, through the prothesis, and so back again to the holy doors. It answers to the carrying the Gospel by the deacon to the rood loft or ambo in the Western Church. Neale, Eastern Church, vol. i., p. 365.

Entrance Prayer in the middle of the church, was to go to the bishop and offer him the Gospel to kiss and then return to his former position, where he was to pronounce the words: "In wisdom, stand up".[1]

(*d*) At the Great Entrance[2] the priest was to say with a loud voice, enough that the bishop could hear him, the words: "The Lord God remember thy episcopate".

(*e*) When the bishop desired to partake of the Holy Mysteries he was himself to carry the elements within the altar, and there receive them first, but not to communicate the celebrant.

(*f*) At the distribution of the Antidoron[3] it was first to be sent to the bishop, where he was standing, and by him be returned to the priest, who was then to distribute it to the people.

(*g*) On leaving the church the bishop was to go first.

With these exceptions the priests of the archdiocese were forbidden to show the suffragan bishops any special marks of honour at all. Those disobeying these regulations were threatened on the first offence with suspension for three years, and in the case of continued disobedience with excommunication.[4]

Neale, Eastern Church, vol. i., p. 394, n. p.

[1] *σοφία ὀρθοί*. These words are to be regarded as a warning against the sin and folly of sitting at this part of the service. The more usual form of the words is *σοφία, ὀρθοί*, "Wisdom, Stand up".

[2] The Great Entrance (*ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος*) is the entrance of the priest into the church with the sacramental elements.

Neale, Eastern Ch., vol. i., p. 525.

[3] The Antidoron (*Ἀντίδωρον*) is the blessed bread distributed by the priest to the congregation at the end of the Communion service (*λειτουργία*). It is only eaten fasting. Balsamon refers its origin to the Council of Antioch; by the Latins it is attributed to Pope Pius I.

It is distributed equally to those who have, and those who have not, communicated, though designed especially for the latter. In the West it has usually been known by the name of Eulogiæ. The French use of Pain béni is of a similar character.

[4] The following has been kindly communicated by a learned Orthodox ecclesiastic, formerly of the Greek Church in London, and recently of Geneva, the late Archimandrite Hieronymos Myriantheus, D.D.:—

"A bishop when officially entering a church of his diocese is received with honour and gives his benediction to the people, while the choir sings the '*εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα*'. After this he takes possession of his throne, when the officiating priest comes and, kissing his hand, receives his benediction and permission to officiate. The deacon also incenses him nine times and receives his benediction. At the Great Entrance (*μεγάλη εἴσοδος*) the priest on coming out of the Sanctuary with the elements turns to the bishop on the throne and says in a loud voice: 'May the Lord God be mindful of thy prelacy in His Kingdom always, now and for ever,' etc. At stated periods the bishop says the 'Peace to all' and gives the benediction, and also at the end of the service distributes to the people the Antidoron or consecrated bread.

"A bishop, however, who enters a church not belonging to his diocese, does not give the benediction to the people, does not take possession of the throne, but of the seat next the throne instead, does not bless the officiating priest, nor

3. The bishops themselves were enjoined not to infringe any of the above ordinances, but to carefully follow the practice observed by their brethren of the Œcumenical See when visiting Constantinople. They were forbidden to—

(*a*) Take part in the services of the church in which they might happen to be present.

(*b*) To carry a pastoral staff inside, or even outside, the building. This they might do only within the confines of their own dioceses.

(*c*) Pronounce the benediction.

(*d*) Give permission to the priest to commence the service.

(*e*) Enter the church in his company.

(*f*) Pronounce the "Peace be to all".

(*g*) Permit themselves to be censed crosswise, or bless the incenser, either openly or secretly.

(*h*) Distribute the Antidoron, or

(*i*) Exercise in the Archdiocese any of the prerogatives proper to them in their own individual dioceses.

(*j*) When attending a service, at which the Archbishop was present, the only privilege they might claim was that of occupying a place near him.

(*k*) When present at a service conducted by the Archbishop they were not to presume, unless one of the Patriarchs was also present, to begin the service with the former, nor to salute the holy eikons at the same time as he did.

(*l*) When the Archbishop was commencing the service, they were to stand outside their seats and, after he had finished saluting the holy eikons and pronounced the benediction and taken his seat upon his throne in the middle of the church, they were then to approach him, two by two, and, on receiving his permission, to go within the altar to robe, being followed in turn by the priests and deacons. On such occasions the only distinction between them and the priests was to consist in the wearing of their episcopal cloaks (περιβολαια), with the right of immediately preceding and sitting in company with the Archbishop.

4. The Archbishop when engaged in the visitation of the whole province was declared to possess everywhere throughout the island the same powers which he enjoyed in his own particular

give him permission to conduct the service, nor does he say the 'Peace to all,' nor distribute the Antidoron, while the deacon only incenses him three times and does not receive his benediction. The priest, too, when leaving the Sanctuary at the Great Entrance with the elements says the words: 'The Lord God be mindful,' etc., in a tone of voice only just loud enough to be heard by him."

diocese. All were enjoined to submit to him without opposition and to reverence him as their spiritual father. The bishops were further reminded that his very title proved him to be their superior and, consequently, that they could not claim to exercise the same unlimited powers as he did. This letter,[1] the directions of which have been scrupulously observed to the present day, had the desired effect of restraining the encroachments of the bishops.

Christodoulos. Nikephoros (1660-1673).

Between Christodoulos and Nikephoros, the next recorded occupant of the archiepiscopal See, occurs an interval of thirty years, about which we possess no information. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Church of Cyprus united with the other Orthodox Communities in rejecting the doctrines of the Reformers as being contrary to the teaching of the Œcumenical Councils. Following the example of Jerusalem in 1648 Nikephoros twenty years later (8 April 1668), assembled a Synod for the same purpose in the Church of the Archangel at Nikosia. This conclave, which was attended by the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries of the island, condemned the errors of the Calvinists. Hilarion Kigala, or Tzigala, the immediate successor of Nikephoros in the primacy, compiled the acts and proceedings of the Council. A summary of the decrees passed on the occasion was presented to the Franciscans at their request and by them sent to France, where it was rendered into Latin. These decisions, which are comprised in seven chapters, deal with :—

Le Quien, O.C., II., 1056.

V. Appendix No. V., p. 660.

1. The Sacraments.
2. Episcopacy.
3. The Chrism.
4. Fasting.
5. Monasticism.
6. The Adoration and Intercession of the Saints.
7. Commemorations of the Dead.

[1] This letter bore the signatures of the following ten prelates, *viz.* :—

1. Meletios of Herakleia.
2. Ignatios of Ephesus.
3. Anthimos of Cyzicos.
4. Kyrillos of Nikomedia.
5. Porphyrios of Nicæa.
6. Neophytos of Adrianople.
7. Daniel of Euripos.
8. Paisios of Larissa.
9. Christophoros of Medeia.
10. James of Didymotoichos.

Suffice it here to say that the doctrines inculcated in these decisions in more than one particular show strong Romish tendencies, which may perhaps be due to the unconscious influence of their compiler's early training and associations.

In 1672 Nikephoros came into collision with the Œcumenical See through his holding communion with Parthenios IV. whom it had deposed from the Patriarchate.[1] In consequence of this act sentence of deposition was pronounced against him also. But on his proceeding to Constantinople and asking pardon the penalty was remitted and he returned, furnished with a Synodical and Patriarchal letter of acquittal, bearing the signatures of the three Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Jerusalem.[2]

Cf. Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 599.

[1] Philippos Georgiou in his notice of this occurrence (p. 93) says: "In the year 1672 the Archbishop of Cyprus, Nikephoros, because in error he held communion with a certain Parthenios, who had been deposed by the Great Church and banished to Cyprus, was himself also deposed" (*ἐν ἔτει* 1672 *ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου Νικηφόρος ἀπατηθεὶς συνεκοινώνησε Παρθενίῳ τινι ὑπὸ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας καθαιρεθέντι καὶ εἰς Κύπρον ἐξορισθέντι, καθηρεθη καὶ αὐτός*). He seems, however, to be confusing between the Patriarch Parthenios and a namesake, the Bishop of Chalcedon. The former is reported to have been exiled not to Cyprus, but to Rhodes. It was the latter, who was banished to Cyprus but at a much later date, *viz.*, (1) 1790. He appears to have died in the island after a very short stay there, *viz.*, in (2) 1792.

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., pp. 374, 377.

Ἀθήναιον, Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν, Ἀθήνησι, 1877, p. 52.

The vicissitudes through which the Patriarchate passed at this period are best illustrated by the subjoined list of occupants of the Œcumenical See, which forms part of the series attached by Manuel I. Gedeon to his edition of the metrical chronicle of the Patriarchs of Constantinople by Kyrillos Lauriotes.

Cf. Le Quien, O. C., tom. i., col. 341.

| | |
|---|---|
| Parthenios IV. Mogilalos (Prusa) | A.D. 1657. |
| Dionysios III. Bardalis (Larissa) | A.D. 1660. |
| Parthenios IV. (2nd time) | A.D. 1665. |
| Clement I. (Iconium) | A.D. 1668. |
| Methodios III. (Herakleia) | A.D. 1669. |
| Parthenios IV. (3rd time) | A.D. 1671. |
| Dionysios IV. Mouselimes (Larissa) | A.D. 1671. |
| Gerasimos II. (Tirnova) | A.D. 1674. |
| Parthenios IV. (4th time) | A.D. 1675. |
| Dionysios IV. (2nd time) | A.D. 1676. |
| Athanasios IV. | A.D. 1679. |
| James I. (Larissa) | A.D. 1679. |
| Dionysios IV. (3rd time) | A.D. 1685. |
| Parthenios IV. (5th time) | A.D. 1686. |

1. *Συνέσχε δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἄρκυσι καταγαγὼν τὸν Χαλκηδόνος Παρθένιον ὁ πατριάρχης, ἀπατήσας ὡς διαλλαγησόμενος, καὶ εἰς Κύπρον ἐξόριστον ἀπέωσε, παντελεῖ καθαιρέσει ὑποβαλὼν, τῇ τρίτῃ Νοεμβρίου τοῦ τρέχοντος, κ.τ.λ.*

2. *Ὁ δὲ παναγιώτατος μαθὼν τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ θάνατον τοῦ ἐξορισθέντος Παρθενίου Χαλκηδόνος, κ.τ.λ.*

[2] A copy of this letter is preserved in the Patriarchal archives at Constantinople dated Dec. 1672, as we learn from the *Περίληψις πατριαρχικῶν ἐγγράφων* contained in vol. iii. of the Bibliotheca Medii Ævi.

*Διονύσιος Γ'. τὸ γ'*—1672 *ἰνδ'. ια', κατὰ δεκεμβρίου, ἀθώωσις τοῦ Κύπρου Νικηφόρου, ὡς κοινωνήσαντος τῷ καθῃρημένῳ Παρθενίῳ πρώην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.*

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 599.

Hilarion Kigala.

Kyprianos, p. 362.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 95 sq.

On his death Hilarion Kigala (1674-1678), the historian of the Council of Nikosia, was immediately chosen to fill the vacant dignity. According to the evidence of his contemporary, the famous Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, he seems to have been a man of considerable ability and learning.[1] A native of Nikosia, he was educated with his two brothers at the Greek College at Rome, where he subsequently taught theology, rhetoric and poetry. He was afterwards employed for a while by the Propaganda on missionary work in the East, during which period he resided for a considerable time in Epirus. On his return to Rome he was appointed president of the Greek College at Padua, where he also discharged the duties of a professor. He next visited Constantinople, where he was made the recipient of numerous distinctions by the Œcumenical See. Proceeding thence to Cyprus he took part in the Synod of 1668. While in Jerusalem in 1671 he was of great assistance to the Patriarch, Nektarios of Sinai, then engaged in writing a treatise against the supremacy of the

Le Quien, O.C. tom. ii., coll. 1055-56.

Dositheos, Dodekabib, bk. xi., c. 11. sec. 7.

[1] Ἱλαρίων ὁ Τζιγάλας, ὁ χρηματίσας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου, ὃς Ἱερομόναχος ἔτι ὤν, καὶ εὑρισκόμενος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐχρημάτισε συγγράφοντι τῷ κυρίῳ Νεκταρίῳ κατὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα ἑρμηνεὺς πολλῶν χρησέων δυτικῶν πατέρων, ὃν Τζιγάλαν συγγράφοντα ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Πάσχα ἀπλανοῦς ἑυρτῆς, ἐκώλυσεν ὁ θάνατος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

Dositheos may possibly be confusing between him and another member of the same family, Matthew, who published at Venice the following works :—

Sathas, Νεοελ. Φιλολογ, p. 300.

1. Συνταγμάτιον περιέχον κανόνας τε καὶ εὐχὰς ἱκετηρίους εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον, συλλεχθὲν μὴν ἐκ διαφόρων βιβλίων, τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐφραιμ.—Προσετέθησαν δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι τρεῖς κανόνες παρακλητικοὶ, εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον, καὶ ὁλοκλήρος ὁ ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος. Ἔτι δὲ προσετέθη καὶ Πασχάλιον αἰώνιον, καὶ κανόνιον, πασῶν τῶν ἑορτῶν, ὁποῦ ἀκολουθοῦσι τῷ Πάσχα, μετὰ σεληνοδρομίου συνοπτικωτάτου καὶ μηνολογίου συντομωτάτου. Ἐνετίησεν, α,χπα′ (1631) 4to.

2. Νέα Σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, καὶ λήγουσα ἕως τῆ!νῦν ἐχρονία, κ.τ.λ. Ἐνετίησιν παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ, ἔτει Κυρίου α,χλζ′ (1637).

3. Πασχάλιον αἰώνιον μετὰ κοινῆς καὶ συνοπτικῆς μεθόδου πρόχειρον τοῖς πᾶσι, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ ἔτη α,χκζ′ (1627) καὶ λῆγον ἕως εἰς ἔτη βρμθ′ (2149), περιέχον καὶ ἑορτολόγιον πάνυ ὡραῖον καὶ εὐκολώτατον. Ἐνετίησιν, παρὰ Νικολάῳ τῷ Γλυκεῖ, α,χοζ′ (1677) 8vo σελ. 110.

Sathas only mentions two products of Hilarion Kigala's pen, which he does as follows :—

Sathas, ut supra.

Μετέφρασεν ἑλληνιστὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρχῆς τοῦ Πάπα σύγγραμμα Πέτρου τοῦ Ἱσπανοῦ, χάριν τοῦ αἰτήσαντος Νεκταρίου Ἱεροσολυμοῦν καὶ ἔγραψεν ἡρωελεγεῖον ἐπιγραμμα εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Γοβδελὰν, συνεκδοθὲν τῇ Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἁγίου ἐν Βενετία 1661.

Demetrios Prokopios in his short memoir περὶ λογίων Γραϊκῶν, compiled in 1721, thus notices Hilarion Kigala :—

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 487.

Ἱλαρίων ὁ Τζιγάλας Κύπριος, ὁ χρηματίσας ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου, ἀνὴρ θεολόγος, καὶ φιλόσοφος, καὶ ποιήτης, ἀνιχνευτὴς τοῦ βάθους τῶν θείων γραφῶν, καὶ τῶν θύραθεν φιλοσόφων· συνέγραψεν ἑλληνιστὶ γραμματικὴν θεωρητικὴν, καὶ ἄλλα διάφορα ἐκ κλησιαστικὰ συγγράμματα, καὶ ποιητικὰ πάμπολλα ἔξαιρετα.

Pope, by translating for him many passages from the Latin fathers. Three years later he was consecrated to the See of Nikosia. Kyprianos has fallen into several errors concerning this prelate. In the first place he assigns the year 1660 as the date of his accession to the primacy. Against this may be set the testimony of Ricaut in his notice on the state of the Orthodox Communion, which represents Kigala in 1678 as being then already four years in possession of the See. He also reports him to have been the convener, while Archbishop, of the Synod which met at Nikosia in 1668. But this is opposed to the statement of Kigala himself that it took place during the primacy and under the presidency of Nikephoros.[1] Lastly he described the latter as being his successor. The same historian claims to have found in the year 1762 in an old register belonging to the See a letter addressed by the clergy of Nikosia to the then Œcumenical Patriarch charging the Archbishop among other things with having secretly fled from the island and gone to Constantinople.[2] Kyprianos professes not to remember the reason assigned for Kigala's flight, but it may possibly have been due to the Romish proclivities he displayed during his tenure of the See. With regard to the Synod against the Calvinists a modern writer, misled by Kyprianos, says that he assembled it at the instigation of the Latins then in Cyprus and that when the news reached Constantinople he was deposed and with difficulty escaped the resentment of his fellow-countrymen.[3] Dositheos records his death as having occured at that town (1682), while engaged in a work on the fixity of Easter.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 94, n. (a).

Sathas, Νεοελλην. Φιλολογ, p. 300.

Of the next three primates but little is known. James I. (1679- Philippos Georgiou, p. 100.

[1] Πᾶσι τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις καὶ ἀναγνῶναι μέλλουσι τὰ παρόντα γράμματα τῆς ἡμῶν ταπεινότητος διαβεβαιούμεθα ὅτι τὰ καθυπογραφέντα κεφάλαια αὐτολεξεὶ ἀπογέγραπται, ἐν τῇ Λευκωσίᾳ τῇ περιφήμῳ τῆς νήσου Κύπρου μητροπόλει, γενομενης συνόδου ὀγδόῃ ἀπριλίου τοῦ ἱσταμένου ἔτους (αχξη'—1668), ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἐνδόξου Ἀρχαγγέλου ναῷ, προκαθεζομένου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου πάσης Κύπρου κυρίου Νικηφόρου, κ.τ.λ.

[2] That the Œcumenical See entertained doubts as to his orthodoxy would appear likely from the following extract from the Περιληψις πατριαρχικῶν ἐγγράφων. Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 598.

Μεθόδιος Γ'.—1670 ἰνδ'. η', μαΐου 13, τοῦ μεγάλου θεολόγου Ἰλαρίωνος (Κιγάλα;) ὁμολογία τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πίστεως.

[3] Περὶ τὸ 1660 ἔτος ἐχειροτονήθη ἐπίσκοπος Κύπρου. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνεννοούμενος μετὰ τῶν δυτικῶν, ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἀλωπεκὴν, καὶ συνεκρότησεν αὐθαιρέτως σύνοδον ἐν Λευκοσίᾳ περὶ τοῦ θείου βαπτίσματος, καὶ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς εὐχαριστείας. Γνώστης γενομένης τῆς παρατόλμου ταύτης πράξεως εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν, καθῃρέθη τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, καὶ μόλις διὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐσώθη ἀπὸ τῆς δικαίας ὀργῆς τῶν συμπατριώτων τοῦ.

1689) is represented as having been the successor of Kigala. His name occurs twice in the series of archiepiscopal signatures immediately after that of Nikephoros, being followed in turn by those of Germanos II. (1690-1705) and James II. (1710).[1] The period of these two latter prelates, which is only approximate, is thus ascertained. The name of the former is found on an inscription in the Church of the Archangel at Nikosia, bearing date 1690, while in the great register of the diocese is contained a copy of a letter written by him in 1705. From this it would appear that James II., his successor, must have held office between the first and second decades of the eighteenth century.

James I.

Germanos II.

James II.

Silvestros.

Kyprianos, p. 314 sq.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 101 sq.

Silvestros[2] (1718-1731), is the next Archbishop of whom anything definite is known. According to the evidence of an inscription still preserved in the archiepiscopal residence he restored that building at his own expense in 1720. Ten years later, *viz.*, in 1730, by the unanimous desire of the inhabitants he proceeded with his suffragans to Constantinople to complain to the Grand Vizier of the intolerable burdens under which the island was then groaning. The Porte being for some reason unfavourably disposed towards the deputation arrested the members of it. The Bishops of Paphos and Kyrenia were soon restored to liberty, but the Archbishop and the Bishop of Kition were banished to Avret-Odasi. During their enforced absence the administration of their Sees was carried on by their colleagues, the Bishop of Kyrenia assuming charge of the Archbishopric, while the Bishop of Paphos directed the affairs of Kition. But the exiles were shortly afterwards released from captivity and restored to their former dioceses. On his return Silvestros turned his attention to the internal decoration of the Church of St. John the Divine, situated within the precincts of the Archbishop's house, but death carried him off before he could complete the undertaking.

Philotheos.

Philotheos[3] (1734-1759), his successor, was a native of the village of Galata in the Nahieh of Levka. Before his appointment

[1] In the *κατάλογος ἐπιστολῶν ἀνεκδότων* published by Sathas in vol. iii. of his Bibliotheca Medii Ævi occur the following notices:—

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., pp. 519, 522.

'Ιάκωβος *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος πάσης Κύπρου καὶ νέας' Ιουστινιανῆς, τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ τοῦ Παναγίου Τάφου Νεοφύτῳ · 1711, κατ' αὐγουστον, ἰνδ'. δ'.*

*Γέρμανος Κύπρου · 1702, ἰνδ. ι'. πρὸς Χρύσανθον Νοταρᾶν, ἱεροδιάκονον, μητροπολίτην Καισαρείας, καὶ πατριάρχην 'Ιεροσολύμων.*

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 532.

[2] The following notice of him occurs in the *κατάλογος ἐπιστολῶν ἀνεκδότων*:—

*Σίλβεστρος Κύπρου καὶ νέας 'Ιουστινιανῆς · 1720, κατ' ἰανουάριον. 1721, μαρτίου 22.'*

Sathas, Bibl. Medii Ævi, tom. iii., p. 99.

[3] The following notice of him is to be found in the *ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος* of Cæsarios Dapontes:—

*'Ο Κύπρου Φιλόθεος, Κύπριος, ἐπίσημος διὰ μάθησιν.*

as Archbishop he was engaged for several years in tutorial work at Constantinople, numbering among his pupils the children of many families of position. After his accession he interested himself greatly in the cause of education, founding schools of various kinds throughout the archdiocese. Kyprianos describes him as a man of a charitable and generous disposition, a friend to the poor and an ornament to the exalted office, which he filled. His first care on mounting the archiepiscopal throne was to free his native land from the crushing load of taxation under which it was labouring, and to restrain the violence and rapacity of the Turkish governors. For this purpose he proceeded to Constantinople, where he prevailed upon the Grand Vizier to take compassion upon the miserable Ravahs and remit a considerable portion of the Kharaj. While engaged upon this patriotic mission he was accused to the Grand Vizier by certain evil-disposed persons from Cyprus, both Mohammedan and Christian, of exacting illegal contributions from his co-religionists. In consequence of this charge he was sent in chains to Cyprus and there cast into prison. Although on inquiry proved innocent he was deposed and a drunken youth named Neophytos, the nominee of his accusers, appointed instead, the Œcumenical Patriarch being compelled to perform the ceremony of his consecration. The new-comer, however, on his arrival in the island, was rejected by the Orthodox as an intruder and alien. On his death, which took place shortly afterwards, accelerated by his vices, Philotheos was released from prison and restored to his former position. But the sufferings he had undergone so shattered his health that, falling a victim to epilepsy, he lost all control over his limbs, and for the remainder of his life was unable to move without the assistance of two attendants. An English traveller, who visited the island shortly afterwards (1745), ascribes to a totally different cause the misfortune, which befell Philotheos. His explanation is so opposed to the account given by the native historian that it deserves being quoted entire: "In the year 1743 the Archbishop for the time being, with the countenance of the Musellim, who shared in the robbery, levied from the poor people no less than 40,000 piastres: but they complained so effectually to the Porte, corroborating their complaints with bribery, that he was stripped of his archiepiscopal robes, dignity and emoluments." Even in his subsequently enfeebled condition Philotheos did not cease, so Kyprianos assures his readers, to labour for the welfare of those, over whom he had been called to preside. A fresh agitation having arisen

Kyprianos, p. 315 sq.
Philippos Georgiou, p. 102 sq.
Drummond, Letter vii., p. 154.

for a further reduction of taxation he crossed over to Beyrout, whence he sent his three suffragans, with certain other well-disposed Cypriots, to Constantinople. The result of the mission was highly satisfactory, the Grand Vizier promising that from the year 1754 the island should be assessed at a fixed annual sum, irrespective of any increase or otherwise in the population. The agreement thus arrived at was recognised and rendered binding by an imperial rescript, or Khatti Humayun, bearing the Sultan's signature. The four bishops, moreover, were invested by a firman with the title of Qoja-bashis, constituting them the guardians and representatives of the Rayahs, and granted the perpetual right of presenting directly to the Porte petitions and complaints on their behalf. Shortly before his death, *viz.*, in 1755, he succeeded in obtaining another concession from the same official, whereby the annual Kharaj due from the monasteries and monks of the island was fixed at 4000 piastres. The collection and payment of this impost, it was further stipulated, should be entrusted to the bishops, and the Muhassil was strictly forbidden to exact anything more.

Paisios. Kyprianos, p. 315 sq. Philippos Georgiou, p. 105.

Paisios (1759-1766), the successor of Philotheos, had acted as Archimandrite of Nikosia before his elevation to the primacy. Shortly after his accession he met with an experience very similar to that of his predecessor. Owing to the ravages caused by a recent outbreak of the plague a deputation was sent to Constantinople, with the approval of the Governor, to represent the inability of the surviving Rayahs to meet the demands made upon them, and to request some remission at least in the matter of the rishvet or gift, which the Grand Vizier was wont to exact, in addition to the customary payment, on the investiture of every fresh Muhassil. But certain fellow-countrymen of the new Archbishop, enemies of his, taking advantage of the occasion bribed an official to persuade the Porte to banish him in place of granting the petition. Before, however, the sentence could be executed Paisios, having heard of the intention, fled to Beyrout, where he took refuge with the chieftain of Mount Lebanon. A successor to the fugitive was speedily found in the person of a Cypriot deacon, named Kyprianos, who was then engaged in tuition at the capital.[1] At the instance of Paisios'

'Αθανασίου Κ. Ὑψηλάντου εκκλησ. καὶ πολιτ., p. 385.

Sathas, Νεολλην. Φιλολογ., pp. 512-13.

[1] Sathas says that after receiving his education at Patmos this Kyprianos studied rhetoric, theology and Latin at Joannina under Eugenios Bulgaris. On his master being appointed to the charge of the Seminary at Mount Athos Kyprianos transferred himself to Constantinople, where he engaged in private tuition among the families of some of the influential Greek inhabitants. On

enemies, and with the forced consent of the Œcumenical Patriarch, the vacant See was conferred upon him by dispensation, but without consecration. On coming to Cyprus he behaved in the most tyrannical fashion, compelling not only the monasteries and churches, but also wealthy individuals to contribute towards payment of the debts he had incurred in Turkey. The islanders, already deeply incensed at the unjust deprivation of Paisios, were so irritated by these arbitrary proceedings that they obliged the intruder by their attitude to resign, after holding the See for nine months.[1] He appears to have been subsequently created Patriarch of Alexandria in 1767 (May).

Paisios, at the entreaty of his flock, now returned from Beyrout and resumed the duties of his office. Not long after his restoration he was called upon to face a crisis of a different character, caused by the despatch to Cyprus in 1764 of a certain Chil Osman Agha as Muhassil. This individual, who owed his position entirely to bribery, had scarcely reached the island when he resolved by further taxation to recoup himself for the heavy expenses which he had incurred in the purchase of the appointment. He, accordingly, announced to the Archbishop

Kyprianos, p. 318 sq. Philippos Georgiou, p. 105 sq.

the deposition and banishment of Paisios he was persuaded by the *entourage* of the Œcumenical Patriarch to accept the vacant dignity, but discovering on his arrival in Cyprus that the party of the dispossessed Archbishop was very strong he prudently resigned in his favour and returned to Constantinople. Soon afterwards he was invited to Athos by his old teacher, Eugenios Bulgaris, and appointed professor of grammatical studies in the Seminary there. This he subsequently resigned, owing to a dispute among the students as to the merits of two rival professors, and once again returned to Constantinople. In 1766 on the resignation of Matthew, Patriarch of Alexandria, he was elected to fill the vacancy, and governed the See until 1783, when he in turn resigned in favour of Parthenios. His death is said to have taken place in 1787.

Sergios Makraios, however, reports it to have occurred on 20th June, 1783. Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 334.

Τῇ δὲ εἰκοστῇ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀγδοηκοστοῦ τρίτου ἔτους τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πάπα καὶ πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας κυρίου Κυπριανοῦ πρὸς κύριον ἐκδημήσαντος, κ.τ.λ.

Cæsarios Daponte has the following notice of him in his historical catalogue among the Patriarchs of Alexandria:— Ibid., p. 89.

Κυπριανὸς Κύπριος, φιλόσοφος, ἀπὸ παπᾶς διάδοχος, καὶ ἀπέθανε ποδαλγὸς εἰς τὴν Πόλιν.

[1] Sergios Makraios describes the incident somewhat differently in his Ecclesiastical History:— Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 254.

ὅνπερ (*i.e.*, Κυπριανόν) οἱ Κύπριοι ἐπεχείρησαν καταστῆσαι σφίσιν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, καὶ ὁρισμὸν βασιλικὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔλαβον· ὁ δὲ ἵνα μὴ τὴν καλὴν τάξιν λύσῃ, χειροτονίαν καὶ ψήφους ἐκτὸς τῆς νήσου Κύπρου, οὔσης αὐτῷ ἰδίας πατρίδος, οὐκ ἀπεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος τὸ καλὸν θέμενος, ἱερυδιάκονος ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖσε, φέρων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ βασιλικὸν δίπλωμα ἄπρακτον· ὡς δὲ οἱ ἀστατοῦντες καὶ ἀπαρεσκόμενοι ἡσύχασαν, καὶ τὸν πρότερον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον (*i.e.*, Παΐσιον) ἀναλαβεῖν ἔστερξαν, ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ, καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλικὸν δίπλωμα, ἐπέστρεψεν εὐχαρίστως εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν.

and his suffragans that he intended to increase the contributions paid by the Rayahs. They declared the project impossible, owing to the serious diminution in the population which had lately taken place. But the Governor remained deaf to their representations and threatened to seize the property of the monasteries, as well as to levy fines upon themselves, in case of opposition to his will. Perceiving the uselessness of their remonstrances the bishops decided on sending a deputation to Constantinople to lay a complaint before the supreme government. After some delay the delegates at length obtained through the Silihdar Agha an audience of the Grand Vizier, from whom they procured a firman, directing Chil Osman under threat of punishment to desist from his design. During their absence, however, the Governor continued to press his illegal demands, whereupon Paisios and his colleagues resolved on flight rather than incur the consequences of a prolonged resistance. But their intention becoming known through the imprudence of the Bishop of Kition, they were apprehended soon after quitting Nikosia and, being brought back, were confined in the Archbishop's residence. Here they were kept under close surveillance, Chil Osman being apprehensive that they might again endeavour to escape and denounce his exactions. About the middle of October, 1764, the firman of protection arrived in charge of a Vazir Choqadar. Osman, full of rage at the defeat of his schemes, yet afraid to disregard the orders of the Sultan, directed that the document should be read, not publicly in the Council-chamber, as was customary, but privately in an apartment of the Serai. The ceremony, which was fixed for 25th of the same month, was attended only by the Ulemas and Aghas, with the bishops and a few representative Greeks and Turks. The scene, which followed, is graphically described by Kyprianos, who was present on the occasion. When the reading was concluded the Governor reproachfully asked the Archbishop what injury he had done the Rayahs that he and his colleagues should accuse him to the Porte. Paisios replied that they had only sought to protect them and not to accuse him. Scarcely had the words left his mouth when the floor of the room, the beams supporting it having been previously sawn through, suddenly gave way and precipitated the whole company into the basement, except the Governor and those privy to the plot, who occupied a place of safety. Cries of pain and terror filled the chamber. Those who were not too much hurt or frightened rushed headlong from the building. It chanced that the day was the one

on which the annual fair of Hagios Demetrios, always attended by a great concourse of people from every part of the island, was accustomed to be held outside Nikosia. The mob, hearing of what had happened, and regarding the occurrence as a deliberate attempt upon the lives of the bishops, snatched up whatever weapons lay nearest to hand and full of indignation hurried off to the Governor's palace. This they sacked and burnt, after forcing the gates and killing the wretched Osman with eighteen of his adherents. As soon as they had time to reflect upon what had been done, dismay seized upon the inhabitants at the thought of the punishment, to which they had rendered themselves liable. A conference being held between the leaders of the two nationalities it was resolved to represent at Constantinople that the murdered Osman was himself the sole cause of the catastrophe.

On receipt of the news the Porte appointed a certain Hafuz Efendi to succeed him, and soon afterwards despatched two commissioners to examine into the truth of the statement. Though certified as to its correctness the Government decided that pecuniary compensation should be paid to the relatives of the victims, the Serai rebuilt at the expense of the island, and the money abstracted from the treasury replaced. To the first two of these conditions no difficulty was raised, but the Turks, who had helped themselves largely to the public funds, vehemently opposed the third. They broke out into revolt against the new Governor and, besieging Nikosia, demanded that the citizens should recognise as Muhassil their leader, Khalil, who had previously been disdar or commandant of the fortress of Kyrenia. The bishops, regarding with dismay the course events were taking, and not wishing to be implicated in the disturbance, determined to quit the island. Accordingly Paisios, with the knowledge of Hafuz Efendi and accompanied by the Metropolitans of Paphos and Kyrenia,[1] after escaping through the ranks of the insurgents made his way to Constantinople, where he reported what had occurred. News of the revolt had already reached the capital, but on receiving this confirmation of it the Porte at once sent two vessels of war, under the command of Ibrahim Bey, to quell the disorder. At the same time it despatched to the island in company with the bishops, as Governor, Suleiman Efendi, instructing him to inquire also into the cause of the present troubles. The bishops, fearing the wrath of

[1] Chrysanthos was the name of both.

Khalil, gave out on their arrival at Larnaka in February, 1766, that they had commended him to the authorities for his opposition to the exactions of the Governor, and that a commissioner had been sent with them, in consequence, to depose Hafuz and appoint him Muhassil instead. Believing their statements the rebel allowed the party to enter Nikosia unmolested and, raising the siege, retired to Kyrenia to watch the course of events. Perceiving, however, that he had been deceived he again drew his forces round the town and resumed the blockade. Suleiman, thereupon, fearing for his life through the resentment of Khalil, arrested the bishops as being responsible for the new danger and placed them under guard in the Government House. But the close of the insurrection was now drawing rapidly near. Further forces arriving from Karamania in September, 1766, order was speedily restored by the slaughter and dispersion of the insurgents. But the troubles and anxieties through which he had lately gone proved too much for the Archbishop. Repairing about the close of the same year to Larnaka for the benefit of his failing health, he died in that town on 1st January following, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in the Church of St. Lazarus near the door. His service, which extended over a period of nearly forty years, had been passed entirely in the archdiocese, *viz.*, five years under Silvestros, twenty-seven years under Philotheos as archdeacon and archimandrite, and seven years as archbishop. A native of Kilanion in the district of Limassol, he had as his fellow-villager the historian Kyprianos, who was his intimate associate from the time he became archimandrite of the See until his death. According to him this worthy prelate was a man of a frank and open presence, dignified in mien, with a long beard, thoughtful, gifted with a quick intelligence and retentive memory, tactful, inquisitive, careful in pecuniary matters to the verge of parsimony, a good speaker, talkative, and imperious in manner. He owed his education to his predecessor, Philotheos, and is said to have been well acquainted with ancient Greek, as well as able to express himself elegantly in the vulgar idiom. He is further reported to have possessed such skill in penmanship as to have had many imitators.

**Chrysanthos.**
Kyprianos, p. 325 sq.
Philippos Georgiou, p. 110 sq.

Chrysanthos (1767-1810), Bishop of Paphos, was by the unanimous voice of the bishops and clergy chosen to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Paisios. Like many of his predecessors he had to contend with troubles arising from Turkish rapacity and misgovernment. In 1775 the infamous Haji Baki Agha,

one of the greatest scourges the island has known in modern times, was appointed Governor. The successive steps by which this monster won his way to this position form an interesting lesson in the methods of Ottoman administration. An illiterate woodcutter from the deserted village of Klavdia, though one-eyed, he owed his first advancement to female favour. Commencing his official career as Musellim of Attalia in Karamania, he was forced to quit that town for his misconduct, when, returning to Cyprus, he received the appointment of zabit, or magistrate, at Larnaka. From this post, too, he was dismissed for a similar reason by the Dragoman Christophaki, whom in revenge he murdered on Easter Day, 1750. Being imprisoned and banished in 1767 by the then Governor, Suleiman Efendi, he was reduced to such poverty as to be obliged to beg his daily bread in the public streets. Four years later, however, he experienced a turn of fortune, being appointed Defterdar, or High Treasurer, by the Muhassil, Ismail Agha. But falling under the displeasure of a subsequent Muhassil, Ali Agha, who was well acquainted with his character, he barely escaped the danger threatening him by bribing the latter's physician to poison his patient. The Porte having appointed Ali's Kiaya, or deputy, to the vacant post the assassin removed him in the same way also. Nothing now intervening between him and the governorship, the object of his ambition, he persuaded the Turkish notables and the bishops to recommend his appointment for the unexpired period of Ali's term. The Porte granted the request, but before the end of the year Baki was superseded by one Hussein Agha. Taking advantage of the presence of the Qapudan Pasha shortly afterwards in the island he secured from him, by bribery and cajolery, the promise that he should be reappointed on the next vacancy occurring. In 1775 the realisation of his hopes took place. At first, to the surprise of all who knew him, his administration was marked by unusual moderation and forbearance. But in the end the natural instincts of the tyrant prevailed and he showed himself in his true colours. Having sought, in a season of great distress, to impose a tax of eight piastres upon the Rayahs, regardless of their extreme poverty, the bishops refused to assist him in such an act of robbery. Baki, thereupon, issued orders that the money should be levied by force. By request of the inhabitants, both Moslems and Christians, Chrysanthos and his colleagues[1] proceeded secretly

Υ. Ξανθου, Α. Κ. Εκκλησ. και Πολιτ., pp. 636-638.

[1] Panaretos, Bp. of Paphos; Meletios, Bp. of Kition; Sophronios, Bp. of Kyrenia.

to Constantinople in August, 1783, to complain of the unjust and oppressive conduct of the Muhassil. Before, however, they could reach the capital Baki, hearing of their departure, wrote to the Grand Vizier urging their arrest and banishment to Mount Athos. The deputation learning at Chios of this step took refuge at Smyrna until a favourable moment should present itself, the Archbishop concealing himself in the house of the Dutch consul, while the others found shelter elsewhere. Baki now, partly by entreaties and partly by threats, compelled the clergy and laity of Nikosia to elect four monks to the Sees thus vacant, for whom without delay he procured the necessary Berats.[1] At the same time by means of bribes he persuaded the Grand Vizier to order Gabriel, the Œcumenical Patriarch, to write to Daniel, Patriarch of Antioch, directing him to send three of his suffragans to Cyprus for the consecration of the newly-chosen prelates. Daniel received a second letter to the same effect direct from the Muhassil himself, but perceiving that both were conceived in the same spirit of violence, he wisely delayed to comply with the order. These would-be intruders suffered severely for their presumption, being degraded from the priesthood by the Œcumenical See. But on expressing regret for their conduct and asking pardon of the Cypriot bishops and the Church of Constantinople they were finally restored. As soon as the hostility of the Porte towards the prelates had subsided the Bishop of Kition proceeded secretly to Constantinople, where he was successful in procuring the release of his associates. These by direction of the Sultan came to Constantinople, where they denounced to the Grand Vizier, Khalil Pasha, the governor's tyranny and rapacity. In consequence of their representations Baki was deposed and ordered to answer in person the charges of his accusers. Chrysanthos and the Bishop of Paphos returned at once to Cyprus, the former suffering shipwreck at Gallipoli by the way, while the other two remained behind to support the case against the ex-Muhassil. On his arrival at Constantinople an examination was held, which resulted in his being found

Cf. Sergios Makraios (Sathas, Bib. Med. Ævi, tom. iii., p. 356 sq.).

A. K., Ὑψηλάντου Ἐκκλ. καὶ Πολιτ., pp. 636, 640.

[1] Their names and the Sees to which they were appointed are said to have been as follows:—

Joannikios, Hegoumenos of the monastery of Machæra, to the Archbishopric.

Joakim, Hegoumenos of Pallourgiotissa, to the See of Paphos.

Chrysanthos, Hegoumenos of St. Lazarus, to the See of Kition.

Joannikios, Exarch of Kyrenia, to the See of Kyrenia.

According to Makraios the principal agent in these proceedings was one Gerasimos, who subsequently became Bishop of Thessalonica.

guilty and stripped of his honours and ill-gotten wealth. Thus the bishops got rid of the tyrant at last, but at a terrible cost to themselves and their Sees. According to reliable sources the expenses incurred by the united dioceses amounted to no less a sum than 484,836 piastres, of which the share of the archbishopric reached a total of 193,934. Baki, regarding the bishops as the authors of his ruin, never ceased to cherish feelings of revenge against them. The downfall of Khalil Pasha in 1784 appearing to favour his designs he succeeded, by the payment of heavy bribes, in getting himself reappointed as Muhassil. But the news of his nomination caused such an outcry among the Cypriots that his patron, the new Grand Vizier, was forced to cancel it and to issue by the Sultan's orders a decree, forbidding him under pain of death ever to set foot again in Cyprus. He was banished instead to Jaffa, where, to the great relief of the islanders, he shortly afterwards fell a victim to the plague. So detested was his memory that for years afterwards his compatriots erected cairns in his dishonour along the public roads, to which every passer-by, as he added a stone, breathed a curse on his ill-omened name.

After holding the primacy for twenty-five years Chrysanthos, feeling the infirmities of advancing age, determined to resign the reins of office into more vigorous hands and to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. At a meeting of the bishops and clergy called for the purpose in 1791 he announced to them his intention, which was strenuously opposed. To relieve the Archbishop from the pressure of duty and the fatigues of the annual visitation it was unanimously decided to furnish him with a coadjutor, who should be appointed to one of the ancient Sees comprised in the archdiocese. Accordingly his nephew and namesake, Chrysanthos, was with his consent consecrated to the bishopric of Tamasos. At the end of ten years this arrangement fell through, owing to the promotion of the Bishop of Tamasos to the See of Kition. Chrysanthos then repeated before the Synod his former declaration. But the suggestion, chiefly at the instance of his nephews, the Metropolitans of Paphos and Kition, was a second time rejected by the assembled prelates on the ground that such a practice was unknown to the Church of Cyprus, and that there was no one qualified at so critical a juncture to succeed him in the management of ecclesiastical affairs. The difficulty was again for a while met by the consecration of another coadjutor, Spyridon, to the See of Trimythus. The evident determination, however,

of his relatives to keep him on the archiepiscopal throne for their own personal ends, and to the manifest injury of the Church, at length caused the formation of a party, which brought about his overthrow. At the head of the malcontents was his successor, Kyprianos, at that time œkonomos, or steward, of the archdiocese. At length in 1810 the opponents of Chrysanthos procured the publication of an imperial edict directing the removal from their dioceses of the aged Archbishop and his nephew, the Bishop of Kition. An imperial mubashir, or commissioner, was at the same time despatched to Cyprus to conduct them to Eubœa, where the old man died soon afterwards.

**Kyprianos.**

Kyprianos (1810-1821), one of the ablest prelates who ever held the primacy of Cyprus, was born at Strovilo in the Nahieh of Dagh about the middle of the eighteenth century. While still a boy he left his native village to become an inmate of the monastery of Machæra, where he received his early education and ordination as a deacon. In 1783 he accompanied the archimandrite of that establishment, Charalampos, to Wallachia to collect funds for the restoration of the monastery, which through lapse of time had fallen into ruins. There, at the request of the Voivode, Michael Soutzo (I.), he was admitted to priest's orders and appointed to the service of the chapel in the viceregal palace. While in this position he applied himself to a further course of study. On his return to Cyprus in 1802 Kyprianos was entrusted with the management of the estate belonging to the monastery at Strovilo. His discharge of this duty gave such satisfaction that he was appointed, with the approval of Chrysanthos, œkonomos of the archdiocese. About this same time he greatly advanced his reputation by his conduct during the siege of Nikosia in 1804, when, acting as representative of the Archbishop and citizens, he succeeded in obtaining favourable terms from the Turkish generals.[1] By degrees, owing to the infirmity of the Primate, whose successor he aspired to be, the entire control of affairs fell into his hands. By the deposition of Chrysanthos and his nephew in 1810 the object of his desires

**Travels of Ali Bey (London, 1816).**

[1] The services rendered by Kyprianos on this occasion are thus alluded to by the pseudo Moslem traveller, Ali Bey, in his account of the visit he paid to the island in 1806: "During the previous year there had been a great rising of the Turks against the Dragoman. They gained possession of the city of Nikosia and behaved atrociously to the Archbishop and other Greeks; they even killed those who refused to give them money. In this critical situation the steward was the guardian angel of his community—such talent and tact did he show in turning aside the fury of the rebels."

was at last achieved. The imperial Berats were in due course received, appointing him to Nikosia, while at the same time the Archimandrite Meletios was designated for the See of Kition. But an unexpected obstacle suddenly came between him and the full accomplishment of his ambition. Though unanimously elected to the vacant dignity, the new Archbishop, according to the canons, could not be consecrated, as his predecessor had not given his written resignation, nor was there any prospect that he would do so. Constantios,[1] Archbishop of Sinai, happened at that moment to be staying at Larnaka. To him the candidate and the two remaining prelates wrote, requesting that he would proceed to Nikosia and consult with them on what, under the circumstances, should be done. Instead, however, of complying with their request he counselled them in reply to have recourse to the Œcumenical See, which alone in so difficult a matter could pronounce an opinion and give the necessary permission for the consecration of the elect. The Church of Constantinople, being thus appealed to, issued its licence in the form of a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Sinai. On its receipt he came to Nikosia, where in conjunction with the Metropolitans of Paphos and Kyrenia he consecrated Kyprianos to the primacy, the latter in turn consecrating Meletios to the bishopric of Kition.

Once firmly established in office the new Archbishop seems to have specially devoted his energies to the intellectual improvement of his people. He resolved to remove, so far as he could, the reproach of ignorance so often levelled against the Cypriots. For this purpose he founded throughout the island numerous educational establishments, among others the still-existing High School near the archiepiscopal residence, which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity on New Year's Day 1812. But his comparatively short tenure of the See gave him few opportunities of carrying his projects into execution. Though his claims upon the gratitude of his compatriots are considerable, it is the tragic close of his life which has especially impressed his name upon their memories. In 1821, when he had occupied the archiepiscopal throne for eleven years, began that long and heroic struggle

[1] He, or a namesake, was the author of a work on the island entitled Κυπριὰς χαρίεσσα καὶ ἐπίτομος, καθιστοροῦσα τὰ ἐν τῇ ὀλβίῳ νήσῳ ταύτῃ μνήμης καὶ διηγήσεως ἐπισημότερα, which occupies pages 125-154 of the fourth edition of the *Guide Book* (περιγραφή) *to the Monastery of Kykko*, published at Venice in 1819. Mr. Cobham, however (*Excerpta Cypria*, p. 224), conjectures that his visit to Larnaka occurred in 1766.

of the Greeks against Turkish despotism and barbarism, which shook the Ottoman Empire to its foundations. The commanding influence enjoyed by the Christian primates had long been a source of annoyance to the Qapudan Pasha, who at that period was the virtual owner of the island. To destroy it on the first favourable opportunity was his fixed resolve. For this purpose Kuchuk Mehmed,[1] a man notorious for his savage and imperious temper, had been selected as Musellim or Governor. Appointed in 1820 his conduct soon showed the wisdom of his selection. Although from the smallness and unwarlike character of the population and the proximity of the neighbouring Mohammedan countries there appeared little likelihood of the insurrectionary movement extending to Cyprus, the Porte determined to send an army thither the more effectually to ensure the submission of the Rayahs. Accordingly a considerable body of troops—the offscourings of the Levant—arrived at Larnaka from Syria in June, 1821. At the same time an order was issued for the disarmament of the Greek inhabitants, which was quietly effected. Kuchuk Mehmed regarded the occasion as a propitious one not only for carrying out his employer's designs, but also for enriching himself at the expense of the more wealthy Christians. To ensure the peaceful acquisition of their property he perceived that it would first be necessary to remove the owners. The following plan was accordingly devised for the purpose. Working on the well-known fears of the Government he submitted, when reporting the successful completion of the disarmament, a long list of names, comprising the bishops, heads of the monasteries, superior clergy, and chief men of the Orthodox community, whom he charged with covertly abetting the rebels. In consequence of his misrepresentations orders were secretly sent from Constantinople to put the accused to death and confiscate their property. The local Aghas, who had already been made acquainted with the Governor's proposed treachery, approved it from the prospect, which it offered, both of personal gain and of emancipation from the control of the Archbishop. The first blow was struck by the arrest in June of certain of the Christian notables. This was succeeded by a summons to the bishops to repair to Nikosia. On their arrival the Musellim demanded of them, as sureties for their good behaviour, the principal officials of their respective Sees. At a meeting of the leading Moslems

[1] He was subsequently minister of police at Constantinople under the name of Pepee (Πεπεή) Mehmed Pasha.

held early the following month in the Serai the Government mandate was read and its speedy execution decreed. Saturday, 9th July, was the day selected, when another crime was added to that long list of horrors, which have brought such well-deserved infamy upon the Ottoman name. The gates of Nikosia were suddenly closed and the bloody work began in the square before the Governor's palace. Before killing the ecclesiastics the murderers in fiendish sport saddled them like horses, breaking their teeth as they thrust the bits into their mouths, and goading them with their spurs.[1] The first to die were the three Metropolitans of Paphos, Kition and Kyrenia. The Archbishop, whom Kuchuk Mehmed had sworn upon the Koran not to behead, was next led out to execution, accompanied by his secretary and archdeacon, Meletios. Both were hanged and the trees, on which they suffered, still stand to keep alive the memory of their murder. The day's slaughter ended with the decapitation of three of the Christian notables. But the butchers were not satisfied with the blood they had already shed. On the morrow they completed their hellish work by the execution of the abbots and of many of the citizens. The news of what had occurred was the signal for similar massacres in various other parts of the island. In fact hardly any Christian of eminence escaped except those who found refuge with the European consuls, or who consented to save their lives at the expense of their religion. The number of victims, which will never be accurately known, has been variously estimated. One account has placed it as high as 470, but probably half that amount represents the truth. On the day following the murders their co-religionists buried the bodies of the prelates and other martyrs within the precincts of the Church of Phaneromene behind the altar. There they remained undisturbed until the year 1872, when, by the enlargement of the building their resting-place becoming included within the walls, the holy relics were reverently collected and reinterred inside the sanctuary to the right of the Holy Table, an inscription in marble being at the same time erected to perpetuate the memory of these victims to Turkish cruelty and perfidy.[2]

L. de Mas Latrie, Le Correspondant, Juin 25-Août 10, 1847, p. 869.

[1] "On m'a dit qu'avant de les massacrer les Turcs, par un raffinement inouï de vengeance, avaient sellé les papas comme des chevaux, leur brisant les dents pour introduire un mors dans la bouche, et les forçant à caracoler sous leurs éperons."

[2] The inscription runs as follows:—

"Ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην Τράπεζαν κενοταφείῳ, κεῖνται τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ 1821, 9-10 Ἰουλίου ἀπηγχονισθέντων καὶ κατατομηθέντων ἱερωμένων καὶ λαϊκῶν, καὶ

Ἀτομνημονεύματα ὑπὸ Γ. Ι. Κηπιαδου, p. 21.

The expectations of the assassins were amply realised. An immense booty fell into their hands. All the property of the slain and of those who escaped the sword was confiscated to the Government, and acquired by Kuchuk Mehmed and his associates at a nominal price. The sacred vessels of gold and silver belonging to the churches and monasteries were seized at the same time, but before they could all be sold an order was received from Constantinople, directing that they should be restored to the archdiocese. They are reported to have been subsequently melted down by the next Archbishop, Joakim, and used as bribes to appease the wrath of his Turkish masters.

The blood of the martyred prelates had scarcely ceased to flow when the inhuman Governor by a refinement of cruelty summoned to his presence the imprisoned hostages. After clothing them in the customary purple robes and proclaiming them the successors of the murdered men, he mounted them on the very mules, on which their unfortunate predecessors had ridden to their doom, and sent them to the archiepiscopal residence, escorted by a guard of honour composed of Janissaries.

As soon as tranquillity was restored the surviving heads of the clergy reported to the Œcumenical See the tragic fate which had overtaken the bishops. They also requested that the Patriarch of Antioch, from his proximity to the island, might be directed to send three of his suffragans to consecrate the newly-elected prelates. The Patriarch Eugenios endeavoured to postpone the ceremony, representing that for political reasons and from the danger attending any movement of the bishops at that period the request could not be granted. At the same time he counselled the memorialists to have confidence in the Church of Constantinople, which would at the proper season advise them what to do. The Cypriots again addressed the Œcumenical See, reminding it that both tradition and the canons required the consecration of the prelates to take place in the island, and that with regard to the passage of the Syrian bishops from the coasts of Phœnicia no possible objection could be raised, as it would be done with the sanction of the Government. There-

*ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς Φανερωμένης ἐνταφιασθέντων. Ἀνακαινισθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας 1872-1873, ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου αὐτῶν τάφου καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν τότε θανατωθέντων, καὶ ἐτέθησαν, ὡς ἀνωτέρω εἴρηται, εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον.* **Τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν εἰσὶ ταῦτα.**

**"Κυπριανοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου, Χρυσάνθου Πάφου, Μελετίου Κιττίου, Λαυρεντίου Κυρηνείας, Ἰωσὴφ Ἡγουμένου Κύκκου, Μελετίου Ἀρχιδιακόνου, Γ. Μασουρα, Π. Οἰκονομίδου, Μ. Γλυκῦ, Πιεράκη, Ἰωάννου Ἀντωνοπούλου, Π. Βοσκοῦ, Ν. Ζωγράφου, Σ. Σολομῆ, Σ. Συμεωπούλου, Χρ. Κουρτελλαρίδη."**

upon Epiphanios offered no further opposition, but authorised the Antiochene Patriarch to proceed with the consecration. Seraphim, who had himself received a similar request from the Cypriot clergy, accordingly despatched to Cyprus the Bishops of Epiphania, Seleucia and Emesa, who in December consecrated the various candidates to their respective Sees.[1]

Joakim (1821-1824), the immediate successor of the murdered Kyprianos, before his elevation to the archiepiscopal throne had been Œkonomos of the Monastery of St. Barnabas in the district of Famagusta. His sole recommendation for the office was his familiarity with Turkish, always regarded as a very necessary qualification for the Archbishop from his intimate relations with the civil authorities. His administration of the See, however, speedily caused such general dissatisfaction that, on the petition of the inhabitants, he was compelled by the Government at the end of two years and five months to resign. Joakim. Philippos Georgiou, p. 123.

Damaskenos (1824-1827), before his promotion to the primacy had acted as Bishop of Kyrenia. His occupancy of the archiepiscopal throne extended over scarcely three years, as he was deposed and exiled by the Porte to Sparta in 1827 on account of his opposition to the Governor, Ali Ruhi. Returning to his native land after some years' absence he was, on the death of the then Bishop of Kition, appointed to administer the diocese, with the title of President, which he continued to do until his death. Damaskenos. Philippos Georgiou, p. 123.

Panaretos (1827-1840), who had previously served the diocese of Paphos, first as archdeacon and then as bishop, was on the deposition of Damaskenos unanimously elected to the vacant headship. He proved himself during his tenure of office a great benefactor both to Church and State. In 1830 at his suggestion an assembly of the notables of the island was held, which despatched to Constantinople a deputation of four members to lay before the Government a memorial, requesting some measure of relief for the wretched inhabitants. The mission was most Panaretos. Philippos Georgiou, p. 124.

[1] Their names and the Sees, to which they were appointed, are as follows :—
Joakim, Œkonomos of the Monastery of the Apostle Barnabas, to the Archbishopric.
Panaretos, Archdeacon of Paphos, to the See of Paphos.
Leontios, Archimandrite of Kition, to the See of Kition.
Damaskenos, Exarch of Kyrenia, to the See of Kyrenia.

successful, bringing back with it an acknowledgment for 326,000 piastres, held by the former Governor, Ali Ruhi, from the island, which the Sultan remitted. He likewise freed the See from a crushing debt of over 400,000 piastres, as well as repurchased a valuable estate, once its property, which had been confiscated and sold during the troubles of 1821. In 1837, by the unanimous desire of the laity and bishops, he sent a second deputation to the capital, which obtained an imperial decree fixing the total annual tribute of the island, exclusive of the pay of the governor and military commander and the local expenses, at 3,179,082 piastres. Though devoid of education himself he was a zealous patron of learning, reorganising in 1830 the High School established by Kyprianos, which had gone to ruin on its founder's lamented death. After holding office for thirteen years he finally fell a victim to a local intrigue, being forced by the Porte in 1840 to resign the See in favour of Joannikios. But he did not survive his abdication more than two years. Retiring first to the Monastery of St. Herakleides near Nikosia he, after one year's stay, withdrew to that of the Holy Cross at Omodos, where he died at an advanced age.

Joannikios. Philippos Georgiou, p. 125.

Joannikios (1840-1849), exarch of the archdiocese at the time of the massacres of 1821, was one of the few among the higher clergy who managed to escape the horrors of that eventful year. On quitting the island he proceeded to Paris, where for many years he subsisted on a monthly allowance of 250 francs from the Public Treasury. During his sojourn in the French capital he became acquainted with the Turkish statesmen, Reshid and Fetih Ahmed Pashas, who brought him to Constantinople. In 1839 through their instrumentality he returned to Cyprus, furnished with a letter from the Grand Vizier granting him a monthly pension of 1000 piastres from the island Treasury. On his arrival in his native land the faction opposed to Panaretos adopted him as their candidate, and endeavoured to persuade the Porte to depose the former in his favour. The two patrons of Joannikios, well aware that he did not possess the necessary qualifications for the office, at first opposed his nomination. But the Cypriots persisting in their demands they eventually gave way, on the understanding that their *protégé* should remain Archbishop and that no subsequent petition for his removal would be entertained. On the acceptance of these conditions a Berat was issued appointing him to the primacy in the room of Panaretos. Joannikios during the

course of these negotiations had returned to Constantinople, but now again left for the island, accompanied by some of his adherents and a new Governor, lately appointed. The party disembarked at Paphos in the beginning of October, 1840. From this place letters were sent to Nikosia to the then Musellim, acquainting him with the nomination of Joannikios and directing the detention of Panaretos at the Serai until the traveller's arrival at the seat of government. On receipt of these orders the Governor sent for Panaretos and, after placing him and his deacon, Meletios, under a guard of three *zaptiehs*, proceeded to seal up all the rooms of the archiepiscopal residence except the Synod Hall, which he left open for the accommodation of the Primate's suite. Immediately on his arrival at Nikosia Joannikios went with the new Governor to the vice-regal palace. There he was invested by the latter with the usual robe of honour and subsequently the same day, according to custom, enthroned in the Church of St. John, receiving later (13th Oct., 1840), from the deposed Archbishop his resignation in writing. The position, which he had thus acquired, Joannikios retained until his death in 1849, in spite of two attempts made by the partisans of Panaretos to oust him. During his nearly ten years' occupation of the primacy he is reported to have displayed considerable energy and boldness in the defence of his political rights. In 1842 he is said to have sent a deputation to Constantinople on behalf of the island community and later (1848) to have gone in person on the same errand. But, notwithstanding his exertions and the powerful friends he possessed at Court, he was able to accomplish little for the benefit of his native land. This failure his biographer ascribes to his lack of judgment and political virtues, as well as to the hostility he encountered from the opposite faction, which paralysed all his efforts.

Kyrillos (1849-1854), archimandrite of the archdiocese, was chosen to succeed Joannikios. A relative of the murdered Kyprianos and a survivor himself of the tragic scenes of 1821, he had passed twenty-eight years in the See previous to his promotion as its head. He is said to have been distinguished for his intelligence and activity both in ecclesiastical and political matters. In connection with local questions he had already visited Constantinople twice, once in 1835 and again in 1848, on the last occasion in company with his immediate predecessor. Before he could assume office a dispute arose concerning the

Kyrillos. Philippos Georgiou, p. 128.

validity of his election. The party opposed to him, which received the support of the Musellim, asserting in the interests of their candidate that he had not received a majority of the suffrages called for a re-election. These misrepresentations succeeded in delaying his official recognition and confirmation for three months. On a new election taking place, in the hall of the Serai, Kyrillos was again chosen by an overwhelming majority, and immediately recognised as Archbishop by the Government. This experience at the very commencement of his career seems to have exercised a most depressing influence upon the new Primate. His former boldness was succeeded by a certain timidity and caution, which characterised him to the end of his days. His death is said to have been hastened by the following circumstance. During the height of the Crimean War, which occurred at that period, a certain anonymous pamphlet was issued by the Athenian press inflaming the national sentiments of the Greek subjects of the Porte and inciting them to rebellion. Its reputed author is reported to have been Epaminondas Frankoudi, then headmaster of the High School at Nikosia and a resident in the Archbishop's house. Though the writer was never discovered the incident roused the suspicions of the Governor and leading Turks against the Christians, and especially against the Archbishop. They charged the Orthodox population of Nikosia with meditating an attack upon them and harbouring revolutionary ideas, and demanded their disarmament. Kyrillos, apprehensive lest the fanaticism of the Moslems might precipitate some terrible catastrophe, appealed to the Governor and Qazi to restrain them from making an onslaught on his co-religionists. But the anxiety, through which he had gone, and the fear, which he seems never to have been able entirely to shake off, so undermined his health that he died in July 1854 at the Monastery of St. Herakleides after an illness of only three months. Though in occupation of the primacy for so limited a period and known to have encountered much opposition, Kyrillos is asserted to have governed the Church worthily and conferred valuable services upon his country.

**Makarios.**
Philippos Georgiou, p. 130.

Makarios (1854-1865), the next occupant of the See, had spent twenty-seven years in its service before being called on to preside. Wise and prudent rather than daring he had the good fortune to succeed to the archiepiscopal throne at a period of general prosperity and tranquillity. His attention not being distracted by political questions and anxieties he was able the

more closely to devote himself to the spiritual advancement of his people. He was a zealous patron of education and did much to increase the efficiency of the schools, both in Nikosia and throughout the diocese, besides founding the first female school ever established in his metropolis. He maintained also at Athens two theological students, whose support was defrayed out of the diocesan treasury. Both of them, after first acting as masters in the High School, have since attained to positions of the highest eminence in their native Church. The one was the late revered Primate, Sophronios, while the other, deceased a few years ago, was the well-known Bishop of Kition, Kyprianos. In the archiepiscopal residence itself Makarios effected many improvements and repairs. Among others he restored the great Synod Hall in 1862-63, and built the spacious apartments on either side of it for the reception of the bishops and other distinguished guests. Whilst engaged in these useful labours he was suddenly carried off in 1865 by the cholera, which was then raging in Nikosia. Though he might have preserved his life, as he was urged to do, by a timely removal to the mountains, he preferred to share the dangers of his people rather than set his priests an example of deserting the sick and dying without the last consolations of religion. He died on 4th August in that year, a martyr to duty, leaving behind him a pattern worthy of imitation and a memory cherished by all who knew him. He is described as a man of a singularly sweet and engaging disposition, which won for him not only the affection of his own people, but also the esteem and regard of the Turkish authorities and of his Moslem compatriots.

Sophronios II. (1865-1900), the late venerable head of the island Church, was a native of the village of Phini in the Nahieh of Kilanion. So great was the panic caused by the cholera that, after the death of Makarios, three months elapsed before the election of his successor. At the end of that time the three suffragan bishops, with the representatives of the Orthodox community, met according to custom and nominated to the vacant dignity the Deacon Sophronios, who was then presiding over the High School in Nikosia. Like that of his lamented predecessor, the period of his rule was marked by none of those troubles from without which have so harassed other occupants of the archiepiscopal throne. Following the example set by Makarios he strenuously devoted himself to the intellectual and spiritual advancement of those entrusted to his care. During his tenure

Sophronios II. Philippos Georgiou, p. 132 sq.

of office he conferred two signal services upon his native land. It was owing greatly to his active co-operation that the measures devised by that wise and enlightened Governor, Said Pasha, to combat the ravages of the locusts, those terrible scourges of Cypriot agriculture, were so successful. Hardly was this task completed when a second pressing danger claimed his attention. In 1870 a severe drought, with its attendant famine, threatened the lives of the inhabitants. In consequence of the misery and losses sustained by the islanders through these two crushing misfortunes it was resolved to petition the supreme Government for some measures of relief. A deputation composed of four members, two Christians and two Moslems, and headed by the Archbishop, was accordingly despatched to Constantinople. So well did it plead the cause of the distressed islanders, ably seconded by the advocacy of the Cypriot Qibrisli Mehmed Pasha, that in the short space of one month and a half it succeeded in obtaining the two concessions, for which it asked. A firman was issued withdrawing Cyprus from the Vilayet of the Islands and constituting it an independent Mutessariflik, while the necessary seed for the following year was authorised to be drawn from the Government granaries in the island. But peaceful though Sophronios' occupation of the primacy has been, in a sense it has proved to be one of the most eventful in the history of the island and its Church. On 10th July, 1878, the Crescent, that symbol of oppression and murder, set for ever, and Cyprus suddenly awoke to find that the nightmare of Turkish misrule, which had brooded over her for 300 years, had become at last a thing of the past. An English sovereign in the centuries long gone by had been the means of introducing Western tyranny into the island. An English sovereign was now to repair the wrong wrought by her predecessor. The Cypriots were, for the first time in their national existence, to taste the blessings of freedom and constitutional government, and to learn that they had no longer anything to fear from those same Western strangers, who had formerly come to them in so different a guise. Who can tell what other and greater benefits may not yet result from the political changes, which twenty-two years ago transferred Cyprus from the rule of an Oriental despot to that of the most liberty-loving nation of Europe? Perhaps under God's providence it has been reserved for her to serve as the bond of union between those two great branches of Christ's Church, which have remained too long dissevered, the Eastern and the Anglican—a service which will constitute not the least of her claims upon

the gratitude and affectionate regard of Christians. The Orthodox Communion of Cyprus need be under no misgiving as to its future. The English Church, unlike its Romish predecessor, does not seek to deprive it of its lawful heritage. If such an assurance were needed it was amply given in the sermon [1] delivered at the consecration of St. Paul's, Nikosia, on 27th April 1886, when the preacher, in alluding to the former Papal usurpation, said: "No repetition of such interference with the historic rights of their Church have our Christian brethren in Cyprus to fear at the hands of English Churchmen in the present day. Attached as we are to the worship and discipline of our own Church, we have not the will, even had we the power, to force our usages upon sister Churches. As we have no thought of changing our own rites and ceremonies, we have no thought of asking our Eastern brethren to change theirs. Lovers of liberty, we are anxious to promote, not to prejudice, the independence of sister Churches. The ecclesiastical rulers of this island may feel assured that no proselytising inroads will be made upon their flocks from this English Church, which they now see erected on their soil. They may feel assured that no seeds of discord or schism will be planted among their people by the English clergy who shall have authority here to exercise their ministry. They may feel assured that in Cyprus as elsewhere Englishmen will be true to their traditional policy of upholding the principle of national, independent, self-governed Churches."

[1] "Our Church in Cyprus," a sermon preached by the Rt. Rev. C. W. Sandford, D.D., Bishop of Gibraltar, at the consecration of the Church of St. Paul at Nikosia, 27th April, 1886.

## CHAPTER V.

THE history of the Church in its commencement presents everywhere the same features. At first, with but few exceptions, its ranks contained only the poor and lowly. And the Christian community of Cyprus appears to have followed the same general rule. The early bishops and pastors were men of no social distinction. Tradition says they were not ashamed to handle the spade and the plough for their daily support, and to find the means of relief for the helpless and indigent among their little flocks. Like their predecessors, the Apostles, they travelled through the country, staff in hand, dependent upon the chance hospitality of the faithful, confirming the wavering and seeking by their own godly life and conversation to draw the heathen into the fold.[1]

Kyprianes, p. 99.

Ibid., p. 100.

The Church of Cyprus not only appeals to Holy Scripture in support of its claim to have received the Faith direct from the Apostles, but declares on the authority of tradition that it derives from them its episcopate also. The names of Barnabas, Lazarus, Epaphroditos, Herakleides, Myron, Philagrios and Tychicos stand foremost in its annals to the present day. It

[1] Διὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τότε τῆς Νήσου, φαίνεται ἀπὸ τινὰ σημειώματα, εὑρεθέντα εἰς χειρόγραφα βιβλία νομικὰ, ὅτι ἦσαν περισσότερον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα Ἐπίσκοποι, πτωχοὶ μὲν καὶ χωρὶς μεγαλοπρέπειαν, καὶ παῤῥησίαν εἰς τὰ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖς Ποίμενες καὶ Διδάσκαλοι τοῦ ἑαυτῶν μικροῦ Ποιμνίου, ὅπερ ἦτον τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ τέλος τοῦ ἐπισκοπεύειν, καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν, καὶ διὰ νὰ καθοδηγοῦσι τὸν λαὸν, εἰς στηριγμὸν τῆς ἀμωμήτου ἁγίας ἡμῶν Πίστεως, καὶ διὰ νὰ ἔλκωσι καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὁποῦ τότε ἦσαν πλῆθος ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ, εἰς τὴν Πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μὲ τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν εὐτελῆ, καὶ ταπεινὴν πολιτείαν των, καὶ μὲ τὴν νουθεσίαν, καὶ διδασκαλίαν των. Ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποστολικῶς μὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν των· καὶ ἔνθα ἔκαμναν τὸ κατάλυμμα, ἔργον εἶχον εὐθὺς νὰ κάμνουν τὴν προσευχήν των, καὶ νὰ νουθετήσουσι τοὺς ὀλιγοπίστους, ἢ καὶ εἰδωλολάτρας ἔτι τότε, οἱ μὲν νὰ στερεωθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν πίστιν καλλιτερον, οἱ δὲ ἀφέντες τὰ εἴδωλα, νὰ προσέλθωσι τῇ ἀληθεῖ πίστει τοῦ Χριστοῦ. τότε δὲν ἦσαν προτιμήσεις. καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίαι, καὶ τίτλοι ὑπερήφανοι, καὶ ἀνυπόστατοι εἰς τούτους τοὺς ἁπλουστάτους Ἀρχιερεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ μάλιστα ὁ διὰ τὸν βίον του ἀξιομίμητος, καὶ ἐμπειρότερος, εἰς τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἐκεῖνος, καὶ φεύγων τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλάμβανε καὶ εἶχε τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ τὴν προτίμησιν. δὲν ἐνετρέποντο νὰ σκάπτωσι τὴν γῆν, καὶ νὰ τὴν ἀροτριῶσι διὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα, καὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς κόπους των νὰ ἐπισκέπτωνται, καὶ νὰ ἐλεοῦσι τοὺς ἀδυνάτους, καὶ πτωχοὺς τοῦ μικροῦ ποιμνίου των.

reverences them as its holiest saints, and honours them as its founders. The successors whom they appointed acknowledged no external ecclesiastical authority nor considered it necessary to seek consecration beyond the limits of the island. They governed the clergy and people of their respective dioceses strictly in accordance with the customs, which had been transmitted to them from the Apostles. The only superior they recognised was the local Synod, to which they referred such matters as they did not feel individually competent to decide. At first absolute equality reigned among them, such deference as they paid to one another being entirely voluntary. The eldest in age, and especially those who were distinguished for zeal and knowledge, occupied the chief place in their esteem. But, as the faithful increased, of necessity the number of the bishops became augmented also. Then at length appeared a certain definite order of precedence. Those, who filled the Sees once occupied by the nominees of the Apostles, came to be regarded by the rest as their metropolitans and were given the sole right of conferring consecration. Such was the system observed in the island Church until the assembling of the First General Council at Nicæa, a period of 280 years from the coming of the Apostles (*i.e.*, 280 + A.D 45 = A.D. 325), and not 290, as Kyprianos states.[1]

Kyprianos, p. 101.

[1] Ἡ τῶν Κυπρίων ἱερὰ Ἐκκλησία ἐδέχθη τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Παύλου καὶ Βαρνάβα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων μανθάνομεν· ἔλαβεν ἀμέσως ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς καθοδηγίαν τῶν πιστῶν, ὧν ἕνας εἶναι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπόστολος Βαρνάβας, στραφεὶς μετὰ τὸ κήρυγμα εἰς τὴν πατρίδα του Σαλαμῖνα. Ἐπαφρόδιτος, ἕνας τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐχρημάτισεν Ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν Ἀκτὴν Ἀργείων, πόλιν τότε πλήσιον τοῦ χωρίου Ἀκανθοῦς. ὁ τετραήμερος Λάζαρος Κιτίων Ἀρχιερεὺς χειροτονηθείς. Ἡρακλείδιος καὶ Μύρων εἰς Ταμασόν. καὶ εἰς Σολεαν Φιλάγριος Μαθητὴς Ἀποστόλου Πέτρου, καὶ Τυχικὸς εἰς Πάφον, ὃν ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαπητὸν ἀδελφὸν, καὶ πιστὸν οἰκονόμον καὶ σύνδουλον αὐτοῦ ἐν Κύπρῳ (Κυρίῳ;) Αὐτοὺς εὑρίσκομεν θεμελιωτὰς τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἐκκλησίας τῶν Κυπρίων ἀπὸ τὴν ἱστορίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον καὶ μαρτύριον, καὶ τούτων οἱ διάδοχοι, ὡς παρέλαβον, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀμοιβαίως ἐχειροτονοῦντο, καὶ ἐποίμανον τὸ αὐτῶν ἐγχειρισθὲν Ποίμνιον ὁ καθ' εἷς· καὶ οὔτε χρέος ἐγνωρίζοντο νὰ ὑποτελοῦσιν εἰς τινὰ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων ἔξωθεν τῆς Νήσου, οὔτε σφάλμα ἐστοχάσθησαν ποτὲ, ἐὰν δὲν ἔτοεχον νὰ λαμβάνουν τὴν χειροτονιαν των πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης. Τηροῦντες τὴν συνήθειαν ἣν παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων παρέλαβον ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἐκυβέρνουν τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὸν λαὸν κατὰ τὸ πνευματικὸν. ἕκαστος εἰς ἣν προχειρίσθη Ἐπαρχίαν τῆς Νήσου· δὲν ἐγνώριζαν εἰς ἄλλον τινὰ ὑποταγὴν, εἰμὴ μόνον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν σύναξιν καὶ Σύνοδον, εἰς ἣν ἀνέφερεν ὁ καθ' εἷς τῶν Ἀρχιερέων ὅσα συνέβαιον εἰς τὴν Ἐπαρχίαν του περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οἰκονομίας, καὶ τὰ ὁποῖα μόνος δὲν ἐδύνετο νὰ κρίνῃ, ἢ νὰ ἀποφασίσῃ. αὔξανε δὲ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν πιστῶν, ηὔξανε κατὰ ἀνάγκην καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ οἱ δεύτεροι ὡς μετὰ καιρὸν Ποιμνίου προστασίαν λαβόντες, ἔφερον ὑποταγὴν εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὡς Μητροπολίτας αὐτῶν διὰ ὀρθὴν τάξιν ἐσέβοντο, παρὰ τῶν ὁποίων καὶ ἐχειροτονοῦντο. Πρῶτον δὲ τῇ τάξει φανερὸν ὅτι ἐγνώριζαν ἀνέκαθεν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα Σαλαμινης, καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Κωνσταντίας λεγόμενον, ὡς τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα διάδοχον, καὶ ὡς

Kyprianos p. 391.

Kyprianos, indeed, professes to have seen in an ancient Nomocanon a list of these early Sees into which the island was divided. According to this authority the total number was thirty-one, composed as follows:—

Metropolises, six.—Constantia, Paphos, Kition, Amathus, Kyrenia and Kurion.

Bishoprics, twenty-five.—Trimythus, Kythræ, Photolampos, or Levkosia, Karpasea, Neapolis, Lampusa, Sari, Dora, Solea, Saldi, Anakomia, Gabæ, Banothe, Batanea, Therakomia, Arsenoë, Machmeræ, Pyrgokratæ, Petna, Ariachi, Tamasi, Chirokiti, Stani, Koreatha and Bilbanos.[1]

Ibid., p. 99, n. (a).

But the same writer admits that there is no evidence for the existence of all.[2] The number he himself regards as excessive from (1) the prevalence of persecution at the period, which would invest the episcopal office with peculiar danger; (2) the large heathen population rendering the presence of so many bishops unnecessary; and (3) the absence of all mention of so large an episcopate in contemporary records. These considerations lead him to reject all but fourteen, which he enumerates, declaring that, even if the others existed at all, their occupants were merely in the position of chorepiscopi, charged with the supervision of some three or four churches each. And this view is strongly corroborated by the testimony of Sozomen regarding the presence of such functionaries in the island.[3]

Sozomen, H. E., lib. vii., c. 19.

τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης, ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐχούσης τὰ πρωτεῖα παρὰ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Μητρόπολις τετίμηται. Τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ σύστημα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Νήσου μεχρὶ τῆς πρώτης Συνόδου, εἰς διάστημα δηλαδὴ 290 χρόνων, ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Ἀπόστολος Παῦλος καὶ Βαρνάβας ἐδίδαξαν τὴν ἱερὰν πίστιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὴν Κύπρον.

[1] Μητροπόλεις.

Ὁ Κωνσταντίας, Ὁ Πάφου, Ὁ Κιτιαίων, Ὁ Ἀμαθοῦντος, Ὁ Κυρηνίας, Ὁ Κουρίων.

Ἐπισκοπαί.

Ὁ Τριμυθοῦντος, Ὁ Κυθρῶν, Ὁ Φωτολαμποῦς, ἢ Λευκοσίας, Ὁ Καρπασέων, Ὁ Νεαπόλεως Νεμεσοῦ, Ὁ Λαμπούσης, Ὁ Σάρων, Ὁ Δοράς, Ὁ Σολέας, Ὁ Σάλδων, Ὁ Ἀνακωμίας, Ὁ Γαβῶν, Ὁ Βανόθης, Ὁ Βατανέων, Ὁ Θερακομίας, Ὁ Ἀρσενόης, Ὁ Μαχμερῶν, Ὁ Πυργοκρατῶν, Ὁ Πετνῆς, Ὁ Ἀριάχων, Ὁ Ταμάσων, Ὁ Χοιροκοίτων, Ὁ Στάνων, Ὁ Κορεάθας, Ὁ Βιλβανοῦς.

[2] Τῷ ὄντι ἀπίθανον δοκεῖ ὁ τοσούτων Ἀρχιερέων ἀριθμὸς εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς πίστεως, ἐν μέσῳ τοσούτων διωγμῶν προλαβύντων, καὶ ὅπου δὲν ἐζηλοτυπεῖτο κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἡ ἀξία αὐτή, παρὰ ἀπὸ τοὺς πολλὰ εὐλαβεῖς καὶ πεπειθότας τῷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εὐαγγελίου κηρύγματι· μάλιστα ἐν μέσῳ τοσούτου λαοῦ, τοῦ περισσοτέρου εἰδωλολάτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῶν Ἐπαρχιῶν αὐτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, ἅπερ ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν πώποτε σημειωθέντα εὕρομεν. Ὅθεν μᾶλλον κρίνομεν τοὺς περισσοτέρους τῶν 14 Ἀρχιερέων, οἷον τινας χωρεπισκόπους, καὶ προεστῶτας Ἐκκλησιῶν τριῶν, ἢ τεσσάρων χωρίων καθ' ἕνα· κρινέτω δὲ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων ὡς βούλεται.

[3] Ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ ἔθνεσιν ἐστιν ὅπη καὶ ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι ἱεροῦνται, ὡς παρὰ Ἀραβίοις καὶ Κυπρίοις ἔγνων, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Φρυγίαις Ναυατινοῖς καὶ Μοντανισταῖς.

The fourteen Sees, which alone Kyprianos acknowledges, are :— Kyprianos, p. 391.

1. Levkosia. 2. Tamasea. 3. Kition. 4. Amathus. 5. Kurias. 6. Arsenoë. 7. Paphos. 8. Solea. 9. Lapithos. 10. Kyrenia. 11. Kythræa. 12. Trimythus. 13. Karpasia. 14. Neapolis.

The existence of these, he assures his readers, can be conclusively proved from the biographies of the holy men, who presided over them.

Various other estimates have also been given respecting the actual number of the cities and Sees which the island in early times possessed. Omitting those of some of the more recent writers on the subject, we find the following among the more important of these lists.

Pliny, writing fifteen years after the introduction of Christianity (A.D. 61), mentions the names of fifteen cities as existing in Cyprus when he wrote.[1] From their importance and the fact that the ecclesiastical divisions of a place generally followed the lines of the civil we are justified in assuming that the Christian communities to be found in them were presided over by bishops. They are as follows :— Plin., lib. v., c. 31.

1. Paphos. 2. Palæpaphos. 3. Curias. 4. Citium. 5. Corineum. 6. Salamis. 7. Amathus. 8. Lapethos. 9. Solæ. 10. Tamasseus. 11. Epidarum. 12. Chytri. 13. Arsinoë. 14. Carpasium. 15. Golgi.

Hierokles the Grammarian (A.D. 500) in his *Synekdemos*, or *Travellers' Guide*, gives a list identical with the above in point of number, but not of names :— Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cxiii., p. 151.

1. Constantia (metropolis). 2. Tamassos. 3. Kition. 4. Amathusia. 5. Koren. 6. Paphos. 7. Arsenoë. 8. Soli. 9. Lapithos. 10. Kirbœa. 11. Kythri. 12. Karpasin. 13. Kyrenia. 14. Trimithus. 15. Levkosia.

The Notitia Episcopatuum, to which Leo Allatius assigns the date A.D. 813, declaring erroneous the commonly received opinion that they were compiled in the time of Leo (VI.) the Philosopher (A.D. 886-A.D. 911) and Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople, thus reckons them :— Leo Allatius, De Eccl. Occid., et Orient. Perpet. Consens, lib. i., c. 25, p. 424.

1. Constantia (metropolis). 2. Kition. 3. Amathus. 4. Kurion. 5. Paphos. 6. Arsenoë. 7. Soli. 8. Lapithos. 9. Kyrenia. 10. Tamasos. 11. Kythri. 12. Trimithus. 13. Karpasin.

[1] In the same passage he adds also, "Fuere et ibi Cinyria, Marium, Idalium".

Them., lib. i., c. 16. Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cxiii., pp. 104, 105.

The Emperor Constantine (VII.) Porphyrogennetos (A.D. 911-A.D. 959) in his work *De Thematibus Orientis* states that the province of Cyprus, which was governed by consularies, contained the following cities:—

1. Constantia (metropolis). 2. Kition. 3. Amathus. 4. Kyrenia. 5. Paphos. 6. Arsinoë. 7. Soli. 8. Lapithos. 9. Kerma (Levkosia). 10. Kythæria. 11. Tamasos. 12. Kurion. 13. Nemevos. 14. Trimythos. 15. Karpasion.

Migne, however, remarks that this list is principally derived from that of Hierokles.

Allatius, ut supra.

The Canonist Nilos Doxa Patri (A.D. 1143) and Georgios Cyprios (A.D. 1289) give lists identical with that of the Notitia Episcopatuum in the number and order of the names.

Machæra, pp. 67, 68.

The mediæval chronicler Leontios Machæra (A.D. 1426) also furnishes a catalogue of the Sees. Though he wrote towards the close of the Latin supremacy, when a very considerable reduction had taken place in the number of the Orthodox dioceses, he enumerates them as they existed previous to the change:—

1. Salamis. 2. Thamasia. 3. Kition. 4. Amathus. 5. Kyrinea. 6. Paphos. 7. Arsenoë. 8. Solia. 9. Lapithos. 10. Kytherea. 11. Trimythus. 12. Karpasea. 13. Levkosia. 14. Neapolis.

Amadi, pp. 85, 86.

Francesco Amadi, a chronicler of a somewhat later date (*ob.* A.D. 1566), who composed his work in Italian, states that the Orthodox Sees before their partial disestablishment by the Latins amounted to fourteen. His list, however, on examination proves to contain fifteen names:—

1. Chiti. 2. Solia. 3. Lapitho. 4. Cerines. 5. Tamassia. 6. Chitria. 7. Trimithussia. 8. Nicosia. 9. Bapho. 10. Arsenoe. 11. Limisso. 12. Amathonda. 13. Curia. 14. Famagusta. 15. Carpasso.

Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

Florio Boustron (*ob.* A.D. 1570), one of the latest of these writers, also furnishes the following list:—

1. Constantia or Salamina. 2. Thamassia. 3. Chition. 4. Amathussa. 5. Cureon. 6. Papho. 7. Arsenoe. 8. Solia. 9. Lapitho. 10. Cerines. 11. Chitria. 12. Trimithussa. 13. Carpasso. 14. Limisso (*città nuova*). 15. Leucado or Leucosia.

Le Quien, O. C., tom. ii.

The distinguished author of the *Oriens Christianus* gives a list which, it will be observed, exceeds in extent any of the preceding:—

1. Salamis. 2. Citium. 3. Curium. 4. Tamassus. 5. Paphos. 6. Neapolis. 7. Amathus. 8. Arsinoë. 9. Lapithus. 10. Car-

pasia. 11. Chytri. 12. Trimithus. 13. Soli. 14. Ceraunia. 15. Theodosiana. 16. Ledri.

Various other sources of information, too, remain for ascertaining the number of Sees existing at different times in the island.

The pseudo-canons of Nicæa (No. 37) mention fourteen. Saint Willibald, who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in A.D. 722, estimates them at twelve.

Mansi, Concilia, tom ii., p. 964.

The Abbot Daniel, a Russian ecclesiastic, who visited the island at the beginning of the twelfth century (*circ.* A.D. 1106-A.D. 1107), gives a much higher total. He reports the existence of twenty bishops and a metropolitan. But the value of his testimony is seriously impaired by the great discrepancies in the MSS., some placing the number of prelates as high as twenty-four, while others reduce it to fourteen.

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, pp. 7. 8. "The Abbot Daniel".

The case of John, Bishop of Amathus, quoted by Balsamon in his commentary on the Twelfth Canon of the Sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 419) proves that towards the end of the Byzantine rule they numbered at least thirteen. The Œcumenical Patriarch, Lukas Chrysoberges, set aside the sentence of deposition pronounced against him partly on the ground that it had been procured in a synod composed of merely twelve bishops instead of the full complement.

Balsamon. In Canon XII. Concil. VI. Carthagin.

Willebrand of Oldenburgh, whose visit to the island occurred just twenty years (A.D. 1211) after the commencement of the Latin occupation, when no reduction had yet taken place in the Orthodox Sees, gives their number as thirteen.[1] About ten years later (1222) this number by decree of Cardinal Pelagius was reduced to four, an arrangement which has never since been disturbed.

Genesii de rebus Constantinopolitanis, Venetiis.

Hist. de Chyp. p. 622.

The Bishop of Salamis, as the successor of Barnabas, was accorded the first place in the local hierarchy, while his See, from the pre-eminence it of old possessed over the other cities of Cyprus, was regarded as the metropolis. Whether Salamis actually enjoyed this distinction from the very first is a question on which from want of evidence no decided opinion perhaps can now be offered. But the statement at least at the period of the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) is open to doubt. If the order in the signatures of those attending that Council is of any value Paphos

Mansi, Concilia, tom. ii., col. 696.

[1] Græci vero, quibus Latini per totam hanc terram (*i.e.* Cyprum) dominantur, tredecim habent Episcopos: quorum unus est Archiepiscopus.

would seem to have been then the premier bishropric, as the name of Kyrillos of Paphos heads the list of the Cypriot prelates, immediately preceding that of Gelasios of Salamis. That this circumstance cannot, however, be regarded as conclusive is evident from the fact that even so late as the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), the Bishop of Paphos, Saprikios, still heads the lists, though Salamis is known to have regained its former pre-eminence long before that period. But when and under what circumstances the latter town lost for a while its supremacy it is at this distance of time impossible to say. That it recovered from the havoc wrought by the Jews in A.D. 115 is evident from the statements of certain Byzantine historians that in A.D. 334 a dreadful earthquake destroyed the greater part of it, causing terrible mortality among the population. It seems at any rate to have resumed its ancient position by A.D. 368, when the celebrated Epiphanios was consecrated to the See as primate. Its resuscitation may possibly have been due to the division of the Empire by Constantine the Great, when Cyprus was included in the prefecture of the East, whose chief town was Antioch. The advantage of having the seat of government in the island near the central authority may have led to the selection of Salamis as the capital, with the consequent recovery of its former ecclesiastical dignity.

Mansi, Concilia, tom. iv., col. 1126.

Kedrenos. Theophanes.

The metropolitan See, which originally was known only as Salamis, afterwards acquired the additional name of Constantia. Two explanations of this double title have been given. The first, which is wholly legendary and local, is on the face of it impossible. We are informed that the Emperor Hadrian, having regard to the remoteness of some of the provinces from Rome, sent thither certain governors, or petty Kings, as they are called, whom he invested with independent powers for their good order and government.[1] One of these so-styled Kinglets, who exercised authority about A.D. 290, during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian, was Constans, after whom the city of Salamis was called

Lusignan, p. 39 (b). Kyprianos, p. 96.

[1] Perciò Traiano havendo restituito ad alcune Provincie i Re loro, cioè fatti di novo, pose in Cipro parimente un Re, et cosi Cipro ritornò nel Regno, ma però era soggetto alli Romani et gli rendeva il tributo ogni anno.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀδριανὸς Αἴλιος, κρίνων ἁρμοδιώτερον διὰ τὸ μάκρος τῆς Ρώμης, ἐσύστησε τινὰς Ἡγεμόνας εἰς τὰς μεγάλας Ἐπαρχίας, καὶ ὥσπερ τινὰς εἰπεῖν βασιλίσκους· συγχωρήσας αὐτοῖς τινὰ δύναμιν περισσοτέρον διὰ νὰ διαφυλάττωνται ἀπὸ τὰς ἀποστασίας οἱ μακρινοὶ τόποι καὶ ἐπαρχίαι, ὑποκείμενοι ὅμως αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλίσκοι εἰς τὸν Ἀετὸν τῆς Ρώμης, καὶ εἰς τούτου τὰ νεύματα, ἐπέστρεψε καὶ εἰς τῆν Νῆσον ἡγεμῶνα, ὅστις ἔφερε καὶ τίτλον βασίλεως, καὶ ἐξουσίαζε μεχρις ὕτου ἡ Ρώμη ἐβούλετο, εἴτε ὁ Μονάρχης αὐτῆς.

Constantia. The second account, however, rests upon an historical and surer foundation. Several of the island chroniclers claim Constantine the Great as the reputed founder of Constantia. They say that he erected it on the ruins of Salamis, previously destroyed by severe and frequent earthquakes. The erroneousness of this statement is easily demonstrated on historical grounds. Neither Theophanes nor Kedrenos, who both notice the great earthquake of A.D. 334, represents that Constantine, who was then Emperor, rebuilt it, or changed its name to Constantia. In fact we learn from the former historian that the city was only partially overthrown by this visitation. The catastrophe, which caused its final ruin, did not really occur until some years later, *viz.*, in A.D. 345 during the reign of his third son, Constantius. That Emperor, who was then residing at Antioch, rebuilt it, changing its name to Constantia in honour of himself, as he did in the case of several other cities, which he restored, *e.g.*, Antarados in Phœnicia and Antoninopolis in Mesopotamia. John Malalas describes at greater length the destruction which then took place. "In his reign Salamis, a city of Cyprus, suffered from a calamity, the greater part of it being submerged in the sea by an earthquake, while what remained fell to the ground. Constantius having reconstructed it and spent large sums upon it and refounded it, remitted their taxes to the surviving citizens for four years, and having adorned it with various buildings, what was once Salamis had its name changed to Constantia from him, and is now the metropolis of Cyprus." But the historian is mistaken in attributing to Constantius Chlorus a work which was really due to his grandson, Constantius II., as the former never exercised any authority whatever in the eastern dominions of the Roman Empire. Le Quien, who notices this statement of the Byzantine chronicler, questions its accuracy for the same reason and assigns the work of reconstruction to the younger Constantius. He further remarks that Malalas by the expression he uses, "which is now the metropolis of Cyprus" (*ἥτις ἐστὶ νῦν μητρόπολις τῆς Κύπρου*), seems to imply that the city had not always occupied that position.

Cf. Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. ii., Προλογος, p. 9.

Malalas, Chronograph, lib. xii.

Le Quien, O.C., tom. ii., 1039-1040.

Constantia after its reconstruction appears for some time to have been known under both names. When Epiphanios the Great was first appointed to the See (A.D. 368) it was called indifferently both Salamis and Constantia, as is evident from the biography of the saint written by his disciples John and Polybios. But before his death, which took place at the beginning of the

fifth century (A.D. 403), the latter name had become the more usual, as we learn from the same sources of information. Saint Jerome, who flourished at the same period as the renowned primate of Cyprus (A.D. 340-A.D. 420), in speaking of Salamis says that, when he wrote, it was called Constantia. Le Quien, too, remarks that, though Gelasios is styled in the lists of the Nicene fathers Bishop of Salamis, his successors in the See were always described in subsequent Councils as Bishops of Constantia. The sole exception to this rule is to be found in the records of the Quini-Sext Council (A.D. 691), where the then Archbishop is designated as "unworthy Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis".

Le Quien, O.C., tom. ii. 1039-1040.

Mansi, Concilia, tom. xi., col. 989.

Constantia continued to be regarded as the principal See until its capture and destruction by the Moslems under Moawiyah, the general of the Caliph Othman, in the seventh year of the Emperor Constans II. (*circ.* A.D. 648). The inhabitants, thereupon, removed to the neighbouring Arsinoë, which had been erected by Ptolemy Philadelphos (B.C. 285—B.C. 247), in honour of his sister of that name. But even after the destruction of Constantia the Orthodox primate continued to retain the title, which he had originally derived from that town. In Arsinoë, called subsequently Ammochostos by the Greeks and Famagusta by the Latins, the metropolitan throne was henceforth located until its transference by the latter to the archbishopric of their own rite at Nikosia.[1]

Le Quien, O.C., tom. ii. 1041-1042.

"The presiding bishops of the Church in Cyprus were wont to conduct the consecrations of the bishops in Cyprus, being consecrated also themselves by the bishops according to the

Dositheos, Δωδεκάβιβλος, lib. v., c. 20, para. 3.

[1] Since writing the above the Bishop of Salisbury has kindly translated and forwarded the following extract from T. Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, i., p. 234 (Leipsic, 1873), which tends to show that the claims of Salamis to be considered the metropolis must be considerably post-dated.

"In Roman times fifteen places are named (Plin., N. H. 5 § 130, and in more detail Kuhn 2, 312). These towns too were united into a κοινόν (κοινὸν τῶν Κυπρίων, Waddington, n. 2734, a ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς νήσου C. I. Gr. 2633). Paphos was their metropolis and residence of the Governor (Act. Apost., xiii. 6, 7; Meursii Cyprus i. c. 18) which in B.C. 15 received the surname Augusta (Σεβαστή) (Dio Cass. 54, 23, C. I. Gr. 2629) and calls itself later Σεβαστὴ Κλαυδία Φλαβία Πάφος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρου πόλεων Waddington, Inscr., n. 2806, *cf.* 2785). Salamis is not described as Metropolis till the sixth century, when it has the name of Constantia (Hierokles, p. 706)."

*N.B.*—The letters of Flavius Dionysius, however, read at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 (Act 7), describe Constantia as Metropolis, while at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 449, Olympios signs indifferently as Bishop of Constantia and Bishop of the Metropolis of Cyprus.

Apostolic tradition." This statement represents the position, which the island Church has always resolutely maintained on this important question. It claims to have received its independence direct from the Apostles, and not to owe it either to the action of the Third General Council, or to the fortunate discovery at a later period of its founder's remains, as some indeed assert. And in its complaint to the assembled fathers at Ephesus of the Antiochene Patriarch's intrusion as contrary to ancient usage and ecclesiastical constitutions it appeals to those ordinances not as conferring, but only as establishing rights already in existence before they were framed. The emphatic declaration of one, who himself presided over the archiepiscopal See, is that "this holy Church enjoyed from the first the privileges of separate government and independence, as those most reverend men (*i.e.* Rheginos and his companions) proved both by their memorials and orally in the Third Council." And this freedom from external control, however it originated, has been enjoyed by the Church of Cyprus from time immemorial, with the exception of those four centuries when its peace was disturbed by the presence of an alien communion.

Ekthesis of Archbp. Philotheos (Kyprianos, p. 376).

The island primate consequently fills an important and exceptional position in the ranks of the Orthodox hierarchy, and one that has occasioned some discussion as to its exact nature. He forms in fact one of a small body of autocephalous Archbishops, of whom he is the most ancient and now sole surviving representative. Bingham enumerates three classes of these independent prelates, *viz.* :—

Bingham, Antiquities, vol. i., bk. ii., c. 18, sec. 1, etc.

1. All metropolitans before the establishment of patriarchates.
2. Certain metropolitans after their establishment.
3. Bishops immediately subject to the patriarch of the diocese, who was to them as a metropolitan.

According to Dositheos class 2 originally comprised nine of these independent Sees, which he enumerates in the following order :—

Dositheos, Δωδεκαβιβλος, lib. v., c. 20, para. 1, etc.

1. Prima Justiniana. 2. Achris. 3. Nova Justiniana. 4. Carthage. 5. Lower Iberia. 6. Upper Iberia. 7. Pekion. 8. Tirnova. 9. Armenia.

The proper status of these dignitaries is a somewhat moot question. One of them at least, the Archbishop of Cyprus or Nova Justiniana, is by many regarded as the equal of the Patriarchs. But the learned Patriarch of Jerusalem assigns

Ibid., lib. v., c. 20.

them an inferior position for reasons, which he proceeds to give :—[1]

1. They cannot decide any ecclesiastical question, which may arise within their respective provinces, without the consent of the neighbouring Patriarchs.

2. When they celebrate mass in a province not their own the local metropolitan, if assisting at the service, does not commemorate them, but only his own patriarch; whereas, when another patriarch is present under similar circumstances, the metropolitan commemorates him alone to the exclusion of his own immediate superior.

3. When within the jurisdiction of any of the Patriarchs they do not carry their pastoral staff.[2]

4. When officiating in company with any of the Patriarchs

Dositheos, Δωδεκαβιβλος, lib. v., para. 8, p. 510.

[1] Τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν τοιούτων (*i.e.*, τῶν αὐτοκεφάλων Ἀρχιεπισκόπων) οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἀλλ' ἢ Μητροπολιτικὸν αὐτοκέφαλον.—Καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ αἴτιον, ὅταν συμβῇ ἀμφιβολία τὶς ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, οὐ δύνανται μόνοι αὐτοὶ διακρῖναι περὶ αὐτῆς χώρις τῆς γνώμης τῶν πλησιοχώρων Πατριαρχῶν.

Ibid., para. 10, p. 511.

Ἔτι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἀρχιεπισκόποις εἰς ξένην ἐπαρχίαν λειτουργοῦσιν, εἰ συλλειτουργεῖ ὁ κατὰ τόπον Μητροπολίτης, οὐ μνημονεύει αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἰδίου Πατριαρχοῦ, ὅπερ εἰς τοὺς Πατριάρχας οὐ γίγνεται, τοῦ γὰρ Πατριάρχου, μεθ' οὗ λειτουργοῦσιν οἱ Μητροπολῖται μνημονεύουσιν.

Εἰς δὲ τοὺς Πατριαρχικοὺς θρόνους περιπατοῦσι χωρὶς βακτηρίας, καὶ ἐὰν λειτουργήσωσι μετὰ τοῦ Πατριάρχου, μνημονεύουσι τοῦ Πατριάρχου, καὶ οὐχὶ πάσης ἐπισκόπης ὀρθοδόξων, καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν ἐὰν ἐπιδημῇ Πατριάρχης, ἐκείνου ἱερουργοῦντες μνημονεύουσιν.

Ibid., para. 11, p. 512.

Ἔτι οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι γράφοντες εἰς τοὺς Πατριάρχας, οὐκ ἐπιγράφουσι τίτλον, οὐκ ὑπογράφουσι κοκκίνοις, ἢ πρασίνοις γράμμασιν, ἀλλ' οὔτε εἰς τοὺς Μητροπολίτας καὶ Ἐπισκόπους τοὺς μὴ ὄντας εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν αὐτῶν γράφουσιν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ γράφουσιν ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Μητροπολῖται.

[2] The pastoral staff of an Orthodox bishop usually consists of a straight stick of ebony and ivory with a handle formed of intertwining serpents. That of the primates of Cyprus, however, is different, resembling in shape the sceptre formerly borne by the Eastern Emperors. It is in consequence locally regarded as a mark of high distinction, indicating the superiority of the island archbishops to all others of their rank, and is said to have been conferred upon them at the time of the alleged discovery of Barnabas's remains. Dositheos, however, denies that the bestowal of a pastoral staff by the Emperors conferred upon the autonomous Archbishops any greater dignity than that already assigned to them by the canons. This assertion is naturally strongly called into question by Archbishop Philotheos, but reference to ecclesiastical authorities rather favours his opponent as it is there distinctly shown that the bestowal of a pastoral staff by the Emperors was not restricted to the patriarchs and autocephalous Archbishops, but was made also to such minor dignitaries as hegoumenoi, archimandrites and protosynkelli.

Meursii, Glossarium Græcobarbarum, p. 296.

Another privilege enjoyed by these autocephalous prelates in common with the patriarchs was the lampadouchon, or lighted candlestick, which was carried before them. When borne before the Emperor it is said to have been encircled with two golden crowns, when before the Empress or a patriarch with one only.

they commemorate him, and not "every bishopric of the Orthodox," as the Patriarchs are accustomed to do.

5. When any of the Patriarchs happens to be present within their province they commemorate him.

6. When writing to the Patriarchs they do not inscribe their titles nor sign in coloured ink, but employ towards them the same mode of address as the other metropolitans do, which usage they observe also in their correspondence with all metropolitans and bishops, who are not subject to them.

Dositheos himself regards the occupants of these autocephalous Sees merely as ordinary metropolitans vested with independent powers. In proof of the correctness of this view he cites the title given to one of them, Capreolus of Carthage, in the first act of the Third General Council (A.D. 431), wherein he is described as "the most reverend and most pious Metropolitan and Bishop of Carthage". He asserts that though it was customary, even when he wrote, to assign to these Archbishops on visiting Constantinople the place usually occupied by the Metropolitan of Cæsarea, *viz.*, the precedence over all the other metropolitans, yet so far were they from being superior to the principal metropolitans of the Patriarchate that, when in conclave together, they actually sat below them. The seeming exception in the case of the Bishop of Prima Justiniana, who was expressly declared to be superior to a metropolitan, he explains by saying that this superiority merely consisted in his freedom from patriarchal supervision. With regard to the Archbishops of Cyprus he mentions as instances to prove the truth of his contention that:— Justinian, Novel. xl. tit. vi.

(1) At the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) Epiphanios, Bishop of Solea, who represented Olympios, Archbishop of Constantia, occupied the twenty-ninth place.

(2) At the Sixth General Council (Third Constantinople) A.D. 680 Theodoros, Bishop of Trimythus, legate of Archbishop Epiphanios, sat and signed after the Metropolitans of Cæsarea and Thessalonica.

(3) At the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) A.D. 787, Constantine, the then Archbishop of Constantia, sat and signed after the metropolitans of Cæsarea and Ephesus.

The fact that at the Council of Trullo (Quini-Sext) A.D. 691 the signature of John, Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis comes fifth in order, immediately after that of George, Patriarch of Antioch, which circumstance is regarded by some as conclusive of the right of the island Archbishops to patriarchal rank, he dismisses with

the remark that no such claim can be established from a solitary and irregular instance. He explains the occurrence by saying that it was permitted out of compliment to Justinian (Rhinotmetos), the convener of the council as well as the restorer of Salamis, John's See, which Dositheos in error calls Nova Justiniana. To show that the precedence assigned to the various prelates followed a recognised and undeviating rule he quotes the case of Fortunatus of Carthage. This Archbishop coming to Constantinople, when Paul (III.) presided over the Œcumenical See, and desiring to be present at service in Hagia Sophia, that Patriarch was in doubt whether to assign him a place before or after the local metropolitans. Reference, however, to the proceedings of the Fifth General Council (Second Constantinople) A.D. 553 speedily determined the question. It was there discovered that Sextilian, his predecessor in the See, had at that assembly occupied the tenth place, below the Metropolitan of Ephesus. Following the precedent thus set the Patriarch decided that Fortunatus' proper position was the one previously allotted to Sextilian.

Archbishop Philotheos, as might naturally be expected, vigorously opposes the conclusions of the learned Patriarch of Jerusalem in so far as they affect the status of the Church of Cyprus.

Kyprianos, p. 380. In an exposition of the privileges of his Church, which he composed in 1740,[1] he charges Dositheos with an evident desire, for some inexplicable reason, to depreciate the autonomous prelates and prove them inferior to the patriarchal metropolitans.[2]

Ibid., p. 378. He claims precedence for his own over the other autocephalous Churches on the plea that it was from the very first self-governed and exempt from all external ecclesiastical authority, as Rheginos and his associates proved in the Third General Council. These same privileges he proceeds to show were only conferred upon the other independent Churches enumerated by Dositheos at comparatively recent dates. Achris (*i.e.* Prima Justiniana[3])

Ibid., pp. 370-380.

[1] Τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου καὶ Ἀοιδήμου Κυρίου Φιλοθέου Σημειώσεις περὶ τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων Ἐκκλησίας, καὶ Ἔκθεσις αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν Προνομίων τῆς αὐτῆς, ἔτει 1740.

[2] Εἰδὲ καὶ τοῦτο λίαν φαίνεται ταράττον, τὸν μακαρίας τυχόντα λήξεως κύριον Δοσίθεον, σπεύδοντα οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὰς αὐτονόμους σμικρύναι τε καὶ ἐξευτελῆσαι τῶν Ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν, καὶ τοὺς τούτων Ἀρχιεπισκόπους ἥττους ἀποδεῖξαι καὐτῶν τῶν Πατριαρχικῶν Μητροπολιτῶν.

[3] The real facts with regard to some of these independent Sees seem to be as follows:—

1. Prima Justiniana in Illyria, founded by Justinian I. to commemorate his birth in its immediate neighbourhood, was by him constituted an autocephalous archbishopric with patriarchal powers and vested with jurisdiction over the provinces of Dacia Mediterranea, Dacia Ripensis, Triballea, Dardania, Mœsia

and Carthage, for instance, only acquired them in the time of Justinian I. (A.D. 527-A.D. 565), while the period when the Patriarchs of Constantinople ceased to consecrate Archbishops for Bulgaria is uncertain. The Church of Lower Iberia, which was originally subject to the Œcumenical See, acquired its independence about 800 A.D. but under what Emperor and by the action of what Council is doubtful. The Church of Upper Iberia was likewise subject to the Patriarch of Antioch and only

Superior and Pannonia. The existence of the See was brought to an abrupt close by the Bulgarian invasion in the reign of Constantine Pogonatos, *circ.* A.D. 680, which for a while swept away all vestiges of Christianity.

2. Achris. In A.D. 864 the Bulgarian King Bogaris was baptised, taking the name of Michael in honour of the Emperor Michael III., who acted as his sponsor. Five years later, A.D. 869, Ignatios, Patriarch of Constantinople, with the authority of the Eighth Œcumenical Council, consecrated Gabriel as Bishop of the Bulgarians. In A.D. 923 Symeon, the son and successor of Bogaris, exacted from the Emperor Romanus I. as one of the conditions of peace the acknowledgment of the independence of the Bulgarian Church, and the recognition by the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople of the Archbishop of Dorostylon as Patriarch of Bulgaria. About sixty years later, A.D. 981, the capital was removed by another Bulgarian King, Samuel, to Achrida, which henceforth became the metropolitan See. The Patriarchal dignity of the Bulgarian Church was, however, abolished by the Emperor John I. Zimiskes when he subdued that kingdom in A.D. 972. In A.D. 1222 Achrida formed part of the empire of Theodore Angelos, Despot of Epirus, who was crowned at Thessalonica as Emperor by the Archbishop of Achris in opposition to Theodore Lascaris of Nicæa. Hierax, the great Logothete, who flourished about A.D. 1572, says that after the capture of Constantinople in A.D. 1453 an unsuccessful attempt was made to deprive this See of its independence on the ground that the privilege had been illegally conferred, and to replace its autocephalous prelates by metropolitans consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople. When Dositheos wrote, the jurisdiction of the See was limited to thirteen bishoprics. On 16th Jan., 1767, it made a voluntary surrender of its autonomy and was placed under the immediate supervision of the Œcumenical See by a decree of the Holy Synod. The occupant of this See formerly bore the title of Archbishop of Prima Justiniana, Achrida and All Bulgaria.

3. Pekion (Ipeik). This archbishopric was constituted a See independent of the Archbishopric of Achris in A.D. 1221 during the patriarchate of Germanos II. and reign of Theodore (I.) Lascaris (A.D. 1204-A.D. 1222). During the period of its independence it incurred the displeasure of the Eastern patriarchs, who excommunicated and anathematised its Archbishop and all the Servians, not because they had renounced their allegiance to the See of Achris, as the Archbishops of that place allege, but because in 1367 Demetrios the then occupant of the archiepiscopal throne of Pekion had presumed to crown the tyrant Vukashin as King of Servia. The ban was, however, removed on St. Knes Lazar, who fell on the field of Kossova (A.D. 1389), asking pardon of the Emperor and Œcumenical See. Pekion seems to have retained its independence until after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, when it was again reduced to the position of an archbishopric subject to Constantinople. In 1689 it became the seat of the Servian Patriarchate, which was removed from Uschize, but voluntarily relinquished its autonomy and was once more united to the Constantinopolitan Church in 1766. On the liberation of Servia from the Turks in 1810 the Archbishop of Carlowitz was created primate, but in 1838, when Belgrade

became autonomous in A.D. 1045 during the reign of Constantine (X.) Monomachos (A.D. 1042-A.D. 1054) when Peter (III.) was Patriarch of that city. Again, the Church of Pekion (Ipeik), which was formerly subject to the Archbishopric of Achris, became separated from it in A.D. 1214 and constituted an independent See while Theodore Lascaris was Emperor and Arsenios held the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Church of Armenia also was once included within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and for a time

became the capital, that town was constituted the metropolitan See of Servia. After 1878, when Servia was proclaimed independent of the Porte, the Church of Servia was declared autonomous by the Œcumenical See.

*N.B.*—Theodore (II.) Lascaris (A.D. 1255-A.D. 1259) was Emperor during the Patriarchate of Arsenios.

4. Tirnova, which had previously been dependent on the patriarchal See of Constantinople, was declared the independent head of the Bulgarian Church and its occupant honoured with the title of Patriarch in A.D. 1233, when Helena, daughter of John Asan, King of Bulgaria, was betrothed to Theodore Lascaris, son of John (III.) Ducas Vataces, Emperor of Nicæa. The reason for this step was that Achrida, the seat of the Patriarch of Bulgaria, then formed part of the dominions of Theodore Angelos Komnenos, Emperor of Thessalonica, the rival of John III. Tirnova, according to the logothete Hierax, lost its independence after the capture of Constantinople, because the privilege had been illegally conferred. It is still a metropolis, but no longer the metropolitan See of Bulgaria, and its occupant bears the title of Exarch of All Bulgaria.

5. Armenia. Christianity was introduced into Armenia by St. Gregory, surnamed "the Illuminator," towards the end of the third century. He was consecrated bishop by St. Leontios of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, one of the Nicene fathers, in A.D. 302, and erected the primatial church of All Armenia at Vagarshabad under the name of Etchmiadzine, "the Descent of the Only Begotten". His successors continued subject to the See of Cæsarea until the time of St. Isaac, surnamed the Great, who held the primacy for fifty years (A.D. 390-A.D. 440). The subsequent separation of Armenia from the Orthodox Church was occasioned by the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon at the Synod of Dovin in A.D. 596.

6. Iberia formerly possessed two independent Archbishops, each of whom bore the same title, *i.e.*, the Catholicos of Schetha and All Georgia and the Catholicos of Abchasia. Of these ecclesiastics the primate of Lower Georgia was the superior in rank and date of creation, having been established in A.D. 720, while his colleague of Upper Georgia only dated from A.D. 1045.

Lower Georgia, anciently known as Colchis and Lazica, and comprising the provinces of Imeretia, Gori, Mingrelia, Abchasia, Suania and part of Moschica, was governed ecclesiastically by the Metropolitan of Phasis, who was subject to the Church of Constantinople. It acquired its independence between the reigns of Heraclius (A.D. 610-A.D. 641) and Leo the Isaurian (A.D. 717-A.D. 741). Upper Iberia on the other hand was originally dependent upon the See of Antioch and became autonomous in the reign of Constantine Monomachos (A.D. 1042-A.D. 1054). Its provinces comprised Karteli, Albania, the Caucasus, and part of Moschica, and its metropolitan See was at Scheta. In 1801 the country was annexed by Russia, when the Archbishops lost their independence, though still retaining some of their former privileges. The Metropolitan of Tiflis, who bears the title of Exarch of All Georgia and is a member of the Holy Governing Synod of Russia, is the present head of the Georgian Church.

enjoyed independence on account of the illustrious Gregory, surnamed the Illuminator, but afterwards returned to its former subjection until the Monophysite heresy (A.D. 537) brought about its final separation from the Orthodox Communion. Tirnova received autonomy at the request of Asan, Prince of Bulgaria, so late as the reign of the Emperor John Vataces (A.D. 1222-A.D. 1255), when Germanos occupied the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. After the capture of the Imperial City by the Turks in A.D. 1453 a Council was assembled there to consider the question of the independence of certain of these Bulgarian Churches, which was alleged to have been illegally obtained for them by the Emperors. As a result of the deliberations which ensued, Achris, Tirnova and Pekion were again declared in subjection to the Œcumenical See and Metropolitans directed to be consecrated for them, in place of their former autocephalous Archbishops. Achris and Pekion, however, succeeded, through bribing the Sultan, in retaining their ancient independence, but Tirnova failed to regain it. With these exceptions, so Philotheos asserts, no other Church appears to have obtained the privileges of autonomy and exemption from patriarchal or metropolitical supervision. But even from these favoured few the privileges of the Cypriot Church differ very materially both in antiquity, extent, nature and documentary evidence.

Philotheos begins his criticism of Dositheos by questioning the statement that these autocephalous Archbishops were only distinguished from ordinary metropolitans by their possession of independent powers, and enjoyed no precedence over the principal metropolitans of the various patriarchates. According to the latter the superiority of the Archbishop of Prima Justiniana to a metropolitan consisted in his exemption from patriarchal control. This explanation the Cypriot primate declares to be not only incomprehensible, but also absurd, for it is tantamount to saying, since he is not subject to a patriarch, let him be placed below the metropolitans of a patriarch. If such a one is to occupy an inferior position to that of a dependent prelate, wherein then consists his superiority? Philotheos next proceeds to discuss the vexed question of Archbishop John's real standing at the Trullan Council. Anxious to convict Dositheos of inaccuracy, and evidently misled himself by the unfounded statement of Kallistos that Justinian (I.)[1] confirmed the ecclesiastical

Kyprianos, p. 380.

Nikeph. Kallist. H. E. lib. xvii c. 28.

[1] Γενομένης ταύτης τῆς τάξεως τότε καὶ προτιμήσεως (*i.e.* Archbishop John's position at the Trullan Council) κατὰ τὴν σὴν δόξαν χάριν τοῦ ἀθροίσαντος τὴν

independence of Cyprus in honour of his consort, Theodora, he fastens upon his opponent's unfortunate mistake in ascribing to Justinian (II.)[1] the rebuilding of Salamis and calling it Nova Justiniana, and from it insinuates that he has confused between the former Emperor, who assembled the Fifth General Council and his namesake and successor, the convener of the Trullan. But there is no evidence of such a slip on the part of the Patriarch, nor is it conceivable how so able a theologian could have committed so gross a blunder. Moreover, the critic is himself guilty of two grave errors in (1) asserting that the Fifth General Council was assembled in the twenty-fifth year of Justinian's reign, instead of the twenty-seventh, and (2) assigning an interval of 149 years between the Fifth (A.D. 553) and Sixth General Councils (A.D. 680-A.D. 681), when the period actually amounts to only 127. He affirms that John's rank at the Trullan Council was assumed with the sanction of the assembled fathers, who recognised and thus honoured him as one of their leaders. Consequently Archbishop Constantine's subsequent position at the Seventh General Council (A.D. 787) after the metropolitans of Cæsarea and Ephesus by no means disposes of it as a precedent, as Dositheos maintained, since that was due to the unconstitutional action of these two metropolitans, whom it would have better become to have yielded him the place. Had it occurred with the permission of the Council it would have been duly recorded, nor would the patriarch have failed to quote the circumstance, as it would have materially assisted his argument. Philotheos explains Constantine's submission to the slight as due to his imitation of his great compatriot, St. Spyridon, who at the First General Council (A.D. 325) was distinguished rather for his humility than for desire of precedence, an explanation which will readily commend itself to those, who remember how seldom episcopal breasts are found to entertain the pride of place. The Primate concludes this part of his subject by inquiring how, if the case of John is to be regarded as exceptional on the ground

*Σύνοδον Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἀνακαινίσαντος καὶ νέαν Ἰουστινιανούπολιν καλέσαντος (καίτοι οὐχ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ταύτην συναθροίσας, ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ κε' ἔτος τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ἡ πέμπτη συνεκροτήθη Σύνοδος. ἡ δὲ ἕκτη τῷ δεκάτῳ τρίτῳ τῆς τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Πωγονάτου βασιλείας ἔτει, μεταξὺ τούτων διαδραμόντων ἐννέα καὶ τεσσαράκοντά τε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν χρόνοις. Ἡ δ' αὖ ἐν Τρούλλῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ Ῥινοτμήτου καὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Πωγονάτου, κατὰ τὸν Ματθαῖον Βλάσταρην, οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ἀνακαινίσας τὴν Σαλαμῖνα) κ.τ.λ.*

Dositheos, Δωδεκάβιβ., lib. v., c. 20, para. 11.

[1] *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Τρούλλῳ ὑπέγραψε μετὰ τοὺς Πατριάρχας εὐθὺς ὁ Κύπρου Ἰωάννης, ἀλλὰ γέγονε χάριν τοῦ ἀθροίσαντος τὴν Σύνοδον Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τοῦ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἀνακαινίσαντος, καὶ νέαν Ἰουστινιανὴν καλέσαντος, κ.τ.λ.*

of its singularity and irregularity, though unquestionably the more ancient and fortified with the consent of the Council, as well as originating out of compliment to an Emperor, as Dositheos himself allows, that of Constantine, which is admittedly more recent and evidently lacking synodical sanction, has been admitted as regular and suffered to become a precedent.

In this dispute, when one reflects how rigidly the Orthodox Church has ever been governed by precedent, one must side with the Patriarch rather than with the Archbishop. The solitary instance of John really proves nothing. Justinian (II.) Rhinotmetos, one of the bloodiest tyrants who ever disgraced the Byzantine throne, was not likely to brook any opposition to his will, nor would the members of the Trullan Council have ventured to protest against the Cypriot Primate's undue exaltation, at the Emperor's pleasure, to the fifth place in that conclave.

As evidence of the inability of these autonomous Archbishops to decide spontaneously ecclesiastical questions, Dositheos has adduced the restrictions imposed upon the various independent Churches of Illyricum with regard to the Patriarch of Constantinople. But Philotheos retorts that this is an attempt to prove a universal proposition from a particular, since it is not to be supposed from the prohibition in the case of the Illyrian bishops, which was limited and ambiguous, that their autocephalous brethren elsewhere had the power denied to them. Though he admits that some were in the habit of referring such matters to the neighbouring patriarchs, he contends that it was in consequence of their former subjection to them, and instances as cases in point the subserviency shown to the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria by the Bishops of Upper Iberia and Carthage respectively. But he denies that the Primates of Cyprus were ever under such an obligation. The Patriarchs of Antioch, for instance, were the neighbours of the island Church, yet, when the canons delivered it from their thraldom, no rule was made requiring it to submit ecclesiastical disputes to them for settlement. That it has had recourse to the Patriarchs on such occasions he does not deny, but the approach has always been made voluntarily, not by compulsion, generally to the Œcumenical Patriarch and Synod, and but seldom elsewhere. He argues, moreover, that no Pope, Patriarch, or Bishop has ever by himself condemned a heresy, or relied on his own individual judgment at such a crisis, but has always had recourse to his Synod, which has ever been the ultimate court of appeal. Ecclesiastical history contains numerous examples of Patriarchs and

Kyprianos, pp. 381.

Ibid., p. 383.

other prelates who, in attempting to act alone, have fallen into grievous error and been condemned and deposed. The Synod alone, so he declares, is infallible, and whoever opposes it, whatever his dignity and position may be, is regarded as a heretic. Philotheos cites cases where Archbishops of Cyprus have decided questions in conjunction with their Synod and without having recourse to any Patriarch. The most notable on record is that of Epiphanios the Great, who at the instigation of Theophilos, Patriarch of Alexandria, assembled the island Synod (A.D. 402), and condemned the works of Origen, a proceeding in which he was subsequently followed by Theophilos himself.

Sokrates, H. E., lib. vi., c. 10.

The two prelates, thereupon, wrote to Chrysostom requesting him to do the same. Yet the Patriarch of Constantinople did not reprove Epiphanios for thus taking the initiative, though on Dositheos' showing this was certainly a case calling for his previous consent. Philotheos refers also to the action of Archbishop John in the reign of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos, when that prelate procured in the local Synod the condemnation and deposition of his namesake, the Bishop of Amathus. It is true, he allows, that the proceedings were quashed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Lukas Chrysoberges, not, however, because the Cypriot primate had failed to refer the matter to any of the neighbouring Patriarchs, but solely because the sentence was not pronounced by the full Synod. He complains that the circumstance ought to have been remembered by Dositheos, who had specially mentioned it, since the deposition of a bishop must surely be regarded as the decision of an ecclesiastical question. As a proof of the peculiar esteem, in which the Primates of Cyprus are held, he declares that, when they visit Constantinople, they are received by the Œcumenical Patriarch with the same distinction as the other Patriarchs. In support of this he cites the honours paid by Chrysostom and the clergy of the Imperial City to Epiphanios on the occasion of his visit in A.D. 402. But in this he is surely guilty of the same logical offence he has charged his opponent with committing, as Epiphanios' treatment was a solitary instance and was not accorded to him in his capacity as head of the Cypriot Church, but by reason of the veneration, in which he was universally held for his reputed sanctity and exalted virtues.

Balsamon in Canon. XII. Concil. VI. Carthagin.

Philotheos protests that it is not his intention to advance any claim on behalf of the independent Archbishops to the title of Patriarch. To do so he declares would be both foolish and arrogant, as well as betraying complete ignorance of the real

meaning of the word. For the title has been consecrated by ancient usage and confirmed by synodical decree so recently as the time of Kallinikos (1688-1702), II. Patriarch of Constantinople, to the five great heads of the ecclesiastical system. His sole object in combating the statements of Dositheos was to preserve the privileges, which he and his brother prelates possessed, from gradually becoming meaningless and obsolete. For if the independent Archbishops are, in accordance with his doctrine, to be degraded in rank and estimation below the patriarchal metropolitans, who are in a state of subjection, then the terms autonomous and autocephalous will have lost all significance, since in that case dependence would be preferable and more honourable. But if his opponent merely means that the independence of these prelates is restricted to their own respective provinces, to that he is ready to agree. Yet even so, he argues, they ought to enjoy beyond the limits of their own jurisdiction a higher rank and dignity than bishops, who do not possess the privilege at all.

Cf. Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. II., p. 405.

To the assertion that, when an independent Archbishop happens to officiate outside his own province in company with a metropolitan not subject to him, the latter commemorates only his own immediate superior he raises no objection, remarking that it is a right and proper custom. But that the former is not permitted in such cases to commemorate "every bishopric of the Orthodox," as a Patriarch does when on his travels, he altogether denies, declaring that there is no prohibition to the contrary. That the autonomous prelates are obliged to commemorate any of the Patriarchs, who may chance to be present within their jurisdiction, is also a statement which he strongly contradicts. This he affirms to be a custom not observed even by the dependent metropolitans, since they only commemorate under such circumstances their own immediate superior. Its voluntary performance by the two Iberian Primates, upon which Dositheos seems to base his assertion, in his opinion proves nothing, as it was only gratitude for the bestowal of autonomy by the Patriarchs that induced them to do so. The alleged prohibition against the carrying of a pastoral staff by the independent prelates when outside their provinces proves, according to him, either that they were formerly accustomed to carry them, since there is no ecclesiastical canon nor imperial decree forbidding the practice, or that the claim to do so is a recent innovation. But this he declares they would scarcely venture to attempt at a time when they were being threatened with the loss of everything essential to their

Kyprianos, p. 385.

dignity. With regard to the statement that when corresponding with the Patriarchs, as well as with metropolitans not subject to them, they may not inscribe their titles, he says that to thoughtful persons these titles would appear worthy of being recorded and retained, both as marking the superior dignity of the Patriarchs and their own distinction from the dependent metropolitans and bishops. Respecting the use of coloured signatures he affirms that they are not ashamed to employ them, as though they had acquired them in an underhand way, but out of regard for the memory of the donors display them to patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops, whose bounden duty it is also to maintain and preserve for these fortunate Churches the favours which had been bestowed upon them by the divine fathers and the Christian Emperors. As showing the practical value of such distinctions Philotheos declares that no petition from the Primate of Cyprus to the Porte would be treated as genuine, unless it bore his signature in red ink, since the Ottoman authorities were fully cognisant of this privilege, which had been conferred upon him.[1]

To show that the independent prelates in their correspondence with the Patriarchs adopted the same mode of address as other metropolitans Dositheos instances the case of Epiphanios, Archbishop of Cyprus, who, when writing to Ignatios of Constantinople about A.D. 869, employed the language of extreme humility. Philotheos' rejoinder is both remarkable and unexpected. He asserts that this individual never was the head of the island Church, but only a subordinate bishop. According to him the only Archbishop of that name flourished in the time of John Chrysostom, though he admits the existence of several

Kyprianos, p. 386.

[1] Kyprianos in support of this statement asserts that the Archbishop's signature alone is to be found imprinted in the imperial Qayd or register in red ink, those of his suffragans, and also of the Patriarchs, being impressed in black. From this he argues that the continuance of this privilege, which was conferred by the Byzantine sovereigns on account of the loyalty and devotion of the Primate and his flock, was permitted by the Ottoman authorities after the conquest on the express assurance of the Patriarch of Constantinople that it had been enjoyed from times of antiquity.

Kyprianos, p. 314.

Τοῦ δποίου μόνου ἡ σφραγίδα γράμμασιν ἐρυθροῖς εὑρίσκεται τυπωμένη εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν Καῖτι, ἢ Κώδικα τῶν σφραγίδων συναριθμημένη ὡς καὶ τῶν Πατριαρχῶν μετὰ μέλανος, τὰ δὲ τῶν τριῶν Ἀρχιερέων Μητροπολιτῶν μετὰ μέλανος. ὅθεν συνάγεται ἐκ τούτου, πῶς ἡ κραταιὰ βασιλεία τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἀναμφιβόλως εἰδοποίηθη μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πατριάρχου ἀναγκαίως ἐβεβαίωθη, πῶς ἔχει προνόμιον ἐκπάλαι ὁ τῆς Κύπρου Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἐκ βασιλέων δωρηθὲν διὰ τὴν ὑπακοὴν καὶ πίστιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ῥαγία, ἣν ἐφύλαξε πάντοτε καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν, τὸ νὰ ὑπογράφεται μὲ κόκκινα γράμματα, καὶ νὰ σφραγίζῃ κόκκινα μὲ τὴν βοὐλλάν του, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δεκτὴ ἡ αὐτοῦ σφραγὶς καὶ εἰς τὴν Πόρτα καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς Ὀθωμανοὺς ἡ διὰ κινναβάρεως.

bishops so called. But, as though not quite certain of his facts, he qualifies the denial by saying that, even if Archbishop, he did nothing unusual in so writing, but acted most properly.[1] Now if there is any one point on which a Cypriot primate might reasonably be expected to possess reliable information, surely it is on the subject of his predecessors. A most cursory examination of the lists of signatures appended to the decrees of the earlier general Councils would have shown him, moreover, that there was yet a third occupant of the primatial See bearing the same name, *viz.*, the Archbishop whose delegate Theodoros, Bishop of Trimythus, he himself reports as sitting and signing at the Sixth General Council (Third Constantinople) A.D. 680, after the metropolitans of Cæsarea and Ephesus.[2] As a set-off to the instance quoted by Dositheos he refers to the action of a previous occupant of the See of Jerusalem, John, who in a letter to Chrysostom addressed that Patriarch as lord, and acknowledged him as Œcumenical and the father of fathers. Yet this mode of address was never established as a precedent for subsequent Patriarchs of Jerusalem, though it would have formed a most valuable example of humility for the imitation of the Primates of Cyprus and the other autonomous Archbishops.[3] To those who are acquainted with the methods of official correspondence undue stress would appear to be laid by both disputants upon mere

Kyprianos, p. 386.

[1] This gem of archiepiscopal inaccuracy deserves to be presented in the original: "δι' οὗ ἐπιφέρεις ὡς ὁ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κύπρου Ἐπιφάνιος γράφων τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰγνατίῳ ἐν ἔτει ωξθ' ἔλεγε, 'μὴ τολμῶν ὁ ἀνάξιος καὶ πανευτελὴς τοῦ πανιέρου καὶ ἰσαγγέλου δεσπότου μου δοῦλος γράφω,' οὗτος μέντοι οὐκ ἦν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κύπρου Ἐπίσκοπος, ὁ γὰρ Ἐπιφάνιος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἦκμαζε ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, ὅς ἐστι δῆλον, ἐν πολλοῖς, καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ. μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ, 'ἐπίσκοποι μὲν ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ Ἐπιφάνιοι ἐχρημάτισαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος δὲ οὐδεὶς φαίνεται εἰς τὰ σωζόμενα Ἱστορικὰ περὶ τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ Ἀρχιεπισκοπευσάντων. εἰδ' αὖ καὶ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἦν οὗτος, ἄτοπον οὐδὲν διεπράξατο οὑτωσὶ γράψας, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πρεπωδέστατον."

[2] The annals of the Church of Cyprus record three Archbishops of the name of Epiphanios, *viz.*:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Epiphanios I. (ὁ ἅγιος) . . . . . | A.D. 368-403 |
| 2. | Epiphanios II. . . . . | *circ.* A.D. 680 |
| 3. | Epiphanios III. . . . . | *circ.* A.D. 870 |

but only one bishop of that name, Epiphanios of Soli, who, instead of being a contemporary of Ignatios of Constantinople, flourished more than four centuries earlier and acted as the delegate of his metropolitan, Olympios I. at the Fourth General Council, A.D. 451.

Mansi, Concilia, tom. vi., col. 568.

[3] "Εδει τοίνυν, ἁγιώτατε Πάτερ, καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἁγιωτάτους Πατριάρχας (εἰ ἔξεστι κἀμοὶ τῷ ὀλιγομαθεῖ, ἐραστῇ δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀδεκάστῳ γνωμοδοτεῖν) τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πρώτους διαφυλάττειν, ἵνα τῷ αὐτοὺς ὑποδείγματι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διδάξωσι.

The sting of this rejoinder lies in the fact that Dositheos was himself a successor of John in the See of Jerusalem.

verbal expressions, which were never intended by the writers to be taken in their literal sense. Philotheos so far agrees, however, with his opponent as to declare that it is not only proper, but also the duty of the independent prelates, when writing to the Œcumenical Patriarch, to address him as lord and master, and to omit their titles. The use of coloured ink in their signatures meets with his approval, as it is an ancient privilege bestowed upon them as a mark of distinction. In their correspondence with the other Patriarchs he asserts there is no fixed rule, but that they may do as they please, remarking that, though Christ enjoined humility in all things, the canons and the divine laws direct that ancient ecclesiastical privileges shall be preserved.

The supreme control of ecclesiastical affairs has from the very first been vested in the island Synod. This body, as at present constituted, consists of eight members, *viz.*, the Archbishop as president, with the metropolitans of Paphos, Kition and Kyrenia, the Hegoumenoi of Kykko and Machæra, the Archimandrite and Exarch of the archdiocese as his assessors. They take cognisance of all matters affecting the welfare of the Church, and to them alone belongs the power of pronouncing sentence of deposition against any offending member of the local hierarchy.

The Turkish conquest, though it caused no alteration in the number, brought about certain changes in the titles of the bishops. These on their first restitution to their ancient position seem to have merely occupied the Sees formerly held by their Latin rivals. But early in the seventeenth century, owing to the gradual depopulation of Famagusta, that diocese was suppressed and its territory incorporated in the archdiocese, while to preserve the existing number of the Sees the diocese of Kyrenia was re-established. As at present constituted the primatial See comprises the districts of Kythræa, Orini, Mesaoria, Ammochostos and Karpassos—the diocese of Paphos, the districts of Paphos, Chrysochou, Kelokedara and Avdimou—the diocese of Kition, the districts of Larnaka, Limassol, Kilanion and Episkopi —the diocese of Kyrenia, the districts of Kyrenia, Morphou and Solea.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 72.

The occupants of these various Sees enjoy the following order of precedence and are thus styled :—

1. The Archbishop. The most blessed Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and all Cyprus.

2. The Bishop of Paphos. The most all-holy Metropolitan


Reference
Orthodox Metropolises shewn thus
Division of present Orthodox Sees shewn thus
Names of former Orthodox Sees in italics
Orthodox Monasteries shewn thus
H = Hagios
33°
34°
35°
H. Andreas Pr.
H.Andreas
Karpasia
Kromnyon Pr.
Lapithos
Kyrenia
H.PANTELEEMON
Myrtou
H.Chrysostom
Chytri
MORFOU BAY
Morphou
H.Mamas
LEVKOSIA
(Ledros)
KYRENIA
ARCHBISHOPRIC
Salamis
FAMAGUSTA
BAY
Famagusta
(Arsinoe)
Akamas Pr.
Soli
Trimythus
Kykko
Tamasos
Machaera
Throni Pr.
PAPHOS
Troödhitissa
Chrysorrhogiatissa
Stavro Vouni
LARNAKA
(Kition)
LARNAKA BAY
KITION
KTIMA
Paphos
Amathus
Kurion
LEMESSOS
(Neapolis Nemesos)
H.Nikolaos
Kurias Pr
English Miles
0 5 0 10 20 30 40
CYPRUS
This map represents the four Orthodox Sees into which the island is at present divided.

of Paphos, right honourable and exarch of Arsinoë and the Romans.

3. The Bishop of Kition. The most all-holy Metropolitan of Kition and President of Amathus, of the new city of Lemesos, and of Kurion.

4. The Bishop of Kyrenia. The most all-holy Metropolitan of Kyrenia and President of Solea.[1]

Exception has been taken to the first of these titles, which the island Primates bear, on the ground that Nova Justiniana was the name bestowed by Justinian I. on Carthage after its recovery from the Vandals by Belisarius in A.D. 533. The proper title, it is pointed out, should be Nova Justinianopolis, which in fact was the one employed by Archbishop John at the Quini-Sext Council. Philippos Georgiou, while admitting the correctness of the objection, explains that the former name was adopted not in ignorance, but to avoid the redundancy of syllables in the word Justinianopolis. He acknowledges, however, that it would be well, for the sake of historical accuracy and to avoid confusion, if the correct title were resumed. The suffragan bishops are called metropolitans, the local explanation being that this is in consequence of the Archbishop being addressed as "most blessed," like the patriarchs, and considered their equal in rank. It will be observed, too, that in their titles are preserved the names of the villages, in which the Orthodox prelates were forced to reside during the Latin supremacy, the Bishop of Paphos being styled Exarch of Arsinoë, while the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenia are called Presidents of Amathus (Levkara) and Solea respectively.

Sathas, Bibliotheca Medii Ævi, tom. ii. Πρόλογος, p. 31, etc.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 32, n. (a).

Ibid, p. 73.

"The bishops are elected by the general suffrages of the people of the particular dioceses: and as for the Archbishop, he is chosen by a majority of the suffrages taken by the bishop of each diocese; but he must be approved and sanctioned by the patent of the Grand Signior, who likewise reserves the power of deposition to himself." Such is said by an English traveller to have been the procedure observed at episcopal elections when he visited the island in 1745. Still, notwithstanding this alleged participation in the proceedings by the people at large, the nomination to the

Drummond, Travels, Letter VII., p. 154.

Cobham, MS. notes.

[1] 1. Ὁ Μακαριώτατος Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νέας Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Κύπρου.

2. Ὁ Πανιερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Πάφου, ὑπέρτιμος καὶ ἔξαρχος Ἀρσινόης καὶ Ῥωμαίων.

3. Ὁ Πανιερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Κιτίου καὶ πρόεδρος Ἀμαθοῦντος, νέας πόλεως Λεμησοῦ καὶ Κουρίου.

4. Ὁ Πανιερώτατος Μητροπολίτης Κυρηνίας καὶ πρόεδρος Σολαίας.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 73.

various Sees was at that period virtually in the hands of the Turkish Governor and the Qoja-bashis, or heads of the Greek community, who resided at Nikosia. But, since the era of the reforms inaugurated by the Khatti-Sherif of Gulhané in 1839, the populace has taken a more direct part in the choice of its chief pastors. During the later period of Ottoman rule the mode of election to the Archbishopric has been conducted as follows: On the occurrence of a vacancy in the primacy the Bishop of Paphos, by virtue of his precedence, became guardian of the See until the appointment of a successor. He also took the initiative in the election by summoning to Nikosia, as his assessors, the two other bishops and the hegoumenoi of the principal monasteries. The conclave, which was thus constituted with the addition of the Protopapas of the archdiocese, next issued invitations to the chief towns and villages of the four dioceses to send their representatives to the capital on a day appointed to take part in the subsequent proceedings. After considerable canvassing on behalf of the various candidates the final meeting, which decided the election, was held in the synod hall attached to the primate's residence, under the presidency of the Bishop of Paphos, when the new Archbishop was chosen by acclamation. The successful candidate was consecrated by his suffragans, after the lapse of a few days, in the cathedral church of the archdiocese. But he could not enter upon the duties of his office until the Porte, which possessed the right of annulling the election in the event of the popular choice proving unacceptable, had confirmed his appointment by a Berat, or letters patent. This it issued on a request for the same reaching it from Cyprus. When a vacancy occurred in any of the other Sees almost the same procedure was followed. In this case, however, the Archbishop assumed charge of the election. He summoned the representatives of the See in question to assemble under his presidency in the same synod hall, where the election, at which all the clerical members above mentioned had the right to assist, was decided. The candidate chosen was afterwards consecrated by him and the remaining bishops in the cathedral church of the archdiocese. But in this case also the election was not regarded as valid, until it had received by Berat the approval of the supreme government. All the prelates, once their appointments had been thus ratified, held their office for life. They were, however, liable to be deposed by the island Synod, a power which that body is reported to have frequently abused before 1839. Since that date it is said to have been exercised only on three occasions. One of the

K.D. Vondizianos (MS. notes supplied by Mr. Cobham).

prelates so deposed was an occupant of the See of Kyrenia. He is said to have been visited with the wrath of this august assembly for the heinous offence of smoking in the vestry! As no election to the Archbishopric has occurred since the British occupation, it is impossible to say for certain what alterations might take place in these proceedings in consequence of the new regime. Elections have, however, been held in all the suffragan Sees since 1878. As no interference was attempted with the freedom of popular choice and no official recognition of the successful candidate was considered necessary, it is to be presumed that the same course will be pursued, whenever an election becomes necessary in the case of the archdiocese.

The annual revenues of the Sees are derived from the following sources :— MS. notes (Mr. Cobham).

1. Certain fixed payments called *κανονικά*, made by each church in the respective dioceses.
2. The fees paid by the clergy called *φιλότιμα*.
3. The donations known as *λειτουργικά*, paid by every village for the annual service held in its church by the diocesan.
4. Contributions in kind, grain, oil, etc., called *ζητεῖαι*.
5. The revenues of the various suppressed monasteries belonging to the respective Sees, and
6. The fees for marriage licences, dispensations, etc.

In addition to these sources of income the bishops in their annual visitations collect by ancient custom from each Christian inhabitant a further sum amounting to about three and a half piastres. These contributions were all voluntary and paid without any recourse to compulsory measures. Sometimes, but very rarely, in the collection of the *λειτουργικά* the presence of a *zaptieh*, or policeman, was deemed advisable to secure their more effectual payment. But in no case did the bishops invoke the assistance of the law in the recovery of these dues, thus proving their voluntary character. Of late years, and especially since the era of the British occupation, they had been gradually decreasing in value, until the late Archbishop complained that his co-religionists did not contribute one-fifth of what they formerly gave, either in money or in kind, so that the continued existence of both Sees and monasteries was, he declared, merely a question of time. Letter, 23 June-5 July, 1895.

It is an exceedingly difficult matter to compute the actual amount of the revenues possessed by each of the four Sees, as the evidence available is so very conflicting, and varies so much at different periods. Unfortunately but very little assistance

is to be derived from native official sources. The writer, anxious to obtain the latest and most accurate information possible, though previously warned of the futility of the attempt, applied personally to the bishops for the necessary particulars. The answers he received will show how vain it is to expect any help from that quarter, and how useless it will be for others to repeat the experiment. His failure may be due not so much, perhaps, to any reluctance to give the required information as to an inability to do so from the unsatisfactory manner, in which all ecclesiastical returns are kept. At the same time there may be a lurking suspicion that the knowledge thus acquired might be used to the disadvantage of those who furnished it. The subjoined extracts from the replies will show the reader the difficulties likely to attend any future inquiries of the same kind. The late venerable head of the Cypriot Church, in a letter dated 6th-18th December 1894, thus writes: "The revenues of the four Sees are fluctuating. The Bishops do not at present receive a third of what they did formerly, and for this reason the present condition of the Church of Cyprus from every point of view is wretched, and from an administrative one pitiable. Let us hope, however, that in the future it will improve." The reply of the late Bishop of Paphos (23rd Oct. (4th Nov.) 1894), is equally unsatisfactory: "The revenues of the See (Paphos) are derived from landed property and from the voluntary contributions of the Christians made in accordance with the custom which has been observed from the very first". His colleague of Kition, possibly misunderstanding the inquiry, which seemed sufficiently plain, discourses as follows of the incomes of his clergy, but omits to make any mention of his own. He begins his letter (19th-31st Oct. 1894), by repeating the writer's question: "Its revenues (perhaps you intend to say their revenues, *i.e.*, the priests') and whence derived"—and then proceeds as follows: "The priests of the metropolis, of the city churches, and of the monasteries, are paid by the metropolis, the churches, and the monasteries, which they serve. The village priests receive certain small contributions from the Christians for the celebration of the Sacraments and other divine offices. But they chiefly support themselves in almost the same way as the laity—by cultivating their farms."

Fortunately there are other sources of information available for the purpose, which enable us to arrive at a tolerably accurate conclusion upon the subject. The evidence of Drummond, the first of our authorities, is as follows: "The revenue of the

Drummond, Travels, Letter vii., p. 153.

archbishopric, *communibus annis*, may amount to 10,000 piastres (£1200), which are levied from the towns and villages in wheat, barley, cotton, and other fruits of the earth; though not by the manner of tythes, but by a certain rate fixed to certain lands; and the other bishops draw their revenue from their own sees. That of Baffo is worth from 1500 to 2000 piastres, amounting to £250; Larnica, or Chitty, from 3000 to 4000, equal to £500; and Cerigna is equal to Baffo. Their value fluctuates in this manner because nothing is paid for the lands which are uncultivated. These stipends are very considerable in a country where living is so cheap, and so many fasts observed; yet all the bishops have other expedients for making sums of money: they move from place to place as traders, without bestowing the least attention upon their charge; and frequently the Archbishop raises general contributions, under the deceitful veil of employing them in pious uses, or paying some extraordinary *avenias*, or special assessment of the Turks.—The benefices are in the gift of the bishops, who severally receive from each incumbent 100 piastres, when he is invested with his charge: the bishop likewise raises from every church in the towns within his own diocese 100 piastres annually, which are collected from the people of the parish. He exacts from ten to fifteen piastres from every priest he ordains; and one piastre and a quarter for every marriage." Lacroix (1853) estimates the Archbishop's income at 240,000 piastres = £2400.[1] Mr. Vice-Consul White in his report, dated 16th January 1863, states that the incomes of the Archbishop and Bishops, as well as of the inferior clergy, are fluctuating through being derived from the people on the voluntary system. He computes that of the Primate at upwards of £2000 per annum, while those of the metropolitans he represents as varying from

Commercial Reports, 1863, p. 469.

[1] De Mas Latrie makes the following observations upon the same subject:— Archives des Missions Scientifiques, tom. i., p. 164, 1847.

"Les revenus annuels (du diocèse de Nicosie) s'élèvent à la somme de 240,000 piastres turques ou 60,000 francs, somme d'un tiers supérieure au traitement du premier archevêque de France.

Les rentes archiepiscopales y proviennent de ces éléments divers: de la contribution prélevée sur toutes les églises du diocèse, proportionnellement à leurs revenus particuliers, des redevances dues par ses vingt-sept couvents ou bénéfices, de la dîme payée par le paysans, du tribut payé en outre par chaque village (de 25 à 250 francs, suivant la fortune du lieu) pour le prix d'une messe pontificale que l'archevêque y va célébrer chaque année—de la perception d'un talari (5 francs environ) à l'occasion de chaque mariage béni dans le diocèse, enfin, du droit de dispenses si souvent nécessaires dans l'église grecque pour cause de parenté ou de divorce. Ces rentes, peu variables, ne comprennent ni les redevances en nature qu'apportent les Grecs quand ils viennent à Nicosie, où l'archevêché est leur caravansérail, ni les sommes assez fortes que payent les papas pour recevoir l'ordination," etc.

£800 to £1500, Baffo being the richest and Kyrenia the poorest of the suffragan Sees. An English traveller, who visited the island shortly after the commencement of the British occupation, estimates the archiepiscopal revenues at the same figure, with expenses amounting to £1500. The income of Baffo he places at about £1000, with expenses at £300, the bishoprics of Kition and Kyrenia each enjoy about the same sum, £900, while the annual outgoings of the former do not exceed £200. According to a native estimate prepared about nineteen years ago the incomes of three of the four Sees were then as follows: Archbishopric, £3000, with an annual expenditure of barely £1500. Paphos, about £2500, with an expenditure of £300. Kition, £900, with an expenditure reaching scarcely £200. Another estimate of about the same date represents the united incomes of all the Sees as not exceeding £3000, divided according to the following scale, *viz.*, Archbishopric £1200, Paphos £600, Kition, £700, Kyrenia £500. A native journal published at Larnaka, the *Neon Kition*, in 1882 computed the revenues of the Archiepiscopal See at 260,000 copper piastres, *viz.*, rents of the twenty-nine monasteries dependent upon the See, 160,000—canonical dues of the churches and imposts exacted from the villagers, 100,000. The same organ of public opinion at the beginning of 1883 wrote also as follows concerning the finances of the See of Kition: "Many persons insist that the See of Kition has a regular income of £1000 and upwards, *viz.*, £600 from the monasteries, and the rest from other sources. In comparison with those of other Sees the outgoings are quite insignificant. It contributes to the schools of Limassol £50, and probably to other villages and to newspapers a like amount. So that, when the Prelates get regular salaries, it is no exaggeration to insist that from the See of Kition we shall have a surplus to be devoted to education of at least £600." In the same number of its issue the *Neon Kition* reports that, when the late Kyprianos was elected bishop of the diocese in 1869, the See then owed 220,000 copper piastres. This debt it engaged through its representatives, by an agreement signed before the Archbishop, to extinguish by the payment in advance of five years' dues. This would give the annual amount of its dues as 44,000 copper piastres = £240. Further evidence on the subject was elicited during the lawsuit which took place after Kyprianos' decease between his heirs and the guardians of the See. In the course of the proceedings it was ascertained that the total receipts from all sources between the years 1868 and 1886 amounted to 2,323,145 copper piastres

Sir S. Baker, Cyprus as I saw it in 1879, ch. xvii., p. 413.

K. D. Vondizianos, MS. Notes.

Νέον Κίτιον, No. 170, 14-26 Nov., 1882.

Ibid., No. 175, 30 Dec. (11 Jan.), 1882.

(£12,764), giving an average for nineteen years of 122,270 copper piastres (£671).

The inferior clergy are divided into two classes, secular and regular. The former of these divisions comprises the parish clergy, who before their ordination must be either married or widowers. But they cannot re-marry in the event of their wives predeceasing them. They are never promoted to the higher offices of the Church. Indeed from the low state of their education they would be wholly unfitted for such positions. The other division includes in its ranks the inmates of the monasteries and the cathedral clergy. They are celibates and mostly derive their origin from the peasant class. It is from among them that the prelates are invariably chosen. As a rule their education is much superior to that of their secular brethren. From childhood they are received into the religious houses, where they commence their apprenticeship as servants, and are instructed in reading the sacred books and in writing. Some few of them, whose abilities give the promise of future distinction, are sent to continue their studies in Greece and elsewhere. The majority, however, once their novitiate is completed, are ordained forthwith, their subsequent promotion depending in a great measure upon seniority and longevity. K. D. Vondiziamos (MS. Notes).

Unlike the members of the hierarchy, candidates for the priesthood have never at any period been subject to election. No impediment is placed in the way of any one desiring to enter the ranks of the clergy. The only qualification required hitherto has been a very elementary knowledge of the art of reading. Though the would-be aspirant for Holy Orders comes as a rule from the lower ranks of society, and in many instances has only adopted his sacred calling when all other means of earning a livelihood have failed, his social status proves no bar to his acceptance. The ceremony of ordination is performed by the bishop of the diocese to which the candidate belongs. It generally takes place in the church of the village in which the latter resides, on the occasion of the diocesan's annual visitation. Should the candidate be an object of popular favour his fellow-villagers, who are present at the service, signify their approval by shouts of "He is worthy". In the event of any dissentient cries being raised the ordination is postponed, until the cause of dissatisfaction has been ascertained.

The secular clergy, both of the towns and of the villages, depend mainly for their support upon the paltry pittance paid them by their respective churches, as well as upon the offerings Cobham (MS. Notes).

collected from their congregations during divine service, together with the customary fees for baptisms, marriages and funerals. Some few years ago it was estimated that the stipend of a parish priest in the district of Larnaka varied between 1500 and 2000 copper piastres yearly, about £8 to £15 in English money. So wholly inadequate are these sources of income that the ministers of the Church are frequently compelled to follow the most humble occupations for the support of themselves and their families. That this is an evil of long standing is evident from the testimony which Drummond bears on the subject so far back as 1745: "The poor priests subsist almost entirely upon the charity of the parishes to which they belong: this, even in Larnica, never amounts to more than forty or fifty piastres, so that they are obliged to follow the meanest occupations for bread; yet great numbers are brought up at the altar that they may be exempted from the weight of Turkish taxes, which as laymen they would not be able to bear". From the same cause De Mas Latrie mentions having observed a priest herding swine. The writer, too, has frequently seen them engaged in agricultural pursuits, or in carrying the produce of their fields to market in company with their fellow-villagers, the only distinctive mark of their sacred calling being the *καλημαύκη*, or brimless tall hat, which is worn exclusively by ecclesiastics. The contrast presented between the comparatively easy circumstances of the regular clergy and the abject poverty of their secular brethren is, indeed, very remarkable. Native reformers, zealous for the welfare of their Church, have not hesitated, in consequence, to advocate the sequestration of the monastic revenues and the equal payment therefrom of both classes of the clergy.

Drummond, Travels, Letter vii., p. 154.

With regard to the number of ecclesiastics in the island the earliest extant computation is that of Kyprianos (1788), who reckons them at about 1000 of all ranks. Lacroix comes next (1853) with a total amounting to upwards of 1700. Of these 400 belong to the regular clergy, who are under the rule of 83 hegoumenoi, while the secular number 1200. All these, united with the chapters of the four dioceses, bring the grand total up to the number he has enumerated. The census returns of 1891 show a falling-off of more than two-thirds from the above estimate, the total being there represented as 505, distributed as follows: Nikosia, 170; Larnaka, 61; Paphos, 76; Kyrenia, 51; Limassol, 81; and Famagusta, 66. The returns furnished to the writer by the bishops themselves show a considerable increase on the official

Kyprianos, p. 394.

Lacroix, Iles de la Grece., p. 86.

Census Report (1891), table vii., pp 50-56

figures, though even they do not equal the total of Lacroix's estimate. The following are the various numbers existing in the different dioceses according to the episcopal returns, *viz.*,

Archbishop's Letter, 23 June (5 July), 1895.

Nikosia, secular and regular, 280 to 300.

Bp. of Paphos' Letter, 23 Oct. (4 Nov.), 1894.

Paphos, married priests, 205, in charge of 96 villages, 20 unmarried and 15 deacons. Total 240.

Bp. of Kition's Letter, 19-31 Oct. 1894.

Kition, married priests and deacons, in Larnaka 10 priests and 3 deacons, in Limassol 6 priests and 3 deacons, in 100 villages 153 priests and 7 deacons. Of unmarried priests and deacons the metropolis has 2 priests and 3 deacons, the Monastery of St. George 2 priests and 1 deacon, the Monastery of Stavro Vouni 1 priest and 1 deacon. Total of married and unmarried priests 174, deacons 18.

Archbishop's Letter, *ut supra*.

Kyrenia, married and unmarried clergy of all ranks, from 150 to 180.

Grand total for the island, 862 to 912.

K. D. Vondizianos, MS. Notes.

Education, it must be confessed, is at a sadly low ebb among them. Many of the parish priests can with difficulty just stumble through their offices with the instruction they have received from their seniors in the ministry. So illiterate are they as to be quite incapable of imparting any religious instruction to their flocks. With the exception of a few of the superior clergy, who have been educated at Athens and elsewhere at the expense of the Archdiocese, there is not one of them able to deliver a sermon—a duty which even these capable few only perform about once a year. Such is the testimony on the subject by a member of the Orthodox Communion some nineteen years ago. And the description unfortunately, in great part, holds good even to-day.[1] He ascribes the lack of proper establishments for the training of candidates for the ministry to the culpable negligence of the superior clergy, whose apathy, the despair of all would-be reformers, he declares will continue, until Government intervenes to stop the scandal. As a remedy against this universal ignorance it has been suggested that, in the case of the parish clergy, the bishops be requested to admit no one to priest's or deacon's orders unless he has received instruction in some school and is able to read and write well;

[1] The Σάλπιγξ, No. 475, 7th May 1894, in an article on the election of a bishop to the See of Kyrenia expresses itself thus about the education of the clergy:—

"Ὁ Κλῆρός μας εὑρίσκεται λόγῳ παιδείας εἰς τὸ κατώτατον σημεῖον καὶ οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι κληρικοί μας ἀριθμοῦνται μόνον ἐπὶ τῶν δακτύλων τῆς μιᾶς χειρός."

while as regards the regular clergy, until the establishment of a proper theological college, a certificate of education from a grammar-school, of which there are several in the island, should be required. That public opinion is gradually being aroused to the importance of this question there cannot be a doubt. And it is equally as certain that the present condition of things, degrading as it is both to pastors and people, will not be allowed to continue much longer. Since the British occupation the leaven of education has been slowly, but surely, making itself felt among the masses of the population. The clergy must learn, however unwilling they may be to receive the lesson, to accommodate themselves to the altered state of affairs, if they would retain that influence which is so fast slipping from their grasp. As an evidence of the feeling rife among the Christian community and an indication of what will inevitably occur, unless those responsible for the present condition of things awake in time to a sense of their duty, the following article from a Limassol paper called the *Salpinx*, which concludes with the language of open menace, will prove instructive. It is entitled "No Provision of Clergy" (*οὐδὲν περὶ Κληροῦ*) and bears date 25th September 1893:—

Σάλπιγξ, No. 443.

"The question of the training and suitable education of ecclesiastics becomes from day to day more important on account of the resolute silence which those, who ought of their own accord and initiative to examine and ponder earnestly upon this matter, observe, and the inexhaustible apathy which they oppose to this reasonable demand both of the country and the Press. The urgent necessity for the training of the clergy, and the great and salutary influence, which an educated priest of irreproachable life exercises upon the formation of the morals of the people, are fortunately recognised by all the inhabitants, and every one hears this necessity acknowledged by every reflecting person, whether countryman or townsman, only it is not recognised by those who, since they govern the affairs of the Church, ought to have some slight consideration and show some concern for their successors. Spiritual fathers seem to consider forethought and concern for successors as a work and duty exclusively belonging to fathers after the flesh, and not to spiritual ones, a pernicious and inexcusable mistake, deserving of all reprobation and righteous condemnation. And in such an error the leaders of the Churches appear always to be. Otherwise the indifference and the supineness, which they very markedly affect, to the demands and the clamours that the Press, circumstances, and the

condition of the clergy put forth, is inexplicable. They cannot turn their eyes, or direct their ears in any direction, without noting the very evident dearth of fit clergy, and without perceiving the ruin of the moral edifice. There are neither oases in this desert for refreshment, nor pillars for the support of this edifice, since the oases and the pillars are a clergy well trained and well acquainted with the duties of their sacred profession, and who carefully discharge them.

"It is terrible to reflect that a Cyprus, which is administered ecclesiastically by four bishops, cannot to-day point to suitable successors to them, either ready for the present, or being trained for the future, and if, which God forbid, the four episcopal thrones of Cyprus, which formerly possessed sixteen, were suddenly and at once to become vacant, it would be necessary either that they should remain vacant for many years, until suitable persons were trained, or that these should be summoned from abroad, in order that the, for Cyprus, really great number of four might be completed.

"When similar disorder and paralysis prevail generally in social questions one can say: 'Search for the culprit'—because of the many implicated, one from motives of private interest and another from motives of petty ambition, hinder the progress of a question, or work against it, and unfortunately we have many such examples testifying to our disordered social condition. But in the question, which we are discussing, there is unhappily no need to make inquiry, or to indicate the culprit, because he is well known to all. And the most highly educated, as well as the most ignorant, knows not, and justly, any other, whom we may indicate as the culprit save the helmsmen of the Church collectively, the steersmen of the bark of national salvation, who remaining permanently alone, and very much alone, upon it, take no forethought about furnishing it with the necessary crew and with competent seamen.

"The Press, the echo itself of public opinion, unceasingly condemns such negligence, inactivity and indifference, regarding it as altogether inexcusable, since, in order that even two students might be sent yearly to the theological schools, an annual expense of scarcely £40, *viz.*, £10 for each See, would be entailed. Are you listening? £10 annually. Put it even at £30. Each See refuses to add £30 to its annual expenses, an expense the most sacred of all, and prefers to endure the condemnation of the people and to despise the just outcries of the Press. Each See prefers that the dissatisfaction should extend and the

voluntary contributions to the See be lessened rather than expend yearly so insignificant a sum to discharge its duty and perform the greatest of services to its flock. No other reason for the yearly expenditure of £10, £20, or £30 exists, and we challenge every one interested to declare to the people if another reason does exist. Is it possible that such a reason for this trifling expense can be urged without even calling forth a blush?

"We offer a sincere piece of advice to those whom it concerns. Before the independent Press rouses the people, and before the sovereign people awakens to the exercise of its sovereign rights over the national property, from which it derives very little or no advantage, they ought to turn an attentive ear to its modest but most righteous demands, or rather to its representations that they are not doing their duty. Otherwise contempt will beget displeasure, displeasure provoke coldness, coldness terminate in hostility, and then the sovereign people will not be satisfied with small concessions, but will impose its will in great matters also.

"The people makes no great demands. It asks that there should be sent regularly every year one or two students to one of the theological schools that they may return as priests capable of teaching and instructing it, since it knows not what to believe, and to guide it in the right way by means of the great doctrines of the holy regenerating Book, because the total ignorance of these doctrines has brutalised, debased, and destroyed the faithful. Here we have what the people demands for the present, and what the state, into which it has arrived in matters of religion, demands. Here we have what the duty of our bishops demands and what a country almost entirely denuded of priests of the Most High demands.

"These things constitute the duty of a public journal, the sole programme of which is to support a proper public opinion and to defend the rights of the people."

In the management of their respective Sees each bishop is assisted by four principal officials:—

Archbishop's Letter, 12-24 Jan., 1896.

1. The Archimandrite, who has charge of all matters affecting the interior economy of the diocese, as well as the administration of the finances.

2. The Exarch, to whom is entrusted all matters dealing with its external relations.

3. The Archdeacon, who adjudicates in all disputes between the deacons and also assists the Archimandrite and the Exarch

in the discharge of their duties, and superintends all strictly ecclesiastical matters.

4. The Œkonomos, or Steward, who controls all questions relating to the daily expenditure and is subordinate to the Archimandrite.

In addition to these there are the members of the various chapters, consisting of the canons, deacons and other dignitaries. Those of the three suffragan dioceses are calculated to amount together to fifty persons, while that of Nikosia is equally as numerous by itself.

The parish churches, both in the towns and in the villages, are the property of the people.[1] All matters connected with their administration, such as the collection of their revenues and expenditure, the payment and supervision of the clergy and other officials, their cleansing, the care of the vestments, furniture, service books, etc., which are provided at the public expense, are entrusted to a special committee, chosen annually from their respective congregations. The monastic churches with their endowments and fittings, though likewise regarded by the people as public property, are administered by the heads of the religious houses. They permit no outside interference and render no account of their stewardship. This freedom from supervision has undoubtedly led to grave abuses and instances are not wanting, in which the sacred property so administered has been mis-

[1] Kyprianos reports that in his time there were nine churches in Nikosia belonging to the Orthodox, which he enumerates as follows:— Kyprianos, p. 394.

1. Hagios Ioannes Bibi.
2. Phaneromene.
3. Tripioti.
4. Hagios Sabbas—rebuilt in 1781.
5. Hagios Antonios—rebuilt in time of Archbishop Philotheos.
6. Aliniotissa.
7. Hagios Kassianos.
8. Apostolos Lukas—built in time of Archbishop Philotheos, 1758.
9. Hagios Georgios (*παρακλήσιον*) *i.e.*, Chapel of Ease.

According to a recent account (1893), they are now:— Hierides, p. 66.

1. Phaneromene (Panayia).
2. Tripioti (Archangel Michael).
3. Hagios Sabbas.
4. Hagios Antonios.
5. Hagios Ioannes (Archbishop's Church).
6. Chrysaliniotissa (Panayia).
7. Hagios Kassianos.
8. Hagios Lukas.

*παρεκκλήσια.*

1. Machæra.
2. Chrysorrhoiatissa.
3. Hagios Iakobos.

applied. The state of the churches, the manner, in which the services are conducted, and the general behaviour of the worshippers have been pithily described in an article entitled "Blemishes in the Churches" (*αἱ ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀηδίαι*), which appeared in the *Salpinx* early in 1894. The writer, who can vouch for its accuracy from personal observation, prefers to lay before his readers this criticism from a native pen rather than his own impressions, as being less liable to misconstruction :—

Σάλπιγξ, No. 458, 8 Jan., 1894.

"If any stranger, whether a member of our own race or a foreigner, should happen to attend service in any of the churches of Cyprus, he would carry away impressions certainly not very complimentary with regard to our love of the beautiful, our good taste, and our zeal for the embellishment of our churches, for the very simple reason that he would meet with scarcely any indications of the existence of such feelings. The sequel of our article will show if there does exist any exception, and in what it consists.

"Whether the picture of the condition of our churches, which we are about to draw in all minuteness and exactitude and lay before the eyes of our readers, is the same in other countries and islands, which lead the same life of subjection and experience the same lot as ours does, we do not inquire. What we propose to inquire and examine is whether it would not be possible for the many and various blemishes and irregularities, which meet the eye and offend the ear—blemishes, which provoke laughter, destroy the sanctity of the church, and mar its dignity—to cease, and whether it would be possible for us to ascertain to what extent our apathy and indifference in matters concerning our churches have arrived, since we show our taste and refinement, and that in no small degree, in our personal attire, and in our personal attire only.

"Our observations we will make as follows :—

"1. Cleanliness.
"2. Vestments.
"3. Books.
"4. Style and manner of priests and deacons.
"5. Disorderly conduct of men.
"6. Disorderly conduct of women.

"1. Cleanliness. The first thing which strikes the eye of every church visitor is cleanliness. He certainly expects and ought to see there a cleanliness corresponding to the sanctity of the place, *viz.*, a cleanliness incomparably superior to what he observes at

home, which often, for various domestic reasons, he is unable to observe there as he wishes and should do, whereas the cleanliness of churches is free from everything likely to impair it, while they possess also the verger—the official especially told off for this duty. And yet in many churches, wherever we turn our gaze, shall we not behold abundant and clear evidence of the extreme uncleanliness which exists? In the candlesticks, which are smeared with wax and covered with rust; in the lamps, which the oil they are covered with changes from white to green, when it is not falling in drops; in the very eikons, the lower portion of which in many cases becomes black and unrecognisable; upon the Holy Table itself, over which the dust spreads a thick covering. We omit to mention the stalls, to which, if the clothes of those standing there do not adhere, it is because between their sticky uncleanliness and the clothes themselves a thick dust intervenes as a separating element. We now ask the question, Is affluence then necesssary for the observance of proper cleanliness in all these matters? No, the only thing required is a will and a sense of what is fitting in the proper officials.

"2. Vestments. The second thing which will attract the curious eye of the visitor is the vestments of the priests and the sacred vessels. Concerning the sacred vessels we make no comment, because nearly every church in Cyprus, even in the villages, regards them as indispensable and possesses vessels of more or less value, according to its financial position. Still there does not exist in reality a church, the funds of which would be so poor that it could not at least have two sets of vestments fit for the ministers of the Most High to wear when celebrating the Holy Mysteries. And yet in many churches even of the towns the vestments of the priests are some of them in rags and others of the poorest texture, sufficient and more than sufficient to banish all reverence. But the officials connected with them suppose, though they are grievously mistaken, that these things have little or no significance in the eyes of congregations, whereas the dignity of the churches is destroyed, the chiefest and sole object upon which their revenues should be expended. As the sanctity and majesty of the church is superior to that of the mere human habitation, in the same way the necessary vestments in it ought to be the more magnificent, since they are by no means expensive, as they last for many years.

"3. Books. The miserable state of things is shown directly also from the condition of the Church books, which the visitor

will behold in many churches torn, unbound, with worm-eaten leaves and covers hanging half-off. Not only the Kalendars, the Horologia, and the Psalters, etc., but also the Gospels themselves any one will see neglected and dirty. Whether there be anywhere an exception to this, or to our previous observations, we do not inquire, we only inquire and we say truly that in the exception are included few churches, while in no church, and especially in those of the towns, ought such slovenliness to be met with, which requires for its disappearance a will only and an imitation, if nothing else, of the Europeans, equal to that which we show when imitating them in extravagance and other strange particulars, that are the signs of a pseudo-civilisation.

"Are then these instances of slovenliness consequences of the present indifference to religious matters, which possesses us? No, we reply, there is evidence that those, who are most indifferent, condemn these indecencies. And perhaps it is on account of these and other instances of slovenliness, to which we shall allude farther down, that the scanty attendance of church-goers at the present day is due and the infrequent appearance in the churches of members of the upper classes. Besides, for this purpose a committee is appointed over the churches, whose duty comprises not only the good management of the finances, but also the good ordering of the church and the observance of the requisite decency and decorum, on which before all other matters the requisite amount should be expended. The poorest church cannot plead insufficiency of means, because the instances of slovenliness, which we have mentioned, require but an insignicant sum and the will only to effect their disappearance, for which reason we condemn them also.

"4. Style and manner of enunciation of priests and deacons.

On this subject we have much to say, but we are restricted to such matters as the priests and deacons of the towns especially can attend to and put into practice, to their own greater credit and dignity and the increased satisfaction of their congregations.

"The time has long gone by when the majority of the congregations through ignorance of the words, which the priest or deacon used, were content with hearing only loud and uncouth sounds and irreverent flourishes. If ever there existed such a period it was when education was at its darkest and most barbarous stage. To-day the ear even of the rustic himself has grown refined, and he has come to understand that what is simple is also elegant, and this many priests and deacons who, to pro-

nounce one word, make so many vulgar flourishes and most unpleasant inflections of the voice, which only provoke pity and condemnation, ought to well understand. We have known priests and deacons gifted with exceptionally fine voices entirely ignorant of what a reverent and becoming style consists, and destroying the beauty of their voices by adopting a style and manner of delivery most discordant and disagreeable. But are they justified in acting thus because some one has taught them to do so? The only qualification demanded for the priesthood is good reading of some kind or other—and let him say the words as he pleases [ὅπως θέλει ἂς τὰ λέγῃ πλεόν]. Accordingly you hear a 'Wisdom, stand up,' or some other phrase, and you imagine that you are listening to the beginning of some public-house ditty, such as you are wont to hear in the taverns from mouths reeking with wine. No attention is paid to the words to render them intelligible. The effort to display the voice and acquaintance with flourishes and those, too, such as abound in love songs, absorbs all the attention. The words are regarded as a vehicle for the display of the vulgar voice and not the voice as the medium for proper, intelligible and reverent enunciation of the words. What sanctity accordingly will any one perceive in those holy sayings proceeding out of such mouths, which murder and that, too, intentionally both the sacred texts, and the sacred, venerable and imposing style of the Church?

"We condemn this great fault the more strenuously in so much as it is voluntary, and so much the more strongly as those, who possess it, foolishly regard it as an improvement or advantage, and with senseless and stupid obstinacy continue in their pernicious system.

"The ecclesiastical texts ought to be pronounced clearly, without affectation, with a firm voice and in a grave and stately style, displaying the reverence of the utterer for the sacred oracles themselves. Every absurd flourish or utterance, in a voice forced with cries and howls, is irreverence towards the holy texts themselves, and a contempt for and banishment of the reverence which the worshipper feels. In brief, both the Gospel and every prayer should be read in befitting style. Some especially when reading the prayers adopt an exciting style, such as orators employ when inciting an army to the combat. Even in ordinary reading dignity is required and that appropriate style, not the nasal, which displays the perception of the reader respecting the sanctity of the matter read and his humility towards it.

Σάλπιγξ, No. 459, 15 Jan., 1894.

"As we said at the commencement of the present article, these remarks of ours aim at the correction and disappearance from the churches of every blemish, consequently we write about those blemishes which can at once and easily disappear, and not about those which exist of necessity and require affluence for their disappearance. For example, what is required for a priest or deacon to pronounce the sacred texts clearly and reverently, without affectation, shouts, unpleasant inflections? What is required to make him attend to the meaning of the text and to pronounce well and adequately the separate phrases? What is required to make him pay strict attention to the Church's rubrics and not to alter them at his pleasure, or change or substitute for those that are sanctioned expressions of his own? What is required to make him pronounce secretly what the Church's rubric so enjoins and audibly only what is equally so directed?

"We know that it is impossible for all of them to be learned, because we know, too, the position of our clergy with regard to this particular, nor do we expect all of them to be gifted with good voices. Besides, what signifies it when both the learned priest introduces novelties and the possessor of the good voice perpetrates discords? Since even the unlearned, when he attends carefully, will not appear such, and the possessor of an unmusical voice, when he pronounces the texts clearly and without disagreeable modulations of his voice, atones almost entirely for the defect of his unmusical voice. Here we have what we are in search of and here is the principal object of this article of ours.

"Perhaps in this connection we ought to have made mention of another important member of the ecclesiastical officials, more important than the rest in the good ordering of the Church, we mean the chanter, but we avoid doing so for well-considered reasons, lest we should run the risk of being misunderstood. Besides, those who follow the calling of chanter are dismissed, if they do not give satisfaction, and, when the finances of the church allow of it, are replaced by competent persons, while the priest is always a priest and the deacon always remains such, and neither can they relinquish their calling nor is it easy to dismiss them. No material sacrifice nor heavy labour is demanded of them for their improvement (how many of them are past improvement), but care, attention, reverence for the sacred services, and dignity of style and enunciation.

"5. Disorderly conduct of the men. The deep silence and great quiet observed in the churches of the Westerns have often

astonished us, while on the contrary, as though our Church were possessed by the democratic spirit, we enjoy every freedom in it, and we talk and wrangle and get angry and laugh. Only we rarely weep there and most rarely display contrition of heart. All other sensations we experience in abundance. It appears, indeed, from this fact also that freedom is inherent in the Greeks and that their neck does not endure a yoke, even when imposed by religion.

"The slightest perception of the sanctity of the place where we are would suffice to impose not only silence and quietness but also awe. Yet where is this perception to be found? In the church? We come very near to regarding it as a medium for assembling together equal to the *cafés*, as a medium for interviews and for the exchange of glances and smiles. To the noise caused by the parents add that of the children to have the picture complete. And no one, whether parent or churchwarden, dares to impose silence and order. Both within and without are the same noise and confusion. Perhaps this is a result of our indifference to divine things, still we wonder whether these things do not rather contribute to produce our indifference to them?

"6. Disorderly conduct of the women. If the place in some measure restrains the men, neither the place nor the sanctity of it imposes silence upon the women! As the women have no other centre where to meet for gossip, the church alone remains for them both as a reading-room and a *café*. After the salutations begins the talking, and that in a tone of voice sufficiently loud and careless, though they are within the church. Besides this that miserable system, which is in vogue among us, of bringing infants also to the churches proves that we do not by any means comprehend their sanctity. During the whole duration of the Gospel an infant may be crying piteously and the worshipper will not hear, in consequence, a word, yet no one will venture to remonstrate, while she, who is responsible for it, does not recognise her offence.

"In addition to the noise of the infants, which especially during the great festivals converts the church into a sheepfold, where the lambs are secluded from their dams (and indeed it is very strange and senseless that we should bring infants also to the place where we assemble to offer up united prayer), in addition, we say, to the most distracting noise of the infants and the chatter and conversation of the women, whose gossip often drowns the utterances of the priest, we have in nearly all the churches certain women also, who, it seems, in order that they may show they know the

texts and the Gospels, shout them out very loudly either by heart or from the book, as though they were saying to the other women: 'Pay attention to us and not to the priest'. Perhaps they do this to draw away the other women from their conversations, but they only make confusion worse confounded, whereas they might confine themselves to admonition only.

"We here conclude the picture, which with general touches we have sketched only with a view to improvement, and let every one attend carefully and say whether we have spoken correctly according to facts, or have omitted many other details for obvious reasons."

Census Report (1891), pp. 5, 10.

The population of the island in 1891 comprised 209,286 persons of both sexes. Of this number 158,585, or rather more than 75 per cent. belonged to the Orthodox Church. The largest percentage of Greek Christians occurred in the Limassol district, where it amounted to 81·9, the ratio in the other districts being, Nikosia, 76·4; Kyrenia, 76·3; Famagusta, 75·7; Larnaka, 73·3 and Paphos, 69·2. These returns, when compared with those of 1881, exhibit a total increase of 1·9 per cent. in the numbers of those professing to be members of the Orthodox Church, while the individual increase in the six towns of the same names varies from 4·7 in Limassol to 1·1 in Larnaka. The Mohammedans, who come next in point of numbers, reached a total of 47,926, equivalent to a percentage of 22·9, showing a decrease of 1·5 since the previous census of 1881. The largest proportion of Mohammedans is to be found in the Paphos district, where it amounts to 30·6 per cent. The only district in which this sect has maintained the same ratio as in 1881 is Nikosia, while the greatest falling-off has taken place in that of Limassol. The other denominations possess a bare total of 2775, or a percentage of 1·3, the largest average being found in the Kyrenia district. Of these the Maronites are first on the list with 1131, followed respectively by the Roman Catholics with 915, Gregorians, 269 and Church of England (including Episcopalians) 201, the remainder being too small to be worthy of separate enumeration.

Where the religious leaders of a people are themselves devoid of education it is impossible to expect much enlightenment from those, over whom they preside. And the Cypriots form no exception to this universal rule. The rustic especially, like his fellows elsewhere, is the victim of strange fancies and delusions. He is a firm believer in the baneful influence of the evil eye and

in the power of magic. The most trivial occurrences are in his opinion charged with portents, while such natural phenomena as eclipses and comets throw him into paroxysms of terror. With the increase of knowledge much of this gross superstition will inevitably disappear, but many years must elapse before any marked improvement can take place. As a people the Cypriots are very attentive to the outward observances of their religion, a fact to which all who have seen them at their devotions can testify. In the churches the men are as conspicuous by their presence as in countries farther west they are by their absence. Lusignan, who can find little to say in praise of his Orthodox fellow-countrymen, bears testimony at least to their regular attendance at divine service even so far back as three centuries and more ago. He remarks that the populace in general was most devout and held the Blessed Virgin in special reverence, while never omitting to hear mass on holidays. As an instance of the strictness of the Orthodox in matters of religion he instances their custom of rising at midnight to be present at matins—a service which lasted in the smaller churches a good three hours at least. He adds that even at this early service there was a fair attendance of men, though the majority of the congregation was, as might be expected, composed of women.[1] From lack of instruction the language of the Church services had, prior to the British occupation, become almost an unknown tongue to the majority of the population. Consequently, being as a rule unintelligible to the congregation, they were interpreted according to the fancy of the individual worshipper. To combat such a state of universal ignorance the dissemination among the people of cheap paraphrases of the various Church books in the vernacular seemed the only possible remedy. But such an expedient, though sadly needed at the time, becomes every day less necessary, and it is to be hoped that, as education continues to make itself more felt, this reproach of ignorance will be entirely removed. Travellers, especially of the Roman Church, have invariably described the Cypriot Orthodox as being ignorant and fanatical to a degree.[2] Their ignorance unfortunately is patent

Lusignan, p. 85 (b).

[1] Il popolo universalmente è molto divoto, et massime alla gloriosa Vergine, che con grandissima divotione riveriscono la imagine sua, et non lasciano mai il giorno festivo la messa; et li greci in tutte le loro Parochie usano di levare a mezza notte al mattutino: et ritrovate molti huomini, ma più donne, che vanno in chiesa al mattutino, il qual mattutino dura da tre hore buone almeno, nelle chiese piccoline.

[2] M. de Mas Latrie in his *L'île de Chypre, sa situation présente et ses souvenirs du moyen âge* (p. 392) cites an instance of this fanaticism coming under his

to all, but they certainly cannot fairly be taxed with fanaticism. But this charge is equally as true as many others proceeding from the same quarter. That they still regard the Latin Church with a certain amount of aversion is not surprising, when one remembers the tyranny they so long experienced at its hands. The present writer, whose attention has been specially drawn to this point, has, on the contrary, found them remarkably tolerant and sympathetic. And in this respect it must be acknowledged they present a striking and agreeable contrast to their accusers, as all students of ecclesiastical history can testify.

The question of administrative reform is one which calls for speedy settlement in the interests of the Church itself. The members of the Orthodox community are known to have been long dissatisfied with the present conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. The following translation of a letter entitled, "How fares it with our Church?" (*τὶ κάμνει ἡ ἐκκλησία μᾶς;*) which appeared comparatively recently in a Limassol journal from a correspondent, whom the editor described as an esteemed friend and genuine patriot, sufficiently indicates the trend of popular opinion on the subject:—

Σάλπιγξ, No. 468, 19th March, 1894.

"The superior clergy of our native land, as though they had no business of their own to occupy their attention, deliberate and expend their energies only upon matters with which they have no concern, or, to speak more correctly, upon matters the

own observation. It arose out of a conversation he had with the Orthodox priest of Katholiki, a well-known church at Limassol, formerly attached to the Franciscan monastery in that town. "Comment n'a-t-on pas rappelé l'existence de l'ancienne église des Latins, dont vous avez conservé tant de débris?" dis-je au papas du Katholiki. "Ils étaient idolâtres" me répondit-il fort peu poliment, car il savait que j'étais Latin. Voilà le degré général de bonne foi des papas ou des caloyers en Orient, et le degré d'instruction d'une grande partie de leurs laïques, auxquels ils s'efforcent d'inculquer la haine de tout ce qui est ou a été Franc. Quelle différence chez les Arméniens dissidents!"

The learned historian might easily have discovered the reason of this apparent bigotry had he but reflected on the conduct of his own Communion towards the Orthodox in the days of its supremacy.

As a set-off to this may be recorded a much-needed lesson in Christian charity and forbearance the Orthodox of Cyprus gave the tolerant Church of Rome, when on 10th June 1882 in the Church of St. Lazarus at Larnaka the Bishop of Kyrenia celebrated a requiem mass to the memory of Garibaldi, after the clergy of his own communion there had previously refused to do so! The writer has in his possession a copy of the notice announcing the service, which is as follows: Εἰδοποίησις. *Αὔριον τὴν Ιοην, ὥραν π. μ. ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ Ἁγίου Λαζάρου θέλει ψαλεῖ μνημόσυνον χοροστατοῦντος τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου Κυρηνείας εἰς μνήμην τοῦ ἀοιδίμου στρατηγοῦ* I. Γαριβάλδη.

*Λάρνακι, τῇ 9ῃ Ἰουνίου* 1882.

care and attention of which belong to others. And even so they would not be open to censure if, after first setting in order and arranging their own concerns, they turned their attention to other matters, which concern their native land, or at least bestowed equal care and attention upon them. But unfortunately such is not the case. For a very long time we hear talk of sending clerics to the theological schools of Jerusalem or Chalkis for study, who on their return to their native land might teach both laymen and clergy, with a view to the instruction of both and the improvement of the degraded condition, into which both classes have fallen morally. Yet, on the contrary, those responsible for this duty have bought an estate and continue to do nothing, under the impression that this condition of things will not entail any consequences, or rather they pretend that they do not see any consequences, while they daily see them and seek to ascribe them to other causes.

"Some few persons are in possession of and manage the national belongings and the national property, while religion is attacked on all sides, wolves harry the flock, and the Church is desolate. Yet doubtless they say: 'What does it signify to us? So long as we are alive there will be also practically some remnants of the ancient system, upon which we can rest. When we are all gone let religion and flocks, Church and clergy burn together.' And so surely this will happen if the people continues to slumber. I have tried to ascertain what is the occupation of our superior clergy in Cyprus, *i.e.*, what is their occupation as a class. Pray, are they in the habit of devoting their thoughts to the settlement of ecclesiastical questions? Or to the improvement of the clergy or their flocks? I much fear their ecclesiastical occupation is confined merely to the exact collection of revenues, whether they preside over Sees or monasteries, and to nothing else. Who will busy themselves about training and keeping in the principles of the Gospel the flock that has gone astray? No one. Who will be their future successors? Who will bear rule after them? It is a matter of indifference.

"In former times I consider we were much better off with regard to this question, and as a clear proof of my statement I have the present well-educated clergy in the island, who, as I know, studied and were educated at the expense of their predecessors, or their then superiors. The present heads of the Sees and monasteries ought to regard this as an example worthy of imitation, and if they do not attempt more, as the present age

demands, at least they ought and should equal them in their efforts on behalf of our unhappy country, unhappy in both respects, both as regards State and Church. The unfortunate island suffers and fares ill both politically and ecclesiastically, but the political disease, against which we exclaim and murmur more than we need, is involuntary and imposed upon us from without, while the disease of ecclesiastical inactivity is voluntary, and the local Press, whose duty it is to enlighten all as to their duties, instead of directing its shafts against it, on the contrary remains silent (*?sic*) a proceeding which proves it to be not an independent Press, and consequently unable to effect the necessary reforms both of ideas and thoughts. If it has at any time handled this question it has done so superficially, as though it were one about a matter of no importance and of the most trivial significance, whereas it is the greatest and most important of the questions in which the Press ought to be engaged, and engaged permanently.

"This is one of the most vital questions for the island, and we, who live abroad, would be at a loss to understand why it is not followed up with all the energy it deserves by the inhabitants of the island—at least by those of the younger generation, who demand a better education than their predecessors—did we not know the systematic indifference and carelessness about every general and important question affecting the place. All the dialectic and diplomatic ability of the island is wasted in that Legislative Council, out of which nothing comes and, as is natural, nothing ought to be expected. All the other questions, questions requiring like this one, with which my present letter deals, sustained and energetic action on the part of the inhabitants exclusively, without the co-operation of the Government, are left in their muddy state and receive no attention.

"Under these circumstances permit me to inform you that the influence and ability of the Press in the island will only be appreciated when, instead of dividing the inhabitants, it allies itself with them and exhorts them to co-operate for such objects of public utility, and that the progress of the patriots in the island will only be perceived when, instead of slumbering and remaining inactive with regard to every matter of public utility, they act and co-operate willingly for the settlement of such questions, the state of which provokes reproof and shame."

Outspoken criticism like this would have been impossible while the bishops constituted the only effectual barrier between the Christian rayahs and their Ottoman oppressors. But now that such

protection is happily no longer required, the necessity for a radical change in the administration of the Church is being continuously urged. The justice of the popular demand was practically admitted by those responsible for its management even so far back as 1884, when a circular was issued summoning a convocation to assemble at Nikosia to discuss the situation and suggest the remedial measures to be adopted. This document, which bore the signatures of the four island prelates, recognises among other things that their position rendered it incumbent upon them to inaugurate the necessary reforms. Its great importance, as marking the dawn of a new era in the history of the Cypriot Church, fully justifies its insertion here in full:—

✣

"Sophronios, by the grace of God Archbishop of Nova Justiniana and all Cyprus.

"Most reverend priests and most honourable Christians of the cities and villages of the divinely protected island of Cyprus, beloved and very dear children in Christ, grace and mercy be with you all from God, and from us prayer and blessing.

"You are all well aware that the system in vogue up till now in the administration of our ecclesiastical and national affairs was based upon the holy canons, ancient usage, and the episcopal letters patent (Berats). The political change, however, which occurred six years ago, being inspired by other principles and customs, has rendered it necessary and, indeed, indispensable to formulate in writing, first the conditions, under which it shall be possible for the ecclesiastical authority to continue the discharge of the duties entrusted to it towards both the State and the rational flock confided to it; and, secondly, a method of administering and maintaining our ecclesiastical and national institutions more in accordance with the age.

"In order that this twofold object may be attained it is necessary that the Orthodox Christian population of the island should assemble by means of its representatives and, after deliberating with its spiritual leaders, draw up a scheme of regulation suitable to the object in view, and in due order submit this regulation for the approval and sanction of our new political authority.

"Our position has imposed upon us the duty of taking the first step in this question, the most important from a religious and public point of view. Accordingly we have met at Levkosia (Nikosia) and are engaged in framing a regulation upon the basis always of the sacred customs and canons of our holy

Church, and the usages and privileges, which have been consecrated by centuries, with the sole object of facilitating, so far as we can, this matter of the representation. Accordingly we invite you, the entire Orthodox population of the island, and we exhort you paternally to elect with alacrity and send to Levkosia by 15th July next your representatives.

"Bearing in mind the importance of the question we have considered it necessary that each subdistrict (Kaza), should be represented in the congress, which is about to be assembled, by two competent persons (except the small subdistrict of Famagusta by one, who with the person to be elected by Varosia will complete the number of two, as in the case of the rest of the subdistricts) Levkosia by six, Larnaka, Scala and Limassol by two each, Ktima by one, as well as Kyrenia and Varosia.

"But that the representation may possess legal authority the smaller of the villages must elect one, and the greater two representatives each, and, after furnishing them with the necessary powers in writing, signed by the inhabitants and sealed with the village seal, must send them to the following places by Sunday the 24th June next, *viz.*, the villages of the Karpass to Lionarissos; of the Mesaoria to Levkoniko or Vatili; of Ammochostos to Varosia; of the subdistrict of Kythræa to Kythræa and Dali; of Orini to Pera; of Larnaka to Larnaka; of the subdistricts of Limassol and Episkopi to Limassol; of the subdistrict of Kilanion to Kilanion; of Avdimou to Omodos; of Kelokedara to Kelokedara; of Paphos to Ktima; of Chrysochou to the city of Chrysochou; of the subdistrict of Morphou to Morphou; of Solea and Tylloria and of Marathasa in the subdistrict of Levka to Evrychou and Pedoula respectively; and of the subdistrict of Kyrenia to Kyrenia.

"For the convenience of the villages a printed power is being sent to each, which the inhabitants, after they have inscribed upon it the name and surname of their representative or representatives and signed and sealed with the village seal, will deliver to their representatives when they leave for the above-named localities to elect the final representatives, who will leave for Levkosia, as we have above said, by 15th July next. It is understood that these also, when they leave for Levkosia, shall be furnished with full powers by their electors in writing.

"Spiritual children, most dearly loved by us, we exhort you all not to delay. The question is one of the most important, because its object is that you and we may learn under what conditions our national ecclesiastical authority is to exist, so that

it may be able to discharge without hindrance its manifold duties towards the Hellenic population of Cyprus. For very many of you, through ignorance of the changes which have occurred, possibly blame us for not discharging better all those duties which you entrusted to us when you elected us as your spiritual leaders.

"Another equally important reason why you must not turn a deaf ear to our present invitation is that you ought to receive accurate information as to the nature and extent of the resources, by which the metropolises are maintained, and how the monastic and ecclesiastical property in general is managed, and that you may arrange in conjunction with us in what way it ought in future to be managed, if possible, more profitably to our national interests. This knowledge, gained from a personal investigation, will have, we are confident, in addition to other results, this most excellent one also, that the mutual confidence of pastors and flocks will be strengthened, the want of which, if such there be, rest assured, injures the highest religious and national interests of the Orthodox population.

"Furthermore we offer our best prayers on behalf of you all.

"Levkosia, 1884.

"✠ Sophronios, Archbishop of Cyprus.
"✠ Neophytos, Bishop of Paphos.
"✠ Kyprianos, Bishop of Kition.
"✠ Chrysanthos, Bishop of Kyrenia."

Unfortunately, despite the exhortation against delay and its admitted urgency, the matter has never been allowed to advance beyond this initial stage, nor is it likely that any further attempt will be made to remedy existing abuses during the continuance of the present lamentable indifference Yet no one can be oblivious to the fact that this strange inaction is fraught with the gravest consequences to those principally concerned. Popular impatience has already made itself felt in a variety of ways. One of the most marked is the increasing diminution in the voluntary contributions for religious purposes. But what is chiefly to be feared is that public opinion, no longer content with moderate reforms, will some day demand more drastic measures. That the bishops, in consequence, do not occupy the same place as formerly in the estimation of their flocks is only too apparent. The enemies of the Church, who in Cyprus, as elsewhere, are always quick to turn the general discontent to their own advantage, represent in the most unfavourable light

the indifference of the bishops to popular clamour. The simple villagers, unaccustomed to think for themselves, only too readily accept as true what they are told. Suspicions are thus engendered which cannot fail ultimately to prove most disastrous to all religious sentiment. It is to be hoped, therefore, in the best interests of the island, that the apathy now observable will in time be replaced by a greater solicitude for the welfare of their Church on the part of those who are mainly accountable for the present unsatisfactory condition of affairs.

One of the most pressing questions calling for solution is that which deals with the disposal of the ecclesiastical revenues. Hitherto their collection and disbursement have been entirely in the hands of the bishops and superior clergy, who are under no obligation to render an account of their stewardship. The laity on the other hand demand that for the future they shall have the controlling voice in all questions of Church finance. It is proposed that the bishops shall receive fixed stipends, and that the surplus of revenue remaining after the payment of all ecclesiastical charges shall be devoted to purposes of public utility. To accomplish this the establishment of a Pan-Cyprian committee was proposed so far back as 1882, whose duty it should be to examine the accounts of the four Sees, take charge of their revenues and secure to the Archbishop and his suffragans the payment of regular fixed salaries. A great reluctance has been shown by the prelates to the acceptance of such a scheme. They are naturally not very eager to exchange the immunity from control, which they have so far enjoyed, for a position that will to a great extent render them dependent upon the pleasure of others. Possibly, too, the motives underlying these suggestions are thought to be not altogether disinterested. Wealthy ecclesiastical corporations have before now been despoiled by professing friends under the specious pretext that the measure was for their benefit. Examples of this kind of sacrilege have occurred nearer home than Cyprus, where Church endowments have been diverted to purposes other than those for which they were originally intended. Schools, hospitals and almshouses are institutions, the necessity for which no one denies, but that their erection and maintenance should be provided out of the public purse, and not out of the plunder of the Church, is a reflection which will commend itself to all right-thinking persons. Should such suggestions be ultimately approved, as most unhappily seems likely, their execution must be entrusted to those who possess not only the confidence of the mob but also of those

Νέον Κίτιον, No. 170, 14th-26th Nov., 1882.

more directly interested in the act of spoliation. Perhaps the best way of illustrating the character of the proposals put forward in the name of the Christian inhabitants will be by quoting some passages from one of the local papers, the *Neon Kition*,[1] which during its brief existence devoted no small attention to this phase of the question. The dates of the several extracts will show that the subject is one, which has long engaged the public attention.

"It is not fitting that we should have on the four Cypriot thrones four distinguished and patriotic men, from whom we expect a great deal, and that we should still ask that these men should condescend to the humble duties of a tax-collector, being obliged yearly to visit every village and hamlet in Cyprus to collect some few hundreds of thousands of piastres for their maintenance, or that like farmers they should devote themselves to farming, or like merchants to the letting of some farm or monastery, wasting their precious time on things with which they should have no concern, instead of devoting it to matters of real and high importance. We want our bishops to stand high, to be well off, and free of cares. Then and then only we shall be justified in assigning to them this presidency, or that post of honour, or that mission. Many persons wonder why the Sees, which enjoy considerable revenues, have for years past been in debt, and why the bishops are perpetually in pecuniary difficulties. The matter is easily explained. A priest, and particularly a bishop, cannot show the same severity in exacting money as a merchant. He remits to one man because he is poor, to another because he has a large family, and so the income of the See is sensibly impaired." The editor continues a little farther on as follows: "A gentleman said to us a few days ago, 'What do you think the Archbishop should have, to live in a becoming manner?' 'We never thought about it,' was our reply. Others have though, and feel certain that the Archbishop would be very well content with a yearly salary of £500. Let us give then £500 to the Archbishop and £300 to each Metropolitan: for £1400 a year we shall be able to provide in a thoroughly becoming manner for our spiritual chiefs; and many persons who know the question well insist that a conscientious administration should provide this sum from the economies of a single See." Νέον Κίτιον, No. 182, 14th-26th Aug., 1882 (supplied by Mr. Cobham).

The next extract contains grave charges of maladministration

[1] This journal, which was published at Larnaka, made its appearance on 4th June 1879. Its last issue, No. 220, is dated 19th June 1884.

and peculation which, if substantiated, would go far to explain the popular mistrust.

Νέον Κίτιον, No. 164, 4th-16th Sept., 1882. "Besides the *θρονικὰ* the Christian population of the island must think about the so-called sacred property. In bygone days, when methinks men were more religious, no year went by without an offering made to the saints. So every church obtained a larger or smaller endowment, and all the gifts taken together made a considerable and substantial capital. But we learn from people, who know the question, that if the sacred property thirty years ago was worth, say, £100,000, to-day when landed property has a higher value, and it ought to be worth double that sum, it is worth only £50,000, because it has been seriously curtailed; most of the estates have been alienated, others have been laid waste, and some have been stolen by the very persons who undertook, or were invited, to take care of them, so that, if this ravage continues unchecked for another fifty years, the sacred property is gone, and with it all hope of the encouragement among us of Hellenic culture." In addition to the establishment of the Pan-Cypriot committee already noticed, the article advises a careful registration of all Church property; or, if the committee thinks that the depreciation and loss thereof cannot be stayed, recommends that it be sold and the capital sum invested in the National Bank, and the interest accruing from it employed for the spiritual enlightenment of the people.

Ibid., No. 170, 14th-26th Nov., 1882. The last article from the same paper takes the form of an address from the editor to his fellow-citizens, too wordy to be quoted entire, giving the summary of an interview on the subject with the Archbishop. The latter pleaded for delay until the opening of the new Legislative Council, when he would try to get an ordinance passed to assure the revenues of the Church and to regulate the relations between it and the State. In reply it was stated that these were matters for legislation and not what the people wanted. It wanted the appointment of a Pan-Cypriot committee to examine the accounts of the Sees, monasteries and churches, and to decide what surplus was available for education. Various objections against the proposed committee are noticed and answered. In reply to the argument that without some legal sanction the peasant would cease to pay his dues it is asserted that, though since the English occupation these dues have no longer the force of law and their collection is no longer enforced by *zaptiehs*, or policemen, yet payment of them still continues. Moreover the collections, instead of falling off, will be doubled when the villager knows that the surplus will be devoted to his

education, while in case of refusal it will always be possible to have recourse to the old law to compel payment. To the objection that fit persons could not be found to serve on such a committee this assertion is declared to be a libel on men who have already administered honourably the income of the large town churches. Finally, to refute the charge of exaggerating the amounts it is proposed to so administer, and to meet the insinuation that the advocates of the scheme are actuated solely by interested motives, calculations as to the income of the Archiepiscopal See, derived from reliable sources, are given, showing that the revenues in question are of considerable dimension.

That these too long-deferred reforms will be at length accomplished cannot be doubted. Thanks to the influence of more liberal ideas, due to the spread of education and the sense of freedom conferred by a constitutional government, the present generation refuses to be content with arrangements which satisfied its predecessors. But reforms, whenever they take place, must come entirely from within. Their past history proves conclusively that the Cypriots would justly resent any foreign interference in matters connected with their Church. They will claim full liberty to deal with a question which concerns themselves alone. The adoption of hasty and ill-considered measures is perhaps the greatest danger to be feared. A venerable institution like the Church of Cyprus, whose roots extend so deeply into a remote and legendary past, must be dealt with gently, otherwise the whole edifice may fall to pieces under the hands of reformers possessing more zeal than judgment. The patient labours of many years will be necessary before its organisation can be brought into complete harmony with present requirements. But the outlook is far from reassuring. After bidding for so many years a successful defiance alike to Romish intruder and Moslem fanatic, it seems in a fair way to succumb at last to internal weakness. All who are anxious for the preservation and continued utility of this most venerable relic of bygone ages, cannot but view with grave apprehension the course events are taking. Still it is impossible not to sympathise in some measure with the bishops in their opposition to a movement which in the end is bound to triumph. Despite the language of their circular they really seem not yet to recognise the altered condition of affairs brought about by the recent political changes. After slumbering for more than three centuries the Orthodox population of Cyprus is at length awaking to demand the chief control in what it still regards as its most cherished possession.

Though the bishops can hardly be expected to resign without a struggle the commanding position they have held so long unchallenged, the sacrifice must be made in view of the interests involved. It behoves them, therefore, while they can, to set their house in order and bow to the popular will, before the crash comes, which may otherwise sweep them away altogether. The danger has long been obvious to discerning minds. One of the most remarkable efforts, within recent years, to arouse public attention to a sense of the impending catastrophe was made in an article published in the local Press[1] of Limassol shortly before the present writer's departure from the island. The author of it, while acknowledging that the influence of the Church was visibly on the wane, suggests various expedients to arrest the spread of the mischief. Though somewhat lengthy the importance of the article is sufficient to warrant its being placed in full before the reader as the opinion of an intelligent native observer.

Σάλπιγξ, No. 507, 17th Dec., 1884.

"Necessity for a resuscitation of ecclesiastical influence (*ἀνάγκη ἀνυψώσεως τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἰσχύος*).

"We are about to direct yet again the attention of the inhabitants, politicians, and those who are competent to judge, to one of the most important questions affecting the island. To some, who are not well acquainted with the position of affairs, and who think that the ecclesiastical authority of the island remains unshaken upon the same basis as formerly, and continues to possess the same influence and to enjoy the same privileges, the title of this article of ours will appear somewhat strange. But unfortunately it is not so, and this question demands close attention and speedy settlement.

"Every one is aware that the Church is the ark of salvation, which has floated upon every national and religious deluge, and has preserved intact and uncontaminated sentiments, which from a national and religious standpoint are most sacred and precious; and, let us make no mistake, among us Greeks, and especially among those of us who are in a state of subjection, and who live under a foreign government, alien both in nationality and in religion, and indifferent to the preservation of our religious or national sentiments, if not actually hostile to them, the Church will again be the only powerful protector, and we have only the influence

[1] The journal in question, the Σαλπίγξ, commenced its publication on 25th January, 1884, and is still in circulation.

and the greatness of the ecclesiastical power to set as an effective obstacle to every risk, proceeding from the political authority or otherwise, of injury or extinction to these sacred sentiments, without which every people is rendered brutish. As long as the Church in the persons, and influence of the bishops stands on the eminence befitting it, and meets with respect and consideration from the authorities, a portion of this respect and attention is reflected back upon the people also, over whom the Church is set as a natural ruler and head. But the prestige and influence of the Church have declined, and the importance of the subject people naturally has declined also. And every patriotic and religious sentiment, which, united in brotherly bonds, the cassock warmed and the pastoral staff rendered reputable, has become cold. Education and the formation of sentiments through its instrumentality are a gift belonging to few, and the teacher, as he becomes less important, encounters in his process of training many thorns and more enemies.

"In the sphere of national and moral duties the head of the Church, the Ethnarch, possesses a comprehensive and carefully guarded authority, greater than that of any one else, and the counsel or censure, which proceeds from his mouth, acts with greater certainty than the threats of the law and the restraint of the prison. He, who is invested by the popular vote with the dignity of Ethnarch enjoys more than any one else the right of using the courageous language of advocacy before the civil power, and every representation or suggestion proceeding from him possesses an importance superior to all other.

"Every one, who recalls to mind the past, recognises the truth of these remarks, and as no reason exists why we should regard the present as different from the past, so no reason exists why we should confidently expect that the future will be different from the past. Wherefore it is necessary that we should cordially work together for the re-elevation of our Church to the pre-eminence befitting it, and not throw it down, which is the same as kicking against the pricks, walking on our heads, giving vinegar instead of water, and gall in place of manna.

"The resuscitation of the prestige and the revival of the influence, of the privileges and rights of the Church will bring with them also the cure of many irregularities in its internal administration, restoring in general the regular course, which has been disturbed by the relaxation of authority, and in this chiefly lies the importance of the question, because these irregularities occasion much injury, both morally and religiously.

"This question, though called an ecclesiastical question, not a little engaged the Press formerly, which has at times expressed various opinions; but if the reasons which we have stated above, and for which we regard as necessary the resuscitation of the prestige of the Church and of the ecclesiastical leaders, are well weighed, these various opinions will become assimilated and combined. But that we may be the better understood, and to furnish a motive for a review and adjustment of the question in the coming session of the Legislature to those who are competent to do so, as its solution much presses, we examine the question more at length.

"The fundamental grounds, upon which the adjustment of the whole question ought to be based, are two.

"1. Relations of the Church to the State and definition of its rights.

"2. Relations of the Church to the people and regulation of its rights and duties.

Σάλπιγξ, No. 508, 24th Dec., 1894.

"1. Relations of the Church to the State and definition of its rights.

"By definition we mean that certain decisions and acts of the bishops shall be specified, which the Government must render operative, respected, and effective in a case where disobedience or contumacy is encountered. For instance, when a priest breaks the civil law he is punished by the civil authority, but there are cases of contumacy and breaches of ecclesiastical laws and ecclesiastical offences committed by priests, for which the civil legislation makes no provision, nor is it able to impose any punishment for the correction of the offenders and the protection of the ecclesiastical laws. For these the ecclesiastical authority alone has the right to make provision and to impose the necessary penalties. But when the offender resists the penalty inflicted upon him and continues to be contumacious and to commit offences, to the great scandal and injury of the ecclesiastical canons and of religion itself, what further importance then attaches to the ecclesiastical authority? Who, accordingly, but the Government ought in such cases to impose such penalties?

"We have unfortunately examples of these glaring anomalies, and we fear that gradually through impunity we shall reach a state of insubordination, the results of which will be most distressing. Why then is the bishop called an ecclesiastical authority, since he exercises no authority over the priests, his decisions carry no weight, he has no power to restrain them within the

circle of their sacred duties, no authority to protect and insist upon the observance of the sacred canons and ecclesiastical ordinances? Why then, indeed, are there bishops at all when their admonitions dissolve into the air, their censures are despised, and their penalties are derided? Do they exist that they may ordain priests only, *i.e.*, that they may increase the ranks of anarchy, insubordination and scandals? Here we have the great void which must be filled up. Here we have the great anomaly which must disappear, and that as quickly as possible.

"We do not believe any ecclesiastical authority in any other country is to be found in a position similar to ours. In Turkey, as is known, the Orthodox ecclesiastical authority enjoys privileges, and all its acts and decisions always obtain governmental protection, as also is the case in countries, where the Government belongs to the same denomination as the ecclesiastical authority. The Western clergy, wherever it exists, is held in check by the powerful restraint of its Head, who is equal to a King. The autocephalous and independent Church of our island is, therefore, alone found to-day—would that it were not—in the humiliating and unseemly position of an obscure existence and doubtful influence and dignity through the negligence and inexcusable carelessness of us all—both people and clergy—and great is the responsibility which we bear, because this position seriously damages religious sentiment among the people.

"2. Relations of the Church to the people and regulation of its rights and duties.

"However necessary it may be that those rights of the Church, which require to obtain governmental protection, should be defined by a regulation possessing the force of law, another question just as necessary is that the rights which it possesses over the people, and the duties which it ought to perform towards it, should be equally defined by law.

"In the matter of this question there are some who want to degrade the bishop to the level of a mere salaried official, before even the funds from which he is to be paid are defined and regulated. Such a proceeding is very presumptuous, not to say absurd. We want the bishop to be a collector of undetermined and unsettled revenues, and perhaps almost non-existent, and afterwards we want to fix a stipend for him out of these revenues and to lay claim to the balance. This is equivalent to saying to the bishop: 'Go into your province and try, by means of your episcopal blessings and divine prayers, to collect as much as possible

that you may come and hand it over to us, but do not ask us to see what you collect, what you expend, and what remains. This does not concern us. The only thing, which does concern us, is that you bestow some of it upon our wants also.' Such an easy solution of the question would be very pleasant, but unfortunately an impediment intervenes on the side of the bishops as follows: 'We receive nothing ourselves. What we do receive is only sufficient for the wants of the Sees. Come and see.' This invitation to come and see at once upsets the question. Who will go and see? And when we do go and see that the collections are really insufficient, shall we have then any right to make any demand?' Far from it. Let us not see then, so that we may make our demand. Yet in this point alone lies the power of reform, which the recent political change implanted among us.

"But the question is not to be solved by comedies. It demands intense energy and cordial co-operation to effect a radical reform, agreeable to the age, and honourable to the people as well as exalting the Church to the eminence befitting it.

"But how must this problem be solved? We will proceed to examine.

Σάλπιγξ, No. 509, 31st Dec., 1894.

"That without a regular annual contribution from the inhabitants it is impossible for the bishops and metropolises, with the necessary officials, to be maintained is certain. And, moreover, that the contributions, as now paid, are gradually diminishing and will ere long terminate, if not entirely, at least in so insignificant a sum as to barely suffice for the expenses of the bishops only, and for the repairs and taxes of the metropolises, is also very evident. What then must be done? Shall we leave matters to their fate and allow to be lost contributions by means of which our ecclesiastical authorities will be maintained in the position of dignity befitting them, while we should have looked forward to the employment of the surplus for the good of the country, or shall we make haste to regulate them? We believe that prudence, and the advantage accruing to the country from being at least under moral supervision, demand and impose the latter alternative. It will, therefore, be necessary that the contributions to the Sees should be regulated by a law rendering them compulsory, the Government assisting in their collection. We do not consider it expedient that the collection should be entrusted to the Government. Such a course implies something like an insult to our Church. Let the collection be conducted as hitherto, the intervention of the Government only being invoked against the refractory, and we think that, when it is definitely known that the

Government will assist in it, there will be very rarely, and perhaps never, any neccessity for its intervention.

"After this matter has been regulated and the rights of the Sees defined there remain also the duties of the bishops towards the people to be defined. It is to be understood that there is no question here of spiritual duties. The careful discharge of these depends on the qualifications which the person chosen for this exalted office possesses. By duties towards the people we here mean the claim, which the people may possess, over the surplus of the revenues, after the deduction of stipends and expenses, because there both ought to be a surplus, and the people, which pays this sum, ought to enjoy the advantages, not material, but moral, accruing from it.

"The payment of fixed salaries to the bishops, besides the fact that this is already an indispensable condition, will be a natural consequence of the regulation of the revenues, because the previous calculation of the expenses will also follow on their regulation, the first item of which would be the stipends of the bishops and of the absolutely necessary officials and functionaries. Afterwards would be determined the amount necessary for the support and maintenance of those connected with the metropolises, then the item of taxes and repairs, etc., and after that the employment of the surplus would be regulated.

"Such a regulation certainly entails also an auditing of the accounts, to ascertain whether they have been expended in accordance with previous calculations. It is to be understood that the people has every confidence in the existing prelates of the island, but unfortunately they are not immortal, and it is not known whether their successors would resemble them. For this reason, and for their more complete freedom from all just or unjust causes of complaint, and from every suspicion excited against them, representatives of the Province should be invited annually to examine the accounts of revenue and expenditure.

"Many reasons lead us to believe that our bishops also desire such a regulation, arrangement and precision, nor are we to be included among those who think that the present indefinite and irregular condition of affairs is agreeable to them, for they are not unconscious that, as a result of the present system, many causes of complaint real or imaginary are occasioned, very injurious both to their sacred character, which ought always to stand high, and to their position, which ought always to preserve its prestige.

"We hope that the importance and the urgency of such a

regulation will be understood, and that those who are competent to do so will work for a solution, as we said at the commencement, such as will exalt the ecclesiastical authority of the island and establish it in the eminence befitting it, while honourable to the inhabitants of the island and strengthening the good relations subsisting between flock and pastors, to the advantage both of the people and of the Church."

Since transcribing the above the following additional articles of a later date on the same subject and from the same organ of public opinion have come to hand. The first, which is divided into two parts, is entitled "Ecclesiastical Discords" (*ἐκκλησιαστικὰ παράχορδα*), while the second is headed: "Yet again about the ecclesiastical question" (*καὶ πάλιν περὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ζητήματος*).

Salpinx, No. 726, 12th Nov., 1897.

"One of the most important questions for the island, the neglect to solve which is productive of great injury, is the ecclesiastical. When we say ecclesiastical question we mean:—

"1. The secular administration and regulation of all ecclesiastical property and of the revenues, by which the bishops are maintained, and—

"2. The regulation of those ecclesiastical matters, which the civil power ought to support for the strengthening and consolidating of the prestige and influence of the Church.

"A system most ancient and necessary in former ages is being silently doomed to destruction by the force of present circumstances. And this fact proves both that systems become antiquated and that they should be changed proportionately to human development. Formerly the bishop went on visitation in his diocese and, by means of his prayers and blessings, collected the sum necessary for the adequate support of himself and of the whole metropolis, which contained a complete staff of ecclesiastical dignitaries and officials. The flock willingly gave its contribution to its Ethnarch—the head of the Church and of the nation. Even the Turkish Government, in its respect for these rights of the bishops, assisted them in the collection of all their revenues. This period, however, has almost passed away. The system peculiar to it continues and is gradually producing a most lamentable result. Moreover the interest felt for the bishops and the Church has ceased and the flock, observing the feebleness of the pastoral staff, is little by little falling away. Thus the revenues are less and the bishops, when engaged in visitations for the purpose of blessing and instructing their flocks, are compelled to use language not epis-

copal, and to impose irregular penalties that they may collect what is necessary for their maintenance. And this unfortunately is responsible for the decadence of religious sentiment! In our opinion it is high time that the bishops should direct their attention to this matter and, if not for the sake of securing their revenues, at least for the sake of their credit and the safeguarding of the respect due to them and the Church, make better arrangements, if they do not want us ultimately to demand that they should be paid by Government and to entrust the management of our ecclesiastical affairs to Government, for there we fear things will eventually lead us, as the result of our unaccountable apathy and unpardonable indifference.

"The second question, which urgent necessity insists shall be settled at the same time, is the recognition by the civil power of those spiritual penalties passed upon refractory clerics for the protection of the ecclesiastical laws and statutes, which are very frequently infringed by such persons, to the injury and destruction alike of religious sentiment. What is taking place is better known to our bishops than to any one else, and every one solicitous for the prestige of the Church and her leaders is indignant at this state of things, which, unless altered, will entail disastrous consequences.

"These two questions constitute the principal and perhaps sole ecclesiastical discords, the settlement of which is dictated by circumstances.

"They form the sure foundation upon which the Church of the island will be able to base its efforts on behalf of its flock. They are the rights it has abandoned, but which it must resume, if it is to successfully perform those neglected duties it ought to recognise, and about which we shall have something to say in our next issue."

"We assert that the rights of the Church should be safeguarded so that it may be able to discharge its duties also. These rights the Church formerly possessed unimpaired, yet, notwithstanding, it bestowed but little attention upon its duties. Persons desirous of a greater subversion of existing institutions may contradict this statement, yet it is true, and it is equally true that the Church was frequently compelled to overcome countless opposing conditions of various kinds, both ecclesiastical and national, by means of bribery, which was then its only effectual weapon. To-day, however, these conditions having to a great extent disappeared the duties of the Church are restricted to a purely ecclesiastical

Salpinx, No. 727, 15th Nov., 1897.

sphere and, consequently, it is necessary that its rights should be defined in order that we may be justified in demanding at the same time also the fulfilment of duties, the further neglect of which is criminal.

"We demand, nay the country demands, attention to religious interests on the part of the leaders of the Church. It demands from them care for the preservation of the flock within their spiritual fold; it demands the dissemination of religious truths; it demands solicitude for the improvement of the clergy; it demands last of all some slight evidence of ecclesiastical authority amid the great political authority, of which it is conscious; it demands to see an ecclesiastical government directing, superintending, punishing, because such a government only exists at present for levying unauthorised dues.

"What a subversion of the prestige of the Church we have when its leaders, going about like tax-gatherers to collect voluntary contributions, are obliged, in order to accomplish their purpose, to forbid the priests to perform their religious duties and to close the churches against the Christians that they may be forced to pay their contribution! At a time when care is being taken everywhere to deepen religious sentiment they are bent upon habituating the people to withdraw from the Church and to become indifferent to the performance of their religious duties! This pitiable state of things ought to be rectified, because it is a scandal. And so long as it remains unrectified, the entire blame reflects upon the leaders of the Church who, by their continued indifference to it, prove themselves to be indifferent also to its disastrous consequences. We have no desire to degrade the bishops to the level of supervised officials. We do not, like others, demand the secularisation of ecclesiastical property, because in that case all that has been preserved up till now would then be dissipated. On the contrary we demand that the bishop shall occupy his proper position of spiritual leader and shall administer the Church acting within its recognised sphere.

"Great efforts and much exertion are not demanded, only definition of those revenues, the collection of which shall be obligatory, and regulation of the stipends of the bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, as well as of the necessary expenses. Then by means of the surplus, or even by the contributions of the wealthier monasteries, money would be available for the education of the clergy and the appointment of preachers. This is the solution of the first part of the question. The second is the

regulation of the position of the Church with regard to the civil authority, so that ecclesiastical sentences and penalties may be respected when they are imposed in accordance with ecclesiastical laws and statutes.

"This settlement presses to-day, your Beatitude, revered and popular leader of the autocephalous Church of Cyprus, the sceptre of which you have worthily borne for thirty-two years. Crown your long and blameless Archiepiscopal career by an act which will cause your imperishable name to be engraven on the hearts of your flock and will render it blessed to succeeding generations."

"We take yet again the opportunity of returning to this important question, as a friend has suggested to us the reasons why the solution of this question was frustrated when the bishops met for the purpose, and because, so long as these reasons exist, the question will remain unsolved, since the villagers do not intend that others shall derive more benefit from its solution than themselves. As reasons hindering the solution of the question our friend mentioned to us the great and exorbitant demands of the educational establishments of the towns upon the surplus. Salpinx, No. 723, 6th Dec., 1897.

"In the solution of any question, however great or small, hindrances in the form of demands or proposals are certain to interpose, which but slight zeal or rather little inclination for a settlement of the question cannot overcome. This is the cause why no public question among us is solved. We are so constituted that for trifling reasons we frequently regard with indifference the solution of vital questions of public utility. Yet the ecclesiastical revenues are an important element of public utility, which through our apathy will, notwithstanding, become valueless before we consent to make use of them and derive any advantage from them; for we can say positively, and without fear of contradiction, that, unless the people is more heavily burdened now than formerly, the surplus from each diocese should amount at least to £500 annually.

"This sum is not collected at present. Some of the villagers refuse to pay, while others withhold their contributions for the needs of their own schools or churches. Complete disorder prevails, whereas, if matters had been set right, both the needs of the villages would have been attended to, and other measures of great and general utility would have been effected also.

"Each diocese is certainly justified in reason in making the first claims upon the surplus. The first annual charge, after the deduction of the stipends and other necessary disbursements for

repairs and taxes, is that for the education of two preachers from each diocese; the second is the adequate contribution towards the schools of the villages and towns of each diocese; and the third is on behalf of the High School (Gymnasium) for the encouragement of sacred studies, so long as the sum remaining over is not sufficient for the establishment of a theological college.

"It is not right that demands upon the surplus should be introduced into the solution of the question. If the bishops rightly comprehend what may happen in the future, and sincerely strive for a solution of the question by means of a general assembly of the local representatives, no hindrances will be encountered when reasonable proposals are submitted. If, however, the bishops, satisfied with the present miserable state of affairs, are indifferent to the more miserable state which will arise in the future, the question will not be solved. The real cause, therefore, of the perpetuation of the present wretched system is the Church."

## CHAPTER VI.

I. SALAMIS, once the premier See of Cyprus, derived its origin from a very remote antiquity. Its reputed founder was Teucer, son of Telamon, King of the more famous Salamis near Athens. Being exiled by his father on his return from the capture of Troy, B.C. 1184, he led a colony to the eastern shores of Cyprus, and there built the city, now known as Old Famagusta, which he named after his native place. Long prior to the introduction of Christianity it had attained to a position of great local importance, being chosen as the seat of government by the successive rulers of the island. After suffering severely both from civil commotions and from earthquakes, which entirely reduced it to ruins, it was restored by the Emperor Flavius Constantius II. (A.D. 337-A.D. 361) and by him called Constantia, by which name it became afterwards more generally known. On its destruction by the Arabs under Moawiyah in A.D. 648, during the reign of the Emperor Constans II., the inhabitants migrated to the neighbouring Arsinoë. This latter town, called subsequently Ammochostos, was founded by Ptolemy Philadelphos, B.C. 274, in honour of his sister of that name. Thither the metropolitan throne was transferred, and there it remained until the establishment of the Latin hierarchy, when on the suppression of the Orthodox archbishopric the primacy was transferred to Nikosia and bestowed upon the Latin occupant of that See. Salamis is said to have been the scene in pagan times of human sacrifices. This terrible rite, instituted by Teucer in honour of Zeus, to whom he had erected a temple in his new city, is reported to have been abolished in the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-A.D. 138). According to another account it was to Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops and Agraulos, that the inhabitants were first wont to make this offering, and afterwards to Diomed. The victim was conducted by young men to the altar, round which he ran three times, when he was despatched by the officiating priest with a spear thrust in the neck and his body con-

Strabo, lib. xvi., cap. 6, sec. 3.

Theophanes (Migne, Pat. Græc. cviii., col. 701).

Kedrenos (Migne, Pat. Græc. cxxi., col. 825).

Lactantius, De Urb. et Pop., lib. i., cap. 21.

Porphyrius, De abstinentia, lib. ii.

Euseb., De Præp. Evangel., lib. iv., cap. 16.

Cyril. in Julianum, lib. iv.

sumed to ashes on a pyre. A legendary King of Cyprus, called Diphilos, is credited with having substituted an ox for the human offering.

1. Barnabas, though not actually stated to have been the first occupant of the See, heads the list of Archbishops from his having founded the island Church, as well as consecrated its first bishops, and from his martyrdom there obtained for it the privilege of independence. His death is reported to have occurred during the reign of Nero (A.D. 54-A.D. 68).

Lusignan, p. 27 (b). Eusebios, H. E., lib. iii., c. 39. Acta et Passio Barnabæ, c. 42. Acta Sanctorum, Junii II.

2. Aristion,[1] the immediate successor of Barnabas, is said by Eusebios on the authority of Papias to have been one of the Seventy. According to the Acts of Barnabas, after being originally an hierodoulos, he was converted by the apostle to Christianity on his second visit to Cyprus, together with Timon, another member of the same order.

Acta et Passio Barnabæ, c. 43.

3. Herakleides[2] in the same Acts is stated to have been consecrated Bishop of Tamasos by Barnabas, and appointed to the charge of the cave near that city, which the Christians of the locality used as a place of worship. This he is said to have left after a while and to have established himself at Salamis. According to the same authority his original name was Herakleon. By some he is regarded even as the immediate successor of Barnabas in the See.

Mansi, Concil., tom. ii., col. 696. Vita Sancti Epiphanii, c. 34 (Migne, Patr. Græc., tom. xli.).

4. Gelasios, whose name appears among the signatories of the first Council of Nice (A.D. 325), is represented as having suffered for his religion in company with Pappos of Chytri.

5. Epiphanios the Great was consecrated to the See about A.D. 368 or 369.

6. Sabinos I., the immediate successor of Epiphanios, was hegoumenos of a monastery before his election to the vacant dignity.

[1] Santo Aristio uno della 70 discepoli fù martirizato nella città di Salamina, e ivi sepolto, e si celebra la sua festa octavo calendas Martii, come narra il catalogo di Santi di Pietro Veneto, e Dorotheo nel suo martirologio.

Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1043. Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

[2] Le Quien says "S. Lusinianus ordinis Prædicatorum Heraclium sive Heraclidem primum fuisse censet Salaminis metropolis antistitem, et Sancti Barnabæ proximum successorem". In the edition of his history published at Bologna in 1573 that writer merely remarks of Heraclides: "Heraclio santo fù Vescovo della città di Thamasso, et fù martirizato anchora nella predetta città"—but makes no mention of his having presided over the See of Salamis.

7. Troilos. In the Seventh Session of the Council of Ephesus complaint was made by the Cypriot delegation of the persecution which he endured at the hands of the clergy of Antioch, because he would not acknowledge the supremacy of their Patriarch. Mansi, Concil., tom. iv.

8. Theodoros. In the same session a similar complaint was made of the same kind of treatment experienced by him, and for the same reason. Ibid.

9. Rheginos was present at the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and signed its decrees against Nestorios. In its first session he preached before the assembled fathers on the subject of the faith. In the seventh he succeeded in persuading them to pronounce against the attempts of John, Patriarch of Antioch, upon the independence of his Church. Ibid.

10. Olympios I., after being present at the Robber Council of Ephesus (A.D. 449), when he gave his decision in favour of the heretic Eutyches, subsequently signed the decrees of that of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), which reversed its proceedings. Ibid., tom. vi., col. 747. Ibid., col. 567.

11. Sabinos II.[1] In 457 a letter was addressed to him in common with the other metropolitans of the Eastern Empire by the Emperor Leo I. inviting his opinion and that of his synod on the authority of the Council of Chalcedon and the murder of Proterios, Patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 457). Baluze, Nova Collect. Concil., tom. i., col. 1423.

12. Anthemios flourished during the reign of the Emperor Zeno (A.D. 474-A.D. 491). While he was primate the independence of the island Church was finally established by the discovery of Barnabas' remains near Salamis.

13. Olympios II. is represented by Lusignan, so Le Quien says,[2]

[1] In Baluze he is designated as "Savino reverentissimo Episcopo Constantiæ Cypri," while Olympios is called—"Olympio reverentissimo Episcopo Scythopoleos"—whereas in Labbe (tom. iv., col. 891) and Mansi (tom. vi., col. 523), Sabinos is omitted altogether and Olympios is addressed as "Olympio Episcopo Constantiæ Cypri".

[2] "Olympius II. S. Lusinianus in his quæ tum Italico idiomate, tum Gallico quoque de rebus insulæ Cypri, ex quâ oriundus erat, scripsit, Olympium, sive etiam Olympianum, post Anthemium sedisse memorat: eumque a Justiniano Imperatore, necnon a Theodorâ Augustâ, ut erat vir sapiens admodum summæque sagacitatis et doctrinæ, obtinuisse, ut Chalcedonense concilium, cujus auctoritas in Oriente valuerat, ab omnibus admitti curaret, sed et insulæ suæ Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1048.

as having been entrusted by Justinian I. (A.D. 527-A.D. 565), and his consort Theodora, with the enforcement of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and as having obtained from them complete security for his Church against the attempts of the Antiochene clergy. He remarks that Lusignan, though he doubtless derived this information from Cypriot sources, was wrong (1) in asserting that this Olympios was present at the Council (A.D. 451), and (2) in not distinguishing between him and his namesake and predecessor. But a reference to the Italian version of Lusignan's history, unfortunately for Le Quien's accuracy, does not bear out this charge. The prelate, who was present at Chalcedon, is there called Nikolaos, whereas according to the records his name in reality should be Olympios. The respective dates will, moreover, show that he could not have been a contemporary of Justinian and Theodora. Lusignan makes this Nikolaos to have secured at the Council the independence of his Church from all external ecclesiastical authority except that of the Supreme Pontiffs. But such a slip on the part of one who so frequently makes historical truth subservient to the supposed interests of the See of Rome should not excite any surprise.

Mansi, Concil. tom. vi.

14. Damianos was succeeded by

Cf. Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

15. Sophronios,[1] who is commemorated in the Greek Menology on 8th December.

Cypri ecclesia ab Antiochenorum tentamentis perpetuo libera sarta tectaque maneret. Quod quidem ex Cypriorum monumentis a Stephano acceptum nullus dubitat: verum auctor iste temporum ignorantiâ gravissime in utroque loco peccavit, ubi Olympium vel Olympianum in Chalcedonensi concilio sedisse scripsit, secundumque Olympium hunc a priore altero non, ut par erat, distinxit.

Lusignan, p. 25 (a).

"Nicolao Arcivescovo di Salamina, huomo vigilantissimo et dotto, essendo nel Concilio 4, di Calcedonia, nel quale fece molti atti illustri, etin particulare vedendo il Patriarca di Antiochia, il quale alla sua giurisditione sotto metter voleva essa isola, tanto instò al Concilio, che determinò che l'arcivescovado di Cipro fusse libero, et che primate non desse obedientia ad alcuno Patriarca, salvo che al sommo Pontefice di Roma, et però tutti li Vescovi di Cipro fussero confirmati dall' Arcivescovo. Onde tutti li Arcivescovi di Cipro si scrivono primati, et questo titolo con il quarto sinodo confirmò Giustino (!) Imperator con più facilità per le preghere di sua consorte, quale era Theodora Cipriotta."

[1] In the Oriental Calendar these two prelates are mentioned in the order given above, which Le Quien also follows, but Lusignan reverses them, making Sophronios the predecessor of Damianos.

"Sofronio santo Vescovo di Cipro, si come dice il Minellaio de' Greci, ma di che città non narra, et la sua festa si celebra al mese di Decembre.

"Damiano santo Vescovo atto immediato dopo Sofronio sopradetto, come dice il predetto libro, et la sua festa si celebra il medesimo giorno di san Sofronio."

16. Hilarios[1] is reckoned by Lusignan among the Archbishops of Salamis. His memory was held in special reverence for his piety and learning. He is said by his writings and good works to have induced many heretics to renounce their errors. Lusignan appears to be ignorant of the epoch at which he flourished. Lusignan, p. 24 (b).

Le Quien remarks that the Menology commemorates on 6th March another Archbishop, by name Gregorios, without stating what he did or when he lived.[2] Le Quien ventures the opinion that he may have been the Georgios, since the two names are often interchangeable, who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (A.D. 718-A.D. 741). He further notices that it also commemorates on 21st September[3] two other holy bishops of the island Church, Meletios and Isaac, who lived at different periods. It is uncertain whether they held the primacy or some other See, while the period at which they lived is also unknown. Le Quien, O. C. i., col. 1049. Lusignan, p. 26 (b). Synaxarist, 4th March. Cf. Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

17. Arkadios I. is reported to have written about the close of the sixth century a life of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, an extract from which is to be found in the works of St. John Damaskenos. In the Monothelite controversy he showed himself an uncompromising opponent of the Ekthesis, or Exposition of the Faith, issued in A.D. 639 by the Emperor Heraclius with the object of settling the question then distracting the Church.

18. Sergios in 643 wrote a letter to Theodore of Rome against the Monothelite heresy, which was read in the second conclave of the first Lateran Council under Martin I. in A.D. 649. He is said to have become afterwards infected with the very error which he had formerly so vigorously combated.

[1] Hilario santo Arcivescovo di Salamina, huomo dottissimo et di santissima vita, scrisse molte degne opere contra tutti li heretici, et le loro heresie, et molti erano convertiti per la sua inestimabile dottrina.

[2] A Gregorios, Bishop of Cyprus (ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Κύπρου) is mentioned by the Synaxaristes on the 4th March. "Gregorio santo Vescovo di Cipro, huomo dotto et giusto; la sua festa si celebra nel mese di Marzo (Lusignan, p. 26 (b)).

[3] The Synaxaristes, however, commemorates the former on the 20th September. But the following note occurs at the foot of the page: "Σημείωσαι, ὅτι μαζὺ μὲ τὸν Ἅγιον Μελέτιον τοῦτον γράφεται παρὰ τοῖς Μηναίοις καὶ ὁ Ἅγιος Ἱερομάρτυς Ἰσάκιος ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Κύπρου, ὅστις ἑορτάζεται κατὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν πρώτην τοῦ παρόντος Σεπτεμβρίου. Ibid., 20th Sept.

Meletion santo Vescovo di Cipro, ma di qual città non habbiamo, et si celebra la sua festa al mese di Settembre.

Isachio santo Vescovo di Cipro, ma di qual città non sappiamo, et la sua festa si celebra al mese di Settembre.

19. Arkadios II. was the recipient of a letter from the Emperor Constantine Pogonatos (A.D. 668-A.D. 685) against Paul, the leader of the Acephali.

Mansi, Concil., tom. xi., col. 639.

20. Epiphanios II. flourished at the time of the Sixth General Council (A.D. 680-A.D. 681), at which he was represented by Theodoros, Bishop of Trimythus, who signed the decrees in his stead.

Ibid., col. 989.

21. John I. signed the canons of the Quini-Sext Council (A.D. 691) immediately after the Patriarchs as Bishop of Nova Justinianopolis. He it was who conducted the migration of the Cypriots to the Hellespont during the reign of the Emperor Justinian Rhinotmetos.

22. Georgios, an ardent champion of the cause of the holy images, was specially anathematised by the iconoclastic Council of Constantinople (A.D. 754), held under Constantine Kopronymos, a distinction which he shared with Germanos, the Patriarch of the Imperial City. This sentence was, however, reversed on the champions of images gaining the ascendant, and in the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa, A.D. 787), his name was coupled with that of St. John Damaskenos in special honour.

23. Constantine played a conspicuous part at the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) in defence of the images. When the Iconoclasts cited a letter of Epiphanios against their adoration, he is reported to have replied that the custom had always prevailed in the island from that saint's time.

24. Epiphanios III.

25. An Archbishop of Salamis, with several of his suffragans, is reported to have attended the conclave held at Constantinople under the presidency of the Emperor, Alexios (I.) Komnenos (A.D. 1081-A.D. 1118), and the Patriarch, Nikolaos Grammatikos, on the same subject, but his name has not been preserved.

26. Nikolaos Mouzalon (*Μουζάλων*) after holding the primacy of Cyprus about A.D. 1110 resigned and retired to Constantinople, where he founded the monastery of Cosmidium and after living there in seclusion for thirty-seven years, was appointed to the Patriarchate in A.D. 1147, during the reign of the Emperor

Manuel Komnenos (A.D. 1143-A.D. 1180), on the expulsion of Kosmas II.[1]

27. John II. presided over the See during the twelfth century. He is chiefly remarkable for his sentence of deposition against his namesake John, Bishop of Amathus, which on appeal to Constantinople was reversed by the Patriarch, Lukas Chrysoberges. He also took part in the Synod at Constantinople which in 1156, under the presidency of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, deposed Soterichos Panteugenos, who had been lately nominated to the throne of Antioch, for his erroneous opinion on the nature of Christ's sacrifice.

28. Simeon is reported as having been the Orthodox metropolitan in A.D. 1218, at which period Eustorge d'Auvergne acted in the same capacity for the Latins.

29. Esaias.[2] Our information concerning this occupant of the See is derived from Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem. He reports that Esaias, after being forced by the Latins to promise obedience to the Pope, afterwards repented and going to Nicæa, where the Orthodox Patriarch, Manuel I., resided after the capture of Constantinople, demanded and obtained pardon for his temporary apostasy, whereupon he was forbidden by the Latins to set foot again in Cyprus.

Dositheos, Δωδεκαβιβ, lib. viii., c. 18, sec. 5, p. 826.

30. Neophytos (1222), his successor, also fell a victim to Latin persecution, being deposed and banished, with many of his clergy, for refusing to take the oath of obedience to the Roman Pontiff.

Sathas, Bibl. Med. Ævi, tom. ii., p. 7.

31. Germanos (I.) Pesimandros, whom Le Quien misrepresents as being the immediate successor of Simeon, was the last Archbishop of the Orthodox rite during the Latin supremacy. From the fact that the Bull of Alexander IV. (3rd July, 1260), regulating the future relations of the two communions, expressly laid

[1] He held possession of the Œcumenical See for only three years and four months, retiring either at the end of March or beginning of April, 1151. He was the 98th Patriarch in the order of succession.

Le Quien, O. C. I., col. 268.

[2] Ἐπὶ Μανούηλ τετάρτου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ, ἦλθεν εἰς Νίκαιαν ὁ Κύπρου Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἡσαΐας, καὶ ἐζήτησεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖσε Συνόδου συγχώρησιν, διὰ τὸ ὁμολογῆσαι πρὸς καιρὸν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν ὑποταγὴν, εἰ καὶ βιαίως, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς ἐποίησαν οἱ Κύπριοι ἵνα μένωσιν εἰς τὸν παπισμὸν, καὶ ἔτυχεν τῆς αἰτήσεως.

Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1053.

down that Germanos should have no successor, Le Quien infers that the Archbishop of Nikosia, reported as having been present with other Greeks at the Council of Lyons in 1274, must be this Germanos Pesimandros.[1]

The above names, with two exceptions, (Esaias and Neophytos) are taken from the Oriens Christianus. The complete catalogue, as given by Philippos Georgiou, will be found in the Appendix, No 1. There are, however, three other lists preserved in the native chroniclers, which deserve to be quoted, so materially do they differ from the above. The first two are from Machæra and Strambaldi respectively, and are absolutely identical, the third, that of Florio Boustron, appears in part to be derived from other sources. Unfortunately no means exist of ascertaining whether the names, as set forth in them, occur in their chronological order.[2]

Machæra, pp. 67-68.

1. Barnabas. 2. Epiphanios. 3. Sergios. 4. Dometios. 5. Porphyrios. 6. Plutarch. 7. Barnabas II. 8. Theodoros. 9. Basil. 10. Arkadios. 11. Theodoros. 12. John. 13. Barnabas III. 14. Sophronios. 15. Esaias. 16. Hilarion. 17. Neophytos. 18. Gregorios. 19. Euthymios. 20. Alexios. 21. Nilos. 22. Germanos.

Strambaldi, p. 12.

1. Barnaba. 2. Epifanio. 3. Sergio. 4. Demesio. 5. Porfirio. 6. Plutarco. 7. Barnaba II. 8. Theodoro. 9. Basilio. 10. Archadio. 11. Theodoro. 12. Joanne. 13. Barnaba III. 14. Soffronio. 15. Isseo. 16. Ilarione. 17. Neophito. 18. Grigorio. 19. Euthimio. 20. Alexio. 21. Nilo. 22. Iermano.

Fl. Boustron, p. 32.

1. Barnaba. 2. Epiphanio. 3. Sergio. 4. Domitio. 5. Porphirio. 6. Plutarco. 7. Barnaba 2°. 8. Theodoco. 9. Basilio 1°. 10. Arcadio. 11. Anthimio. 12. Damiano. 13. Sabino. 14. Acachio. 15. Gelasio. 16. Theophanio. 17. Joanne. 18. Barnaba 3°. 19. Epiphanio 2°. 20. Sophronio. 21. Georgio.

Labbe, Concil., tom. xi., pars 2, col. 959.

[1] The following is the statement on the subject as found in Labbe: "Quo completo (*i.e.*, the recitation of the Creed by the Pope on 6th July, 1274) patriarcha Græcorum incepit similiter 'Credo in unum Deum,' in Græco, quod per eum et archiepiscopum Nicosiensem, et alios Græcos qui secum venerant, et alios archiepiscopos, et abbates Græcos de regno Siciliæ, prosecutum est et completum, dicendo publice et solenniter, 'Qui a Patre Filioque procedit,' cantando eum bis".

*N.B.*—There is a Nikosia in Sicily. As it is expressly stated that Greek prelates and abbots from that island were present at the Council, the Archbishop in question may have belonged to that town.

[2] All three lists it will be noticed agree as far as No. 10.

22. Euthimio. 23. Joanne. 24. Alessio. 25. Nilo. 26. Basilio. 27. Nicolao. 28. Theodoreto. 29. Joanne.[1]

II. Kition, one of the most ancient cities in the island, is now represented by the modern town of Larnaka. Of undoubted Phœnician origin it owed its name, according to Josephus, to Kittim, the great-grandson of Noah, by whom Cyprus is said to have been colonised after the Deluge. Its principal claim to fame consists in its having been the birthplace of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, as well as the burial-place of Kimon, the son of Miltiades, who died while besieging it. The name is still preserved in the village of Kiti, which lies six miles to the west of Larnaka upon the promontory of Dades. During the Latin supremacy this village was vested in a branch of the reigning family of Lusignan and was known as the fief of Le Quid. Its last owner Chiarion (Charles) de Lusignan was deprived of it by the usurper, Jacques II., for his unswerving devotion to the lawful sovereign, Queen Charlotte. It was subsequently sold by the Venetian Government to the Greek family of Podocatoro, which played a conspicuous part in the later period of Cypriot mediæval history. The last of this family to possess it was Ettore Podocatoro, who perished gloriously in the defence of Nikosia against the Turks in 1570. The selection of Kition as the seat of a bishop was, doubtless, almost co-eval with the introduction of Christianity itself into the island. After a duration of many centuries the See was abolished, with many others, by Cardinal Pelagius in 1222, and only re-established on the final expulsion of the Latins after the Ottoman conquest.

Joseph., Antiq. Jud., lib. i., c. 6.

Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

Plutarch, Kimon., sec. 19.

Lusignan, p. 71 (a).

1. Lazarus of Bethany was, according to the popular legend, the first occupant of the See, where he is said to have died after an episcopate of thirty years. But the tradition has probably arisen from his being confounded with another individual of the

[1] Lusignan mentions the two following bishops, without specifying the Sees over which they presided:— Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

"Meletion santo Vescovo di Cipro, ma di qual città non habbiamo, et si celebra la sua festa al mese di Settembre.

"Isachio santo Vescovo di Cipro, ma di qual città non sappiamo, et si celebra la sua festa al mese di Settembre."

Kyprianos, who mentions another Isaac, a bishop and martyr of Cyprus, says that these two prelates were commemorated on the same day, 21st Sept., but the Synaxaristes represents the former, Meletios, as being commemorated on the 20th and the latter, Isaac, on the 21st of that month. From the use of the definite article, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος Κύπρου, they may possibly have presided over the island Church. Kyprianos, p. 348.

same name, who flourished at a much later date and was buried in the town without, however, having exercised any episcopal functions there.

Mansi, Concil., tom. iii., col. 570.

2. Mnemios, the second on the list, cannot be regarded as the immediate successor of Lazarus, since he is said to have been present at the Second General Council held at Constantinople in A.D. 381.

Ibid., tom. xi., col. 639.

3. Tychon figures among the signatories of the Sixth General Council in A.D. 680.

Ibid., tom. xii., col. 994.

4. Theodoros was present at the Seventh General Council held at Nicæa in A.D. 787, where he was cited in support of a marvellous story told to the assembled fathers by his Archbishop, Constantine, about a certain eikon at Kition.

After its re-establishment in 1572 the See appears to have borne the alternative title of Kition and Nemesos (Limassol). Among those, who have presided over it since that date, are the following :—

Lusignan, p. 123 (a). Philippos Georgiou, p. 80 (a). Ibid., p. 95, note. Kyprianos, p. 314. Ibid., pp. 315, 317. Phil. Georg., p. 105; Kyprianos, pp. 328, 404. Phil. Georgiou, p. 114. Ibid., p. 125.

5. Name unknown, 1572 (previously abbot of Kutzuventi).
6. Jeremias, 1600.
7. Gerasimos, 1668.
8. Joannikios, 1730.
9. Makarios, 1754, 1760.
10. Meletios, 1760, 1783, 1788.
11. Chrysanthos, 1801-1810.
12. Meletios, 1810-1821.
13. Leontios, 1821.
14. Damaskenos.
15. Meletios, 1848.
16. Bartholomaios.
17. Kyprianos, 1868-1886. { el. 22nd May 1868 (O.S.). ob. 25th Nov. 1886 (O.S.).
18. Chrysanthos, ob. 25th Aug. 1890.
19. Kyrillos, elect. 15th April 1893.

Cobham (MS. Note). Neal, List of Sees, etc., p. 18.

III. Kurion (Curium), a town on the southern coast of the island near Cape Kurias and not far from the modern village of Episkopi, is said to have been founded by Kureus, the son of Kinyras, who settled a colony of Argives there in B.C. 1595, 100 years before the building of Old Paphos. At what period it was first erected into a See it is impossible to determine, but that it

Stephan. Byzant., De Urb. et Pop., Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

was one at an early date is evident from the legend of its first bishop having suffered under Licinius (A.D. 307-A.D. 324). Like many others of the Orthodox dioceses it was suppressed in 1222. During the middle ages, after belonging for a while to the noble family of Ibelin, Counts of Jaffa, it passed into the possession of the Venetian family of Cornaro, with whom it remained until the Turkish conquest. It is at present merged in the diocese of Kition.

1. Theodotos, martyred during the reign of Licinius, while Sabinus was governor of Cyprus.[1]

2. Zeno, present at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, where his testimony was of great service in securing the independence of the Cypriot Church. Mansi, Concil., tom. iv.

3. Michael, 1051. Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1057.

4. Kosmas, *circa* 1678. Ibid.

IV. Tamasos (also Tamassos) was situated in the great central plain of the island (the Mesaoria), about fifteen miles south-west of Nikosia. Its site, which appears to denote a very extensive city, is now occupied by the three hamlets of Pera, Episkopion and Politiko. In ancient times the district was famed for its inexhaustible supply of copper. According to the legend, it enjoyed the distinction of being the earliest centre of Christianity in Cyprus, its bishop being the first to be consecrated in the island. After its suppression by the Latins the See was not re-established. Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 5. Acta et Passio, Barnabæ c. 13 (Acta Sanct., 11th June).

1. Herakleides,[2] according to the Acts of Barnabas and Auxibios, was consecrated to the See by the former. He subsequently transferred himself to Salamis. Lusignan, p. 28 (a).

2. Myron.[3] Ibid.

[1] Le Quien says that in the Greek Menology this prelate is commemorated on 2nd March, "Sub Licinio Imperatore, Sabinio Cypri præfecto, Theodotus Curii episcopus martyrio functus est. Quod quidem Menologium Græcorum vulgo recitat die 2 Martii". Reference, however, to the Synaxaristes shows that a certain confusion exists as to the identity of this Theodotos, as the individual of that name commemorated on 2nd March is represented as Bishop of Kyrenia. "Τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ (τῇ β' τοῦ Μαρτίου), Μνήμη τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱερομάρτυρος Θεοδότου Ἐπισκόπου Κυρηνίας τῆς Κύπρου"—while he is also stated to have been the martyr who suffered under Licinius and Sabinus. Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1057. Synaxarist (2nd March).

[2] Heraclio santo fù Vescovo della città di Thamasso, et fù martirizato anchora nella predetto città, la cui festa si celebra al mese di Settembre.

[3] Miron santo fù Vescovo di Thamasso, huomo giusto, et timorato. Fù martirizato anchor' esso nella predetto città, et si celebra la sua festa al mese di Settembre.

According to the Synaxaristes these two saints (Herakleides and Myron) were commemorated on the same day (17th Sept.), but no mention is made of Herakleides' translation to Salamis.

Mansi, Concil., tom. iii., col. 570.

3. Tychon is found among the signatories at the First Council of Constantinople in A.D. 381.

Ibid., tom. vi., col. 578.

4. Epaphroditos was present at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he represented also Didymos, Bishop of Lapithos. He signed, moreover, the decrees of the Sixth Session on behalf of Olympios, the Archbishop, and his suffragans. 5. Niketas Hagiostephanites, 1210.

Machæra, pp. 67-68. Strambaldi, p. 12. Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

The native chroniclers give a list identical in number with the above, but wholly different as to names:—[1]

1. Herakleidion. 2. Mnason. 3. Rhodon. 4. Makedonios.

V. Paphos, called New Paphos (Baffo) to distinguish it from the more ancient town of the same name (Kouklia), the site of the celebrated temple of Aphrodite, was built by Agapenor, who was wrecked on the coast of Cyprus when returning from the Trojan War, B.C. 1184. According to the legends the See must have been one of the most ancient in the island, as its first bishop is said to have been consecrated by the express direction of Saint Paul. At the suppression of the Orthodox Sees in 1222 it was one of the four preserved, but its bishop was obliged to transfer his residence to Arsinoë (Chrysochou). During the later period of the Latin occupation he seems to have returned to the neighbourhood, as Lusignan informs his readers that both the Latin and Greek bishops, with the civil governor and other notables, were obliged to reside in Ktima, a village lying about three miles to the north-west, owing to the malaria generated by the neighbouring marshes.[2] On the expulsion of the Roman hierarchy the See recovered its former importance, and is now the second in order of priority, its occupant being *de jure* custodian of the archdiocese during a vacancy in the primacy.

Strabo, lib., xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

Acta Sanct., 19th Feb.

Lusignan, p. 6 (b).

Acta Sanct. (19th Feb.).

1. Epaphras is said in the Acts of Barnabas and Auxibios to have been consecrated to the See by Herakleides at the command of St. Paul.

Lusignan, p. 24 (a). Kyprianos, p. 346.

2. Titus is perhaps the same individual who, according to the local legends, was converted along with Sergius Paulus and ordained deacon by Saint Paul, and was afterwards martyred in the same town.

[1] Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι Δαμασίας, Ἡρακλείδιον, Μνάσων, καὶ Ρόδον, Μακεδόνιος.

Lusignan, p. 26 (b).

Lusignan mentions a prelate of the name of Makedonios, but in connection with the See of Nikosia. "Santo Macedonio Vescovo di Nicosia si ritrova nel predetto libro de' Greci (*i.e.*, il libro de' mesi de' Greci).

[2] "La città (Paffos Nova) hà cattivo aere per quelle acqua, che già dicemmo di Paffo Vecchia, onde il Capitano et il Vescovo Latino et il Greco fanno residentia in un casale detto Ctima appresso una lega," etc.

3. Kyrillos is to be found among the signatories of the First General Council. Mansi, Concil., tom. ii., col. 696.

4. Julius, was present at the Second General Council at Constantinople (A.D. 381). Ibid., tom. iii., col. 570.

5. Theodoros is said to have written a life of the celebrated Spyridon, Bishop of Trimythus.

6. Saprikios, took part in the General Council at Ephesus (A.D. 431). Ibid., tom. iv., col. 1126.

7. Basil Kinnamos, A.D. 1166-1205. Τυπικὴ Διάταξις Νεοφύτου, p. 6.

8. Bacchos, A.D. 1209. 9. Nibon, 1260. Ibid., p. 20.

10. Matthaios was present at a Synod held in 1340 at Nikosia by the Latin Archbishop, Élie des Nabinaux. Labbe, Concil., tom. xi., pars. 2, col. 2432.

11. Name unknown. Was killed by the Turks at the siege of Nikosia in 1570. Lusignan, p. 112 (a).

12. Name also unknown. Was originally hegoumenos of a monastery in the island. Became a candidate for the primacy on the reconstitution of the Orthodox Church in 1572. After obtaining it was forced to resign and received the See of Paphos in compensation. Ibid., pp. 122 (b), 123 (a).

13. Philotheos, 1600. Philippos Georgiou, p. 80, n. (a). Guichenon, Hist. de Sav. ii. 559.

14. Leontios, 1609. Ἀκολουθία Νεοφύτου, p. 45.

15. Makarios, 1631. Philippos Georgiou, p. 95 n.

16. Germanos, 1631. Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1062.

17. Makarios, 1668. Kyprianos, pp. 314, 315, 323, 325, 329, 404.

18. Leontios, 1678. Philippos Georgiou, pp. 120, 123.

19. Joakim, 1730, 1754. Neal, List of Sees in Eastern Ch. in 1348, p. 18.

20. Chrysanthos, 1765 (Archbishop, 1768).

21. Panaretos, 1770, 1783, 1788.

22. Chrysanthos, 1801-1821.

23. Panaretos, 1821-27.

24. Chariton, 1848.

25. Neophytos, 1865, 1884.

26. Epiphanios, *ob.* 5th February, 1899.

The chroniclers supply the three following additional names of the earlier occupants of the See, without giving any hint as to their chronological order :—[1] Machæra, p. 67. Strambaldi, p. 12. Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

Kilisios, Philagrios, and Nikolaos.

[1] The chroniclers, however, are not entirely in agreement as to the Sees these prelates occupied.

Κιλισίου, Φυλαρίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Πάφου. Νικολάου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀρσενόης.

Santo Chilisio Hilarion Vescovo de Cerines, Santo Nicolo Vescovo di Baffo.

Al Vescovato de Papho, Philagrio e Chiligio.

De Auxibio Episc. Soliorum (Acta Sanct., 19th Feb.), c. 2, sec. 8.

VI. Neapolis appears to have been constituted an episcopal city soon after the introduction of Christianity into the island, as its first bishop is reported to have been specially consecrated by desire of the Apostle Paul. The mediæval writers assert that its founder was Guy de Lusignan, the first Latin ruler of Cyprus. But the mention of the town in the Seventh General Council (A.D. 787), amply disproves this claim. The name of Neapolis was doubtless derived from its erection being subsequent to that of the more famous Amathus, which lies in the immediate neighbourhood. That it was, however, partially restored and beautified by the earlier Latin sovereigns is very likely. During the middle ages it was generally known as Limeçon from an ancient fief of that name in France, belonging to the Lusignan family. It was also called Nemosie from a dense wood said to have formerly occupied the site. On the reduction of the Orthodox Sees in 1222 it was preserved, but its occupant was obliged to transfer his residence to the village of Levkara. After the fall of Acre in 1291 Henri II. granted it as a settlement to the two great Military Orders, who adorned it with numerous fine buildings. More than once it felt the misfortunes of war, being pillaged by the Genoese in 1373, and again by the Egyptians in 1425. On the re-establishment of the Orthodox Communion in 1572 it was incorporated in the diocese of Kition.

Johan. Damasc., De Imag. Orat. i. (Migne, Pat. Græc. xciv., col. 1272).

De Auxibio Epis. Solior. (Acta Sanct., 19th Feb.).

1. Tychicos I., according to the life of St. Auxibios, was consecrated to the See by Herakleides at the request of St. Paul.

2. Tychicos II.

3. Leontios, the well-known author of the *Life of St. John the Almsgiver* and other works, flourished during the reign of the Emperor Maurice (A.D. 582-A.D. 602). 4. Matthias, 1260.

5. Clemens attended the Synod held at Nikosia in 1340 by the Latin Archbishop, Élie des Nabinaux.

6. Name unknown. Was taken prisoner by the Turks at the capture of Nikosia in 1570.[1]

[1] Lusignan instances in proof of the healthiness of Cyprus the case of several of his acquaintances, who reached the age of 100 years and upwards. Among them he mentions the Orthodox Bishop of Limassol, whom he calls Il Flanchi (il Fianco = ὁ Φυσκων, the pot-bellied). He says that this prelate, when twenty years old, acted as falconer to Jacques II., who died in 1473. This would make him to have been born in 1453. As he is said to have died about three years before the publication of Lusignan's work, his decease must have taken place about 1570, when he had reached the age of 117. As Nikosia was besieged in this year he may possibly be the prelate who was captured on the occasion, though it is hardly credible that so old a man could have continued so long in the active discharge of the duties of his office.

Lusignan, 112 (a).

Ibid., p. 5 (b).

" Il Vescovo Greco di Limissò, il Flanchi, havea 20 anni quando era falconiere

7. James (Bishop of Lemesos) signed the letter of 5th October 1608 to the Duke of Savoy. Sathas, Τουρκοκρατ. Ἑλλας, p. 192.

VII. Amathus on the south-eastern coast, perhaps the most ancient city in Cyprus, and capital of one of the former nine kingdoms, is situated about six miles to the eastward of Limassol. Its ruins, which are still extensive, are known by the name of Old Limassol. It continued to be a flourishing town until the close of the Byzantine supremacy, when it was captured and destroyed by Cœur-de-Lion in 1191. Its origin has been variously ascribed to Phœnician colonists, from whom it is said to have derived its name, from Amathus the son of Herakles, or from Amathusa, the mother of Kinyras. In ancient times it was a great centre of the copper-mining industry, as well as celebrated for the possession of two famous temples, that of the Tyrian Herakles, who was worshipped under the name of Melkarth (King of the city), and that of Aphrodite. Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3. Stephan. Byzantin., De Urbib. et Populis.

1. Mnemonios. His memory was commemorated on 16th June,[1] the same day as that of his successor. Lusignan, p. 26 (b).

2. Tychon[2] is said to have been ordained deacon by Mnemonios, on whose death he was consecrated to the See by the great Epiphanios. His name is still preserved in the village of Hagios Tychon which lies in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient city. Le Quien misquotes Lusignan as saying that his festival occurred in January. Ibid., p. 25 (a). Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1063.

3. Heliodoros flourished at the time of the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, his name being found among those who signed its decrees. Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 578.

4. Alexander was one of the signatories of the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) A.D. 787. Ibid., tom. xii., col. 995.

del Re Giacomo bastardo. Il Re è morto nel 1473, et questo Vescovo è morto gia 3 anni, et tutto ciò il sò, perchè esso me l'ha narrato."

In the French edition of his work Lusignan mentions this prelate as follows: "Autant en a vescu l'Evesque grec de Nemosie, ou Lefcare, de la famille de Flangy". Ibid., Description, etc., p. 13 (a).

[1] Santo Mnimonio Vescovo di Amathunta di Cipro, la cui festa si celebra il giorno et mese di Santo Tigona.

Reference, however, to the Synaxaristes shows that it is St. Tychon alone who is commemorated on that day.

[2] Strambaldi calls him Sigono—"Santo Sigono vescovo de Lefcara". Strambaldi, p. 12.

Tigona santo fù Vescovo di Amathunda: onde la Chiesa Cattedrale a lui è intitolata, laquale anchora sta in piedi. Io vi sono stato, et la sua festa si celebra nel mese di Giugno.

Jus Canon. Græco Roman (Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cxix., col. 780).
Balsamon in Canon XII. Concil. Carthagin VI.

5. John occupied the See during the reign of the Emperor Manuel Komnenos, (A.D. 1143-A.D. 1180). Being deposed, as he thought unjustly, by John Archbishop of Constantia, he appealed to the Emperor for redress. The matter was referred for investigation to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Lukas Chrysoberges, and the Œcumenical Synod, when the sentence was set aside on the ground that it had not been pronounced by the full synod of the Cypriot Church.[1]

Allatius, De Synodo Photiana, p. 506.

6. Germanos. A bishop of this name is conjectured by Leo Allatius to have been the prelate who, on his elevation to the primacy, assembled a synod of his suffragans and pronounced the number of the Sacraments to be seven, and at the same time prescribed the method of their administration from the books of the Councils and of the Fathers.[2] Le Quien, while regretting that Allatius had omitted to give any particulars as to this subject, pronounces against the identification on the ground that the individual in question can be none other than Germanos Pesimandros, in whose time both Amathus was in ruins and its bishops were non-existent.[3]

Le Quien, O. C. II., col. 1066.

Sathas, Τουρκοκρατ. Ἑλλας, p. 192.

7. Esaias signed the letter addressed to the Duke of Savoy by the Cypriot prelates on 5th October 1608.

Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

VIII. Arsinoë, now called Ammochostos or Famagusta, has been already noticed as the city, to which the archbishopric was removed on the destruction of Salamis or Constantia in A.D. 648. After the establishment of the Latin Church, though the primacy was transferred to Nikosia and bestowed upon the head of that communion, the Orthodox See was not suppressed, but its occupant was obliged to take up his abode instead in the village of Rizokarpaso. On the expulsion of the Venetians Fama-

[1] Διέγνω ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἐκεῖνος πατριάρχης κύριος Λοῦκας μετὰ τῆς παρουσιασάσης συνόδου, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ παρεστῶσα σύγκλητος ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν καθαίρεσιν· διά τε τὸ μὴ μετακληθῆναι τὴν πᾶσαν σύνοδον τῆς τῶν Κυπρίων Ἐκκλησίας, ἢ κἂν τὴν πλείονα, εὐχερείας καὶ ταῦτα οὔσης πρὸς τοῦτο· καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἐπέκεινα εἶναι τῆς δωδεκάδος τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ τοῦτον συναπάγεσθαι. Ἐχρήσαντο δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τῷ κ' κανόνι τῆς * . . . συνόδου, καὶ τῷ ιδ'. Κἂν τινες δὲ εἶπον τότε, εἰς μόνους πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους τοῦτο ἐκφωνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσηκούσθησαν.

[2] Ea est Synodus Cypria sub Germano Amathuntis episcopo ac summo Græcorum in insula Cypri Antistite anno Domini 1260 inter vivos agente.

Lusignan, p. 25 (a).

[3] Lusignan mentions a prelate, whose name is not to be found in the lists of the other chroniclers, *e.g.*:—

"Santo Stadio Vescovo della città di Amathunda, huomo giusto et dottore integerrimo".

* *I.e.*, Sixth Council of Carthage (A.D. 419). Canons XX. and XIV.

gusta again became for a time the residence of the Orthodox bishop, but owing to the decrease in the Christian population of that city the See was abolished about the commencement of the seventeenth century, and the ancient bishopric of Kyrenia revived in its stead. But few names of those, who presided over it, have been preserved from oblivion.

1. Prosechios, the first on the list, flourished at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, where he was represented by a fellow-prelate, Soter of Theodosiana, though he appears to have subscribed in person the proceedings of its sixth session. 2. Joakim, 1260.

Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 578.

3. Michael is reported to have attended the Synod held at Nikosia in 1340 by the Latin Archbishop, Élie des Nabinaux.

Labbe, Concil., tom. xi., pars. 2, col. 2432.

4. A Cretan monk, whose name has not transpired, was appointed in 1572 by the Turks.

Lusignan, p. 123 (a).

5. Moses signed the letter to the Duke of Savoy, dated 5th October, 1608.

Sathas, Τουρκοκρατ. Ελλας, p. 192.

The chroniclers supply the three following names in addition to those already mentioned above:—

Machæra, p. 67. Strambaldi, p. 12. Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

1. Nikolaos. 2. Arkadios. 3. Nicon.

IX. Lapithos, which was situated on the northern coast between Cape Kronmyon and Kyrenia, is said to have been founded by a colony of Lacedæmonians under Praxander. Another account, however, ascribes its origin to the Phœnicians and represents its founder to have been Belus, King of Tyre. Its ruins lie about two miles north-east of the present village, near the sea and in the vicinity of the monastery of Achiropietos. During the Western occupation it formed a possession of the Lusignan family, under the title of "La fief de la Pison". In the Bull of Celestine III. (13 Dec., 1196), confirming the rights and property of the Latin See of Nikosia, it is specially mentioned as one of the places paying tithe to the Archbishop. Its bishopric, which existed during the Byzantine occupation of the island, was suppressed, with many others, in 1222.

Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3. Stephan. Byzantin. L. de Mas Latrie. Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 601.

1. Didymos is the only one of its bishops, whose name has been preserved. He is said to have lived at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), where he was represented by Epaphroditos, Bishop of Tamasos.

Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 578.

The chroniclers only mention one occupant of the See, whom they call Eulalios.[1]

Machæra, p. 67. Strambaldi, p. 12. Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

[1] Strambaldi calls the prelate Eulavio—"Santo Eulavio Vescovo di Lapitho".

Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

X. Karpasia situated upon Cape Hagios Andreas, at a short distance to the north of the modern village of Rizokarpaso, was the seat of a bishop from a very remote period, being mentioned as such in the biography of Saint Epiphanios by Polybios, Bishop of Rhinocorura. Its legendary founder was Pygmalion, King of Cyprus. It is said to have contained a celebrated temple dedicated to Sarpedon, son of Zeus. During the Latin occupation it became a fief of the powerful De Norès family, but passed out of their possession, when Jacques II. deprived Gautier de Norès of it for his fidelity to Charlotte. The locality is now called Hagios Philon from a church dedicated to that saint, which still occupies the site.

Stephan. Byzantin.

Lusignan, p. 12 (b).

Lusignan, p. 25 (a).

1. Philo[1] was ordained to the See by Epiphanios the Great, it is said, in obedience to a divine intimation. When the latter went to Rome he entrusted his diocese to the care of Philo. A commentary by him on the Song of Songs is still extant.

Le Quien, O.C., ii., col. 1068.

Labbe, Concil., tom. iv., col. 604.

2. Hermolaos[2] flourished at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) as Olympios, Archbishop of Constantia, when signing its decrees for himself and his suffragans, mentions among the number Hermolaos, Bishop of the city of Carteriopolis. This latter name Le Quien agrees with Labbé in regarding as a false reading for *Καρπασίου πόλεως*, city of Karpasion.

Machæra, p. 68.
Strambaldi, p. 12.
Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

The chroniclers mention, moreover, the three following names, which are not to be found elsewhere :—

Cf. Kyprianos, p. 249.

[1] Lusignan mentions a bishop of the name of Theoprobus, whom he couples with Philo as follows :—

"Santi Filone et Theoprobo furono Vescovi di Cipro, ma di qual città non sappiamo : et questi furono al tempo di santo Epiffanio".

Synaxarist (24th Jan.).

As Philo is stated by the Synaxaristes to have been Bishop of Kalpasion or Karpasion, it is probable that Theoprobos occupied the same See also. Philo's commemoration occurs on 24th January, but no mention is made of Theoprobos in connection with him.

Mansi, Concil., tom. vii., col. 166.

[2] In the records of the Council the signature stands as follows :—

"Hermolao civitatis Carteriopolis, Aristoclide Tiberiopolis, Nicopolione civitatis".

Mansi's comment is to the following effect :—

"Non intellexerunt hunc locum editores Romani, qui ex epitheto Charteriopolis, effecerunt nomen hominis, et ex nomine Tiberii hominis fecerunt civitatem Tiberiopolis. Sic erga reponendum : 'Hermolao Civitatis Chartariæ Aristocleæ, Tiberio Nicopolis, sive Nicopolitanæ civitatis'."

1. Synesios. 2. Sosikrates. 3. Sinon.[1]

**XI. Chytri.** Some uncertainty prevails as to the exact position of this town. Lusignan identifies it with the village of Kythræa (Deyirmenlik) or, as he calls it, Chitria, situated two or three leagues to the eastward of Nikosia at the foot of the northern range. But a modern topographer regards as the correct site some ruins near the village of Melousha, which are called Hagios Photios from a dilapidated church of that name still standing there. John, the disciple and biographer of Epiphanios, describes it as being a miserable little town distant about twenty-five miles from Salamis. Its See was among the number of those suppressed in 1222.

Lusignan, p. 15 (b).

Sakellarios, Κυπριακα, tom. i., p. 185.

Vita Epiphanii, c. 34 (Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. xli.).

1. Pappos, who heads the list of the occupants of the See, was, according to the above-mentioned John, closely identified with the consecration of Saint Epiphanios to the Archbishopric of Salamis.

2. Photinos held the See at the period of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). It is uncertain whether he was actually present at it, as in the Latin acts of the Council he is said to have been represented by his deacon, Dionysios, while in the Greek version merely his name appears in the list of signatures.

Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 578.

3. Spyridon was present at the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) A.D. 787 and signed with other bishops of the island.

Ibid., tom. xii., col. 994.

4. Germanos[2] sat in the Eighth General Council (A.D. 869) and subscribed its decrees. There is some doubt, however, as to the name of the See mentioned in connection with his signature. It has been conjectured that instead of Cythrus should be read Citrus, the name of an episcopal city in Illyricum, in which case this prelate could not have been a Cypriot ecclesiastic.[3]

Labbe, Concil., tom. viii., col. 1160.

Le Quien, O. C. ii., col. 1070.

[1] Sinon (Santo Sinono) is mentioned by Strambaldi only.

*N.B.* A seal has been found, date unknown, bearing the name of Epiphanios, Bishop of Karpasion.

[2] In the list of subscriptions his reads as follows:—

"Germanus misericordia Dei episcopus Ectri (marg. Hectorei, aliter Cytri) omnia quæ in sancta et universali Synodo judicata sunt et definita libenter suscipiens subscripsi manu propria".

[3] "In Octava Synodo sedit et subscripsit Germanus episcopus Cythri, nisi forte pro Cythri legatur Citri, quando Citrus civitas quoque episcopatus est in Illyrico."

Machæra, p. 68. Strambaldi, p. 12. Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

The chroniclers record several other names also, only one of which is noticed above, *viz.* :—

1. Demetrianos. 2. Pappos. 3. Athanasios. 4. Eustathios.[1] 5. Niketas.

XII. Trimythus, called also Trimethus, Trimythos, (*Τριμυθοῦς*, *Τριμηθοῦς*, *Τρίμυθος*) and La Trémetossie, was situated in the Mesaorian Plain about twelve miles from Larnaka. It was the scene of the decisive battle between Cœur-de-Lion and Isaac Komnenos (A.D. 1191), in which the latter was defeated and taken prisoner. The town itself was destroyed on the occasion by the victor, but its name is perpetuated in the modern Trimethousia (*Τριμηθουσιά*).

Nikephor., H. E., lib. viii., c. 5. Rufinus, lib. i., c. 5. Sozomen, H. E., lib. i. c. 11. Athanas, Apolog. ii.

1. Spyridon, the famous miracle-worker and present patron of Corfu, is the most celebrated, as well as the first recorded occupant of the See. He was present at the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), though his name does not appear in the lists of those who attended. His signature, with those of other Cypriot prelates, is to be found attached to the decrees of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 344).

Mansi, Concil., tom. iii., col. 570.

2. Theopompos took part in the Second General Council held at Constantinople in A.D. 381.

Lusignan, p. 26 (b).

3. Arkadios,[2] and 4 Nestor. The period at which these two prelates flourished is uncertain. In the Greek Menology, as Lusignan observes, they are commemorated together on the same day, *viz.*, 7th March.

Mansi., Concil., tom. xi., col. 688.

5. Theodoros was one of the principal persons, who figured at the Sixth General Council (Second Constantinople. A.D. 680-A.D. 681), where he represented his Archbishop, Epiphanios II., though he did not appear until the fourteenth session. He is reported to have been the author of a life of the sainted John Chrysostom.

[1] Strambaldi and Boustron call him "Eustachio".

[2] Archadio santo Vescovo di Cipro, della città di Tremitus ò Trimitughia; et la sua festa si celebra nel mese di Marzo.

Nestore santo Vescovo di Tremitus, over Trimitughia in Cipro; et la sua festa si celèbra nel mese et giorno' di Sant' Archadio.

Le Quien, O.C., ii., col. 1070.

Le Quien states that their memory is celebrated by the Menology on 14th February. In the Synaxaristes their festival is said to be on the 7th March.

Synaxarist (7th March).

*τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ (τῇ ζ' τοῦ Μαρτίου) οἱ Ἅγιοι Ἐπίσκοποι Τριμυθοῦντος τῆς Κύπρου, Ἀρκάδιος καὶ Νέστωρ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τελειοῦνται.*

6. Georgios was present at and subscribed the decrees of the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) A.D. 787. Mansi., Concil., tom. xii., col. 994.

7. Spyridon, *circa* 1801. The See, after its final suppression in 1222, was temporarily revived at the beginning of the present century, and the above-named consecrated to it as coadjutor bishop of the aged primate, Chrysanthos. Philippos Georgiou, p. 114.

XIII. Soli, Solea, or Solia. This town, which was situated on the north-western coast of the island not far from the sea on the little river Klarios, was originally called Œpea. Its first founder is said to have been Demophon, son of Theseus.[1] About B.C. 600 it is traditionally reported to have been transferred to a more suitable site by Philocyprus, King of Œpea, at the instigation of the famous Solon, in whose honour it was henceforth called Soli. It then became the capital of one of the nine kingdoms, which Cyprus formerly contained. It formerly possessed celebrated temples of Aphrodite and Isis. During the ascendency of the Roman Church it was one of the four places assigned as a residence for an Orthodox prelate, the Bishop of Levkosia (Nikosia) being removed thither on that city becoming the Latin metropolis. Its site is now to be found near the village of Karavostasi, about two miles north-west of Levka, where there are some ruins still called Palæa Chora (*viz.*, the old town). Plutarch, in Vita Solonis, sec. 26.

1. Auxibios I.,[2] a native of Rome, was baptised and consecrated bishop by John Mark and subsequently appointed to Soli by Herakleides. He is said to have presided over the See for fifty years. Acta Sanctorum (19th Feb.).

2. Auxibios II.

3. Themistagoras, brother of Auxibios I., is reported to have been the successor of Auxibios II. Acta Sanct., ut supra.

4. Peter is commemorated in the Calendar of the Abyssinian Church on 2nd January and is said to have baptised Constantine the Great, a story derived, Le Quien remarks, from Alexandrian sources. Le Quien, O.C. ii., col. 1072.

[1] Strabo, however, ascribes its foundation to two Athenians, Phaleros and Akamas, "*κτίσμα δ'ἐστὶ Φαλήρου καὶ Ἀκάμαντος, Ἀθηναίων*". Strabo, lib. xiv., c. 6, sec. 3.

[2] Machæra mentions a bishop of this name in connection with the See, calling him, however, Axibios. Machæra, p. 67.

*Ἀξιβίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Σολείας.*

Mansi, Concil., tom. iv., col. 1126.

5. Evagrios was present at the Third General Council held at Ephesus in A.D. 431.

Le Quien. O. C., ii., col. 1072

6. Epiphanios subscribed the decrees of the sixth session of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451). That he was not present throughout the whole of the proceedings is evident from Soter, Bishop of Theodosiana, acting as his representative.[1]

Mansi, Concil., tom. xi., col. 639.

7. Stratonikos attended the twelfth session of the Sixth General Council (A.D. 680), in company with his Archbishop.

Ibid., tom. xii., col. 994.

8. Eustathios was present at and subscribed the decrees of the Seventh General Council (Second Nicæa) A.D. 787.

Sathas, Bibl. Medii Ævi., tom. ii., p. 7.

9. Leontios was one of the two envoys sent by the Orthodox of Cyprus to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanos II., at Nicæa, to complain of the tyranny of the Latins, A.D. 1222.

10. Nibon, 1260.

Lusignan, p. 26 (b).

11. Theophanes, according to Lusignan, occupied the See towards the close of the Venetian occupation. He afterwards resigned and retired to the monastery of Mesapotamo, where he spent the remainder of his days in the strictest seclusion.

Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

Markellos. An individual of this name is included by Lusignan among the bishops of Solia, without any mention of the period at which he lived.[2] The Menology strangely confuses Apamea with Æpea,[3] as it calls his See by the former name, which really belonged to that presided over by his compatriot and namesake, the celebrated martyr bishop of Syria (14th Aug.). The learned Dominican has been misled by it into repeating the mistake, for he asserts that this Markellos was Bishop of Apamea or Solia. His festival occurred on the 25th February.

Strambaldi, p. 12.

Another of the native writers mentions Eutychios as being an occupant of the See, but no information is given respecting the time at which he flourished.[4]

Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 567.

[1] In the subscriptions to the Council (Act 1) he appears as "Epiphanius Episcopus et agens vices Olympii Episcopi Constantiæ Cypri".

[2] Marcello santo Vescovo della città di Cipro Apamea, over Solia; il quale fù martire, et la sua festa si celebra al mese di Febbraio.

Synaxarist, (26th Feb.).

[3] The Synaxaristes also perpetuates the blunder as follows: Ὁ Ἅγιος Μάρκελλος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀπαμείας τῆς Κύπρου, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τελειοῦται.

[4] Sant' Eutichio Vescovo di Solia.

Benjamin. The See appears to have been revived temporarily at the commencement of the seventeenth century, as in a letter addressed in June 1600 to the Bishops of Cyprus by Matthew, Patriarch of Constantinople, on the subject of Archbishop Athanasios' deposition, it is enumerated among the dioceses subject to the Archbishop of Nova Justiniana, being then occupied by the above-mentioned prelate. He is most probably the individual of the same name, who succeeded to the vacant primacy. Philippos Georgiou, p. 80, n. (a).

XIV. Kyrenia, the former capital of another of the nine kingdoms, is situated also on the northern coast a few miles to the eastward of Lapithos. According to the local legends it was either built or restored by Cyrus, King of Persia, when he reduced the island under his sway. In the middle ages it possessed one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, which still survives the wreck of Time, and was the scene of many stirring incidents in local history. It was here that the last rightful sovereign of the house of Lusignan made her final stand against the usurper Jacques II. Simon, who carried the Saviour's cross to Calvary, has been claimed by some as a native of this town.[1] The Orthodox bishopric was suppressed on the foundation of the Latin Church, and only re-established some years after the Ottoman conquest, when the diocese of Famagusta was abolished. Lusignan, p. 13 (a). Kyprianos, p. 38. Lusignan, p. 13 (b). Kyprianos, p. 33. Philippos Georgiou, p. 72.

1. Theodotos, a native of the city over which he presided as bishop, was a martyr during the Licinian persecution (A.D. 314-324), when Sabinus was Governor of Cyprus. Le Quien is evidently mistaken in saying that Lusignan calls him Theodoretus, as the latter, in the Italian version of his work at least, does no such thing. He mentions two occupants of the See by name, one of whom he calls Theodoto, and the other Theodoro. Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

2. Timotheos, according to Leo Allatius, was one of several Greek prelates, who visited Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century to resume communion with the Apostolic See.[2] Allatius, De Eccles. Occid. et Orient. Perpet. Consens., lib. iii., c. 11, No. 7.

[1] Dicono alcuni, che Simone Cireneo, che prese la croce del nostro Signore, fù di questa città (Ceraunia); et altri dicono dalla Provincia Cirenaica.

Θελοῦσι πῶς ὁ Σύμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὃς ἐβάσταξε τὸν Σταυρὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ ἦτον ἀπὸ αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ βεβαιώτερον ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν Κυρηναϊκὴν τῆς Ἀφρικῆς.

[2] Ita Ecclesia Orientalis primo ordinat suos Sacerdotes per collationem corporis Christi, sub speciebus panis, et deinde ad secundariam potestatem super membra Ecclesiæ suis peccatis liganda aut absolvenda. Cujus quidem potestatis tradendæ formam se, D.D. Cardinalibus Congregationis de propaganda fide præfectis, ex testimonio Timothei Cirenes Cypri Metropolitæ, Romæ exhibuisse affirmat idem Catumsyritus, etc.

Goar. Euchologion, p. 300.

The date assigned to this occurrence makes it impossible that these visitors could have been members of the Orthodox Communion, while such an act on the part of any prelate of that Church is in itself well-nigh inconceivable. It is almost certain that the individual in question was the local head of one of those heterodox Oriental sects, which were once numerously represented in the Kyrenian diocese.

Sathas, Τουρκοκρατουμένη Ἑλλας, p. 192.

3. Jeremias. His signature is to be found appended to the letter addressed to the Duke of Savoy by the Cypriot prelates on 5th October 1608.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 95.

4. Nikephoros (1668), is reported in this year to have been present at a council convened at Nikosia by Archbishop Nikephoros to pronounce against the Calvinistic heresies.

Le Quien. O. C. ii., col. 1074.
Kyprianos, pp. 314, 315.
Ibid., p. 323.
Ibid., pp. 329, 404.
Philippos Georgiou, p. 120.
Ibid., p. 123.
Ibid., p. 124, n. (γ).
Neal, List of Sees in Eastern Ch. in 1848, p. 18.

5. Leontios, 1678.
6. Nikephoros, 1730, 1754.
7. Chrysanthos, 1765.
8. Sophronios, 1783, 1788.
9. Laurentios, *ob.* 1821.
10. Damaskenos, 1821 (Archbishop, 1824).
11. Charalampos, 1837.
12. Chariton, 1848.
13. Meletios, 1865, 1874.
14. Chrysanthos, 1888.
15. Kyrillos (Papadopoulos, of Prodromos).

Machæra, p. 67.
Strambaldi, p. 12.
Fl. Boustron, p. 33.

The chroniclers furnish the names of other early occupants of the See, who are not to be found elsewhere, *viz.*:—
Zeno, Hilarion and Theodoros.

XV. Theodosiana. According to the evidence furnished by the records of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) a city of this name then existed in the island. Le Quien, however, professes himself unable to discover in what locality it was situated or which of the ancient cities of Cyprus was ever so called, nor will any of the lists of cities furnished from time to time afford a clue to the mystery. There are only two possible explanations (1), that the name of the See has been misstated and (2), that it was one which had no connection with the island.

Le Quien. O. C., ii., col. 1075.

1. Soter, its only recorded occupant, acted at the Council

(Act I.) as the representative of two other Cypriot bishops, *viz.*, Heliodoros of Amathus and Didymos of Lapithos.[1] (?)

XVI. Levkosia, originally Ledra, one of the most ancient cities of the island and the capital of one of its former nine kingdoms lies in the middle of the Mesaorian Plain. Its first founder is unknown, but Leukos, son of Ptolemy Soter is said to have restored it (B.C. 280), and changed its name from Ledron to Levkosia or Leuteon. That its bishopric dates from an early period is evident from the mention of it by Jerome and other ecclesiastical writers of the time. But its importance really dates from the advent of the Latins, when Guy de Lusignan constituted it the capital of his new kingdom. This was further increased by its being made also the premier See of the Latin Church. Its magnificence during the Western supremacy may be estimated from the tradition that it then contained about 250 churches, including not only those of the Latin rite, but also those belonging to the Orthodox, Armenians, Copts, Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites and Georgians, as well as numerous monasteries belonging to these various denominations. In the records of this period it is more generally known as Nikosia, a name by which Europeans still designate it, and which seems to be derived from *Καλλινίκησις*, a still older one.

Jerome, Epist. 70 (Migne, Pat. Lat. xxii., col. 667.

Nikeph. Kallist., H. E., lib. viii., c. 42.

Sozomen, H. E., lib. i., c. 11.

1. Triphyllios, the former disciple and deacon of the famous Spyridon, Bishop of Trimythus, is said to have occupied the See about the middle of the fourth century. His signature is to be found attached to the proceedings of the Council of Sardica (A.D. 344), together with those of other Cypriot bishops.

Lusignan, p. 24 (a).

2. Makedonios is represented by Lusignan as having been an occupant of the See, but no mention is made of the period at which he presided over it.

Ibid., p. 26 (b).

3. Leontios attended the Synod held at Nikosia in 1340 by the Latin Archbishop, Élie des Nabinaux.

Labbe, Concil., tom. xi., pars. 2, col. 2432.

4. Nikolaos, on 6th July, 1473, together with other leading men of the kingdom, took the oath of allegiance to Catarina widow of Jacques II. and proclaimed her as queen at Nikosia.

G. Boustron, pp. 437, 477. Lusignan, pp. 64 (b), 73 (a).

[1] In the subscriptions to the Council (Act I.) he is described as "Soter Theodosianæ civitatis, agens vices Heliodori Episcopi Amathuntis et *Prochii Episcopi Arsinoe.*

Mansi, Concil., tom. vi., col. 578.

Lusignan, p. 112 (a).

5. Name unknown. Lost his life at the siege of Nikosia in 1570.

During the reign of Jacques II. three prelates of the name of Nicolas, whom it is necessary to distinguish, come into prominent notice:—

G. Boustron, p. 449. F. Boustron, p. 397. Lusignan, p. 68 (a).

(1) The Latin Bishop of Limassol, who endeavoured at the siege of Kyrenia in 1460 to bring about an accommodation between Charlotte and Jacques.

Hist. de Chyp., iii., pp. 202, 210, 263, 264, 266, 282. Le Quien, O.C., iii., col. 639. Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 202, n. 3.

(2) An Orthodox bishop, Nicolo de Couria or Courion, who was the recipient of numerous marks of favour at the hands of Jacques and died nearly five years (1468) before his patron. The name of his See, which is variously given in documents of the period as Embron, Euvron, Ceuvron, or Envroun, is identified with Hebron near Jerusalem by De Mas Latrie, who supposes him to be the person alluded to by George Boustron as Bishop Nikolaos the Greek (ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Νικόλαος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος) to distinguish him from his Latin contemporary of Limassol. But this conjecture must be incorrect, as reference shows that the title is really used in connection with an occurrence that happened subsequent to his decease *i.e.* the proclamation of Catarina as Queen at Nikosia on 6th July, 1473. Boustron employs it to designate an entirely different individual, whom he calls elsewhere ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Νικόλαος, and who from the words τῶν Ῥωμαίων seems to have been some one holding official rank in the island hierarchy. Lusignan evidently regards the title as indicating No. 3, for in his version of the passage he translates it as referring to Nikolaos, the Greek bishop of Nikosia (Nicolao Vescovo greco di Nicosia). This Nikolaos (No. 2) must have been a very tolerant person in his religious opinions, as mention is made of a legacy left by him to the Dominican monastery at Nikosia, an establishment we should least of all expect an Orthodox prelate to have remembered in his will.

Geo. Boustron, p. 477. Ibid., p. 437. Lusignan, p. 64 (b), 73 (a). Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 211.

(3) The Greek bishop of Nikosia. He showed himself a warm partisan of Jacques, and was among the number of those assembled at the latter's house on the night of the attempted assassination of the usurper's enemies in the royal palace at the capital (15th Dec., 1458). It is he who is described as Bishop Nikolaos the Greek (ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ὁ Νικόλαος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος) at the proclamation of Catarina as Queen in 1473.

## CHAPTER VII.

### The Orthodox Monasteries.

THOUGH the presence of individual monks may be said to date almost from the very commencement of asceticism, their settlement into organised communities must be assigned to a considerably later period. Of these establishments there would appear to have been many more formerly than at present. In his description of Troödos, which he represents as being eighteen leagues, or fifty-four miles, in circumference, Lusignan says that at every league there was a community living under the rule of Saint Basil.[1] And at a yet later period, when Kyprianos published his history, they were still very numerous, as is evident from his reckoning them at seventy-five, exclusive of Metochia. He classifies them under the head of the different dioceses, in which they were to be found, as follows: Nikosia, 26; Paphos, 16; Kition, 13; and Kyrenia, 11. Besides these he also enumerates certain others called Stauropegia (4), and certain dependencies of (i) the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (2), and (ii) Saint Catharine at Mount Sinai (3), the presidents of which were sent from the parent establishments. With regard to population he further divides them into—

Lusignan, p. 4 (b).

Kyprianos, p. 392.

1. One monastery of 100 inmates.[2]

[1] Il piede del monte (Trohodos) circonda 18 leghe, che fanno miglia 54, et ad ogni lega è posto un monastero de' Calloiri, over Monaci di San Basilio; quali Monasterii sono pieni d'ogni frutto, et di fontane in abbondanza: onde questi, et altri, che si ritrovano nell' isola, sono li sollazzi delli Cipriotti al tempo della estade.

[2] *Μοναστήρια ὅπου σώζονται τὴν σήμερον Καλογέρων Ὀρθοδόξων εἰς τὴν Νῆσον, ἕως εἴκοσι ἀπὸ δέκα ἕως δεκαπέντε Ἱερομονάχους καὶ Μοναχοὺς, δύω ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ τοῦ Κύκκου ἀπὸ ἑκατόν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀπὸ τρεῖς καὶ πέντε ἕως τῶν δέκα μόλις, καὶ τινα ἐκ τούτων σταυροπήγια ὑποτελοῦντα, καίτοι εἰς τὰς ἄλλας Ἐπαρχίας, ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.*

In his report to the Venetian Senate in 1560 Bernardo Sagredo states their number at fifty-two.

"Vi sono anco 52 abbatie di monaci greci, in diversi luoghi dell' isola, delle quali la maggiore parte sono ricche." Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 543.

In his notes on the island sent to the Duke of Savoy through Francesco Ibid., iii., p. 568.

2. Two of forty.
3. Twenty of from ten to fifteen, and
4. The remainder of from three or five to ten.

This estimate is nothing like so high at present, the two larger ones, Kykko and Machæra, only ranging from thirty to fifteen, the smaller from four to seven. Though their number is generally supposed to have been much reduced of late years, chiefly at the period of the Greek Revolution, when many were destroyed by the Turks, the Report of the Ecclesiastical Properties Commission (1897) shows a slight increase on Kyprianos' list, giving a total of eighty-two. Many of these, however, exist only in name—their endowments having been sequestered by their diocesans.

Pococke, Travels, etc., vol. ii., p. 234.

A traveller, who visited the island in 1740, has left us a description of these establishments and their occupants, which in the main holds good even to the present day. "They are," so he writes, "to be looked upon as religious societies, who go out to labour on the lands that belong to them, with their superior to oversee them. This is their employment all day, and half the night is spent in performing their services. They may also be looked upon as places of education, where the youths who labour by day learn to read and chaunt their offices by night. The lay-servants, who are distinguished only by a cap, answer to the lay-brothers in the Roman Church, but they never take the vow and may leave the convent and marry. They take only the vow of chastity and obedience, and every monk generally buys his own clothes and pays his tribute to the Grand Signor out of his own purse, which chiefly depends on the charity of those who come to the convents either for devotion, retirement, or diversion. What a monk is worth when he dies goes to the bishop of the diocese."

Kyprianos, p. 393.

The monasteries derive their income for the most part from the cultivation of silk-worms, vines, olives and fruit-trees, as well as from the rearing and tending of cattle, sheep, goats, horses, etc. From these sources of revenue they pay their taxes to the Government and the customary dues to their respective diocesans, and also provide for their own requirements. They to some extent, however, depend for their support upon the charity and voluntary contributions of their co-religionists.

Accidas in 1600 (2 Dec.), the then Orthodox Archbishop of Nikosia (Athanasios?) represents them as being sixty-two in number: "Nella ditta isola, in diversi parti et lochi, vi sonno 62 tra abbatie et grache, dove abitano calogeri seu monachi greci, de l'ordine et rito de Santo Basilio magno, dove viveno con helemosine con gran stento et povertà.



KYKKO MONASTERY

They are now divided into two classes (1), preserved and (2), suppressed.[1] The estates belonging to the latter are leased to clerics or laymen and the proceeds given to the bishops, who devote whatever surplus remains, after the payment of expenses, to the support of the Sees and the assistance of the schools of the various dioceses. But this system of disposing of their revenues has given rise to much hostile criticism, as it is claimed that were these estates let by public tender, instead of by private contract, they would realise twice as much as they do at present. Archbishop's Letter, 12th-24th January 1895.

Of monasteries properly so-called, *i.e.*, inhabited by monks, there are only Kykko and its metochia, Machæra and its metochion, Enklistra, Hagios Panteleemon of Myrtou, Chrysorrhogiatissa, Palouriotissa, Hagios Mamas at Morphou, Saint John Chrysostom, the Sinai monastery at Basilia, Eleousa and Troöditissa.[2]

At the following places monks or priests reside, who lease and cultivate the properties, *viz.* :—

Hagios Spyridon, Kanakaria, Hagia Thekla, Hagios Herakleides, Hagios Panteleemon of Achera, Omodos, Stavrovouni and Achiropietos.

Kykko[3] the wealthiest and best known of all the island monasteries, was founded some time between the close of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth. It is situated in the district of the Marathasa upon a mountain of the same name, at an elevation of about 4359 feet above the sea-level. The original manuscript containing the history of this celebrated establishment was unfortunately lost in the fire, which occurred in June 1365.[4] Another account, based on the traditions current among the brethren, was composed in 1422, fifty-seven years Περιγραφὴ, p. 30. Ibid., p. 37.

[1] Αἱ διάφοραι Μοναὶ ὑπάγονται εἰς δύο κατηγορίας.
Εἰς Μονὰς διατηρουμένας καὶ
Εἰς Μονὰς διαλελυμένας (ἤτοι εἰς Μονὰς διαλυθείσας) ἕνεκα καιρικῶν περιστάσεων. Archbishop's Letter, 23rd June-5th July, 1895.

[2] This information is derived from notes kindly supplied to the writer by Mr. W. Taylor, lately Receiver-General in the island government.

[3] The locality is said to derive its original name of Κύκκος, which was subsequently changed to Κύκκος, from a certain species of oak, the Κύκκος (quercus coccifera) that grows there.

[4] Καὶ τὸ κάλλος δὲ τῆς Μονῆς καὶ ὁ Ναὸς, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ σκεύη, Βιβλία, Ἱερὰ Ἄμφια, Διαθῆκαι, Χρυσόβουλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα, διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου ἅφνω ἐμπρησμοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν ὀκτακοσιοστὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν τριτον ἔτος ἀπὸ Κόσμου γενέσεως, χιλιοστῷ δὲ τριακοστῷ ἑξηκοστῷ πεμπτῳ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ—
Ἐν μηνὶ δὲ Ἰουνίῳ γενομένου τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ. Περιγραφὴ, p. 38.

after the destruction of the former.[1] This document revised by Ephraim, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had previously resided for many years in the island, was first published at Venice in 1751.[2] According to the story there told the monastery dates from the reign of the Emperor Alexios (I.) Komnenos, whose representative in Cyprus at the time of its foundation was Manuel Vutumites, the conqueror of the rebel Rhapsommates.[3] It was the custom then, as now, for the governor and his staff to retire during the summer months to the mountains, so as to

Περιγραφὴ, pp. 24-30. Cf. Machæra, p. 72. Strambaldi, p. 16.

[1] Ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη παρῆλθον, ὅτε συνέγραψεν (*i.e.* ὁ συγγραφεὺς) αὐτὸς πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ ἐδιώρθωσε καλῶς ὡς γράφει, πλὴν δὲν φανερώνει καὶ τὸ ὄνομά του ὁ εὐλογημένος.

[2] Four editions of this work, which is entitled Περιγραφὴ τῆς σεβασμίας καὶ βασιλικῆς μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Κύκκου, have been published at Venice, the two first in 1751 and 1782, and the fourth in 1819. This last contains also the Κυπριὰς χαρίεσσα καὶ ἐπίτομος of Constantios, Archbishop of Sinai.

[3] Machæra and Strambaldi among the island chroniclers also relate briefly the story of the monastery's foundation,

Ὁμοίως εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν Μαραθάσαν εἰς τὸν Κύκον ἡ εἰκόνα τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου· ἔρκοντα τοῦ κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Βουτουμήτη δούκας εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ηὗρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὄρη Μαραθάσας ὀνόματι Ἡσαΐας, καὶ μέσα εἰς πολλοὺς ἔδωκέν του λακτίαν, καὶ εἰς ὀλίγον καιρὸν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀστένειαν τὴν λεγομένην ψατίκαν, καὶ εἶδεν εἰς τὸ ὄρομάν του, ἐστράφην εἰς τὸν ἅγιον νὰ λάβῃ εὐχὴν, καὶ ἀποκαλύφθην ταῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος, νὰ ζητήσῃ τὸ εἰκόνισμαν ἀποῦ βρίσκεται εἰς τὸ παλάτιν τοῦ βασίλεως εἰς τὴν Πόλιν νὰ τὸ φέρουν ὧδε, ὡς γίον καὶ ἐγένην· ἔπεψέν το ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἔκτισεν τοῦ μοναχοῦ μονὴν καὶ ἔδωκέν του μέγα χαρίσματα.

Venendo in Cipro, messer Manoel Vutumiti duca, andando al casal Marathassa, verso il casal Chieco, si levò una matina per andar alla caccia et si incontrò in un monacho nominato Issea, et perchè li passò d'avanti, li detè con il suo piede un calzo; et fra pochi giorni cascò in malatia sciatica, et si arsero quella sua gamba con il qual haveva dato al monacho; et vide in sognio che dovesse andar dal monacho a domandar perdon acciò lo assolvesse. perochè nissun medico non ha possuto medicarlo; et così come si trovova, andò dal monacho acciò lo assolvesse; et al monacho apparse la Nostra Donna detta Tricucchiotissa, che dovesse domandar la immagine che si ritrova in la salla del re in Constantinopoli, che fosse portata quì. Et andando il duca dal monacho, li pianse et lo assolvete, et immediate vide la salute; et il monacho, secondo la vision che haveva veduto, li dimandò che havesse la immagine, et li respose quella la tien il re nel suo palazzo; et andando il preditto Manoel in Constantinopoli, trovò la figliola del re con grandissima malatia, con pericolo de morte, et nissun medico non la poteva agiutare et jaceva anno uno; et vedendo che il preditto monacho haveva sanato il predetto duca, racontò al re le cose che li successero, et come con facilità fu sanato, et come si trova nelle parte del casal Marathassia. Et subito il re mandò un navilio in Cipro, con gran pregeri al monacho che volesse andar in Constantinopoli; et immediate visto il commandamento andò, et subito gionto cominciò la figliola del re a megliorare. et si levò dalla malatia; et il re volse dar gran doni al monacho, et esso si ingenogiò et dimandò la immagine; et il re li rincressete a darla; et vedendo la fattica del monacho et la salute della sua figliola, con gran suo ramarico, glie la dette et la portò seco, et vene in Cipro, et fece edificar chiesa. Et donorono assai doni et messero monaci; et fa circa la pioza grandissimi miracoli la ditta immagine, la qual è depenta da San-Luca.

escape the great heat of the plains at that season of the year. On one of these occasions Vutumites took up his quarters in the district of Myrianthusa. At that period the mountains of Cyprus, and especially the region called the Akamas, were inhabited by great numbers of anchorites. In a cave on the mountain of Kykko one of the most celebrated of them, named Esaias, had made his abode. One day the governor, who had strayed away from his companions in pursuit of moufflon,[1] by chance met the recluse near the latter's place of retreat. Overcome with the exertions of the chase, and vexed at finding he had lost his way, he asked the venerable man his name and where he lived. Not wishing to make himself known the hermit ran away, instead of answering his questioner. The governor, regarding this conduct as insulting to himself, not only soundly rated him for his impertinence, but in a transport of rage beat and kicked him unmercifully. Esaias, after upbraiding his assailant for the way in which he had maltreated him, predicted that God would certainly avenge the insult offered to His servant. Vutumites meanwhile remounted his horse and rejoined his companions, without bestowing any further thought upon the incident. But shortly after his return to Nikosia a dangerous and almost incurable malady attacked him.[2] Perceiving that there was no prospect of escape from death he besought God mercifully to have compassion upon him. All at once there flashed across his mind the recollection of how he had ill-treated the poor inoffensive hermit. He recognised that his sickness had been sent as a punishment for his inhumanity, and vowed that, if restored to health, he would ask pardon of the holy man and perform whatever penance might be imposed. Meanwhile the hermit himself had received a divine intimation that the governor's illness had been purposely appointed as the means of bringing to Cyprus an eikon of the Theotokos, then in the imperial palace at Constantinople, which was regarded as the work of the Evangelist Luke. The holy man, thereupon, proceeding to the bedside of the sick man informed him that pardon could only be obtained by his bringing this sacred treasure to the island. On hearing the condition Vutumites protested that it was impossible. But the hermit declaring that he would succeed, as the Virgin had promised her assistance, he

[1] διώκων ἀγρίμια, ζῶα οὕτω καλούμενα.

[2] Καὶ ἐρχόμενος εἰς τὴν Λευκοσίαν ὁ Δοῦξ μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀσθένησεν ἀσθένειαν βαρυτάτην, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίατον, τὴν λεγομένην Λιθαργίαν. Περιγραφὴ p. 25. Ibid., p. 25.

at last consented to make the attempt, stipulating only that Esaias should accompany him.

Arrived at Constantinople the recluse, not caring to appear at court, withdrew to a quiet place known to his companion, while Vutumites proceeded to the palace, where for some time he hesitated to declare the object of his coming. Growing weary at last of the continued delay and pining for his island solitude Esaias sought permission to return to Cyprus, at the same time straitly charging the other to prefer his demand at the first favourable opportunity. To this request Vutumites after some demur consented, sending him away with two eikons he caused to be specially painted for him in the Imperial City, and sufficient funds for the erection of a church. Some time afterwards the Emperor's only daughter fell a victim to the same mysterious disease. Numerous physicians were summoned, but to no purpose. All declared that her recovery was impossible. The grief of the Emperor was terrible to behold. Vutumites, who still remained at court, recognised that his opportunity had come at last. He informed Alexios that his daughter's illness was similar to one, from which he himself had suffered, and to which he must inevitably have succumbed, but for the prayers of a certain monk named Esaias. He further assured him that the holy man could cure her also, if the Emperor would only undertake to carry out his orders. Alexios eagerly promised compliance and requested Vutumites to speak. The latter thus encouraged informed him that it was God's will and the Virgin's, as revealed to the old hermit, that he should send to Cyprus the holy eikon of the Theotokos, which was kept in the palace. On no other condition could his daughter's cure be effected. It was for that purpose he had come to Constantinople, though he had not dared hitherto to make it known. The Emperor on hearing these words was very much grieved at the prospect of losing his precious treasure, but replied that he would consent to relinquish it, after his daughter's recovery had taken place. No sooner had he said this than the disease left the patient, who was at once restored to her former health. But the Emperor forgot his promise, and was only reminded of it when the same fell disease attacked him in turn as a punishment for his breach of faith. Recalled to a sense of his duty by this stern reminder he caused the best artist he could find to paint an eikon, identical in every respect with the one in the palace, intending to send it instead to Cyprus. In the night, however, a vision of the Virgin appeared and with threats ordered him to keep the copy and to send the original

to Esaias. Alexios, terrified at the apparition, no longer delayed to fulfil his promise, but at once gave orders to prepare the State galley, that the holy eikon might be conveyed to its new home with every mark of honour. At the same time he sent a monk noted for his piety, whom he designated to act as abbot of the monastery it was proposed to build, together with the necessary funds for the erection of a church. The arrival of the holy eikon, needless to say, was at once marked by the most astounding miracles. Among other strange marvels it is gravely asserted that the very trees inclined their crests in obeisance, as it was borne past them from the coast to its future resting-place.[1] On receipt of the picture and other imperial gifts Esaias at once set about levelling a site on the mountain, where he erected a large church in honour of the Theotokos, in which he deposited the sacred relic. He next built cells for monks and appointed an abbot, after which he drew up ordinances for the observance of the brethren, and devised means for their support. Vutumites in consequence of his solicitations bestowed three villages upon the monastery as an endowment.[2] This gift being subsequently confirmed by an imperial charter led to the establishment being regarded as an imperial foundation. The property thus bestowed was seized by the Latins on their conquest of the island.

Περιγραφή, p. 32.

Ibid., p. 30.

This monastery has several times been destroyed by fire. The first of these conflagrations, which occurred in June 1365, was caused by a rustic from one of the neighbouring villages, who had come to the mountain in search of wild honey. The fire, which he lighted to scare away the bees, suddenly extending enveloped the whole northern side of it, and eventually reached the spot, on which the monastery stood.[3] The building being constructed entirely of wood was totally consumed, with all its precious contents, including the tomb of the founder and the autograph copy of his ordinances. The holy eikon, however, was

Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[1] *μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ νῦν φαίνονται δένδρα ὑποκλινῆ, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἐξέβη τοῦ πλοίου ἡ Θεομητορικὴ αὕτη Εἰκών.*

[2] *ὁ δε Δοῦξ ἐδωρήσατο χάριτι τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῇ Μονῇ δύο κώμας, πλησίον αὐτῆ οὔσας, ὄνομα τῇ μιᾷ Μῆλον, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ Μηλικούριον, καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς Λευκοσίας, Περιστερῶναν καλουμένην. ἅπερ πάντα καὶ διὰ Χρυσοβούλλου ἐπεβεβαίωσεν ὕστερον ὁ βασιλεὺς. διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν δικαίως καλεῖται καὶ Βασιλικὴ Μονὴ τὸ Ἱερὸν Μοναστήριον, ἐπειδὴ διὰ βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ἐγένετο, καὶ ὑπὸ βασιλικῶν δωρημάτων οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐτρέφοντο, κἄν καὶ πάντα Λατῖνοι, κυριεύσαντες τὴν Κύπρον κατὰ τοὺς χιλίους ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα χρόνους ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τῆς Μονῆς ἀφείλοντο.*

[3] *ἐγχώριος τὶς ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ Ὄρος εὑρεῖν ἀγριομέλι, ὅπερ καὶ κατὰ συγκαιρίαν εὑρὼν, ἐπέθηκε πῦρ τοῦ διώξαι τὰς μελίσσας. αἴφνης δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκείνου φλὸξ μεγάλη ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸ βόρειον μέρος πυρπολήσασα, ἔφθασε καὶ μέχρι τῆς Μονῆς.* Ibid., p. 37.

preserved in the following extraordinary fashion. There was at that time lying within the Church, at the foot of the sacred picture, a poor cripple, who had been deprived by paralysis of the use of his limbs. To him the Theotokos suddenly appearing said: "Arise quickly and take my eikon and save thyself". Immediately on these words he recovered his strength and, taking the eikon as he had been bidden, placed it in a hollow pine-tree, which grew on the southern side of the mountain overlooking the monastery.[1] Wonderful to relate the flames, when they reached the place, where it lay concealed, instantly became extinguished. The first thought of the monks on discovering the fire was to rescue the precious picture, but on reaching the church they found to their dismay that it had disappeared. Afterwards perceiving the mysterious way in which the flames went out on reaching the pine tree, they proceeded to the spot to ascertain the cause, when they saw before them the object of their search safe and sound, and the cripple completely cured. Pierre I. de Lusignan (1359-1369),[2] who was then King of Cyprus, on hearing of the miracle wished to rebuild the monastery at his own expense, but his consort claimed the honour of doing so, on the plea that it was situated in the district of Myrianthusa, which formed part of her domain.[3] The work of rebuilding the church and some of the cells was commenced at the beginning of July in the same year, and completed towards the end of the following December. This erection, which was also of wood, having in its turn fallen a prey to the same devouring

Περιγραφή, p. 37.

[1] Λάμβανει τὴν ἁγίαν εἰκόνα, ὦ τοῦ θαύματος, καὶ ἔρχεται ἕως τοῦ Πεύκου, ὃς ἦν ἄνωθεν τῆς Μονῆς πρὸς τὸ νότειον μέρος, καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ Πεύκῳ οὗ καὶ τὰς ῥίζας οἱ Εὐσεβεῖς ἀνέσπασαν δι' εὐλάβειαν. ἔστι δὲ νῦν ἄλλος τὶς μέγας, ὡς ὁρᾶται, ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου ἔνθα ἦν ἐκεῖνος. From the use of the article this appears to have been a well-known tree.

Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[2] Sathas (Bibl. Med. Ævi. Præf., tom. ii., p. 120) gives in error 1355 as the date of the first conflagration. The Περιγραφή, however, distinctly states that it took place in 1365, while it further says that Pierre (I.) de Lusignan was anxious to rebuild it. His reign did not commence until 1359, the year 1355 being included in that of his predecessor, Hugues IV. The rebuilding is also said to have been taken in hand at the beginning of July and finished at the end of December the same year *i.e.* κατὰ τὸ ἑξακισχιλιοστὸν ἑβδομηκοστὸν τρίτον ἔτος. Reference to p. 30 will show that the word ὀκτακοσιοστὸν has been omitted and that the date should read, A.M. 6873 = A.D. 1365.

Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 505, n. 3.

[3] Une partie des vallées de Marathasse et de Solia, au nord de l'Olympe, dite "Marethasse-du-Comte," avait appartenu longtemps aux comtes de Roha ou d'Edesse, l'autre partie appelée "Marethasse royal" était au domaine de la couronne.

Du Cange, F. d'outre Mer, p. 81.

Pierre I. was twice married (1) in 1342 to Échive de Montfort, daughter of Rupin de Montfort, and (2) in 1359 to Eléonore (or Constance) daughter of Pierre d'Aragon, Comte de Ribagorce, brother of Jacques II. King of Aragon.

element, was replaced by another in 1542, during the rule of the Hegoumenos Simeon. A third conflagration took place in the November of 1751, when the monastery and church were once more entirely consumed. On this occasion everything likewise perished except the holy eikon, which was saved, with the rest of the sacred pictures and a few other valuables. The church was rebuilt in the year 1755 under the direction of the Œkonomos Parthenios. Its completion just escaped being marked by a most terrible catastrophe, the roof suddenly collapsing through faultiness of construction and almost burying the workmen in the ruins. The same destructive foe assailed the monastery a fourth time in 1813, and with equally disastrous results. But fire is not the only enemy with which it has had to contend. In 1821, during the disturbances consequent on the Greek Revolution, it was attacked by the Turks, who completely sacked it, carrying off property of great value.[1]

Περιγραφή, pp. 38, 42, 57.

Though situated on the confines of the dioceses of Paphos and Kyrenia Kykko enjoys all the rights of a stauropegion. When this privilege was first conferred it is impossible now to determine. It was reaffirmed in 1672 (December), the charter of independence containing the names of three of the Oriental Patriarchs, as well as of the then Archbishop, Nikephoros.[2] This document, which was unfortunately destroyed in the conflagration of 1751, was replaced by a second charter in 1760 (August).[3]

Ibid., pp. 34, 63-72.

Ibid., pp. 73-79.

The abbot[4] is elected for life and chosen from among the

[1] The Register of the monastery represents some of the property carried off as being worth 314,000 piastres, while it mentions numerous other articles also, the value of which it does not state.

Kepiades, Ἀπομνημονεύματα, p. 25.

[2] Διονύσιος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης, καὶ Οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης.

Περιγραφή, p. 71.

Νεόφυτος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ Πατριάρχης, τῆς μεγάλης Θεουπόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ πάσης Ἀνατολῆς.

Δοσίθεος ἐλέῳ Θεοῦ Πατριάρχης, τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσάλημ καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης.

[3] It bore the name of Seraphim, Patriarch of Constantinople, and of eleven of his metropolitans.

Instructions données par le doge et le Sénat aux conseillers et au provéditeur de Chypre, 28 août, 1477. H. de Chyp., iii., p. 414.

[4] During the period of Latin supremacy the elections of the hegoumenoi of all these Orthodox monasteries required the sanction first of the reigning sovereign of the house of Lusignan, and afterwards of the local representatives of the Venetian government, before their validity was recognised, as is evident from the following extracts:—

(1) Servari etiam volumus et jubemus ordinem et consuetudinem constituendorum episcoporum et abbatum Grecorum, qui constitui non possint nisi cum scientia et voluntate prefate regie majestatis.

Rapport adressé au Sénat de Venise par Bernard Sanredo, 1562. Ibid., iii., p. 543.

(2) Quali (*i.e.* monaci greci) sono juspatronati della serenità vostra, ne si puo far elettion di detti abbati senza la presenza del clarissimo reggimento.

members of the community.[1] They alone possess the power of deposing him, if unworthy of his position,[2] but it must be done unanimously. On the conclusion of the election the name of the successful candidate is submitted for approval to the Archbishop, who consecrates him to his high office. The hegoumenos, who is *ex officio* a member of the local synod, is nearly equal in rank to the bishops, and, like them, carries a pastoral staff, and also at the great festivals wears the mandyas or cloak. At the annual festival held on the 8th September (O.S.), the Nativity of the Most Holy Mother of God, when the monastery is thronged with pilgrims from all parts of the island and even from beyond the seas, the service according to custom is conducted by the Archbishop. All matters in dispute between the inmates, which the hegoumenos himself is unable to settle, are then submitted to the primate, with the former's knowledge and consent. But the only acknowledgment of ecclesiastical subjection, which the brethren render, is the mention in the diptychs of the Archbishop and his predecessors.

The monastery possesses considerable landed property not only in Cyprus, but also at Constantinople, Smyrna and Satalia, as well as in Thessaly and Russia. Among its princely benefactors, besides several of the Byzantine Emperors and their representatives in the island, must be included Gregorios Ghika, Voivode of Wallachia, who in 1749 made the community an annual donation of fifty piastres, which he directed should be levied on certain revenues, and forwarded by the abbot of the monastery of St. Spyridon in Bucharest to the brethren at Kykko.

Περιγραφή, pp. 80, 81.

Its annual revenue has been variously computed and possibly never will be accurately known, as there is a singular difficulty in arriving at the truth with regard to the incomes of all ecclesiastical establishments in Cyprus.[3] From a document cited by

Ibid., p. 77. [1] Καὶ ὅταν ἐν χρείᾳ γένηται καταστῆσαι Ἡγούμενον ἐν τῇ Μονῇ αὐτῶν ταύτῃ, κοίνῃ καὶ ὁμοφώνῳ αὐτῶν βουλῇ καὶ γνώμῃ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν προισταμένων καὶ γερόντων τῆς Συνάξεως, ἔχωσιν ἐκλέγεσθαι ἕνα ἐκ τῆς συνοδίας αὐτῶν, τὸν κοινῶς ἀναφανέντα ἄξιον, καὶ πρόσφορον, καὶ δόκιμον, καὶ τοῦτον ἀποκαθιστᾷν Ἡγούμενον.

Ibid. [2] Εἰδέποτε τυχὸν φωρασθῇ ἀπεναντίας φερόμενος τῇ εὐκαταστάτῳ διαγωγῇ, κοινῇ ὠφελείᾳ τε καὶ συστάσει, καὶ ἐπιζήμιος τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς, ὡς μὴ φυλάττων τοὺς δρους καὶ τρόπους τοῦ μοναστηριακοῦ βίου, τηνικαῦτα ἡ κοινότης τῶν πατέρων ἔχει ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν δικαίως τῆς Ἡγουμενείας, καὶ καθιστᾷν ἕτερον, τὸν πρόσφορον καὶ λυσιτελῆ ἀναφανέντα.

Ibid., p. 78. [3] The property of deceased members of the fraternity reverts to the monastery.

Ἐάν τις τῶν συνασκουμένων πατέρων φθάσῃ τελευτῆσαι, μετὰ θάνατον ἐκείνου ἅπασαν τὴν περιουσίαν αὐτοῦ προσχειροῦσθαι τῷ μοναστηρίῳ, κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κανόνων ἀπόφασιν, καὶ μηδένα ἐκ τῶν συγγενῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ προφάσει κληρονομίας ζητεῖν πολὺ ἢ ὀλίγον τι ἀπὸ τῆς περιουσίας ἐκείνου οἱῳδήτινι τρόπῳ, καὶ ἐνόχλησιν τινὰ ἢ ζημίαν ἐπάγειν αὐτῷ.



COURTYARD, KYKKO MONASTERY

De Mas Latrie we learn that at the end of the fifteenth century it amounted to 300 ducats, while now it is supposed to be represented by £5000, or an even larger sum. Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 503.

With regard to the question of population, estimates vary considerably at different periods. The earliest, that of Van Bruyn (1683), places it at 400. Pococke, who visited the locality in 1738 (28th Nov.), calculates the number of the inmates at seventy, while Drummond writing somewhat later (1745), gives a total of sixty—an estimate with which Turner (1815) agrees. Other travellers again place the figures much higher. Mariti (1767) and Sakellarios (1855), give the same number, 150. Kyprianos, however, whose work appeared only some twenty years after the former's visit (1788), reckons it merely at 100. Since Sakellarios' time the population seems to have much diminished. Philippos Georgiou (1875) estimates it only at forty-two, while by the last census returns sixty-seven males, not specified, however, as to profession, are shown to have been within the walls of the establishment on the morning of 6th April, 1891. The latest account gives the number as consisting of forty monks and fifty novices.

Excerpta Cypria, p. 13. Pococke, vol. ii., p. 224. Drummond, Letter XIII., p. 264. Turner, "Journal of a Tour in the Levant," 1820. Mariti (Cobham's Ed., c. xix., p. 103). Sakellarios. Kyprianos, p. 392. Phil. Georgiou, p. 39.

The special glory of Kykko is the eikon of the Theotokos, said to have been painted by the Evangelist St. Luke.[1] There are three of these sacred pictures in existence, which the Orthodox acknowledge as the work of the same inspired artist. Needless to say they are regarded with the greatest veneration and guarded with the most scrupulous care. These eikons, which are reported to have received the special approval and benediction of the Virgin during her lifetime, are as follows in the order of their execution.

I. The *Eleousa* (Ἐλεοῦσα), or Compassionate—so called because the Theotokos prays her Son to have compassion upon us—represents her without Him. Περιγραφή, p. 22.

[1] Among the many portraits of the Blessed Virgin ascribed by the Greeks to Saint Luke three enjoy special distinction, *viz.*:— Hist. de Chyp., i., p. 92, n. 1.

(1) That of Kykko.

(2) A second Eleousa preserved in Russia.

(3) The Hodegetria or Conductress belonging to the monastery of Mega Spelaion in the Peloponnesos.

Ludolph, curé of Suchen in Westphalia, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1350, also makes mention of three portraits of the Virgin alleged to be the work of the same artist. Ibid., ii., p. 216.

"In parte (*i.e.* of Satalia) qua degunt Greci est ymago beate Marie in tabula depicta, quarum tres sunt in mundo, una Rome, alia Constantinopolis, tercia Scatalie (*i.e.* Sataliæ) omnes unius longitudinis, speciei et figure. Has ymagines beatus Lucas juxta formam beate Virginis creditur pinxisse."

II. The second is known as the *Hodegetria* (Ὁδηγήτρια),[1] or Conductress, since she conducts us, or bears Him who conducts us, to the kingdom of Heaven. In this one she is represented carrying her Son on the left arm.

III. The third, which depicts her with her Son on the right arm, is also called Eleousa, and in addition the Eleousa of Kykko, to distinguish it from the other eikon of the same name.

Περιγραφή, p. 23. The angel Gabriel is said to have presented St. Luke with the panels upon which the pictures were painted. On their completion the artist sent them to the Christians in Egypt, where according to tradition they met with many adventures. The Hodegetria (II.) was subsequently brought to Constantinople by the Emperors and there placed in a monastery. During the Iconoclastic persecution under Leo the Isaurian it was put into a box smeared with pitch and thrown into the sea, being carried by the winds and waves to Antioch, where the patriarch and people received it. It was by the orthodox Emperors restored to the Imperial City, whence it found its way to the monastery of Mega Spelaion in the Morea.

The Eleousa (I.) was first brought from Egypt to Attalia in Pamphylia, and when that city was captured by the Persians it was carried across to Cyprus.[2] But on the conquest of the island by the Saracens it was first conveyed to Athens and finally to Russia.

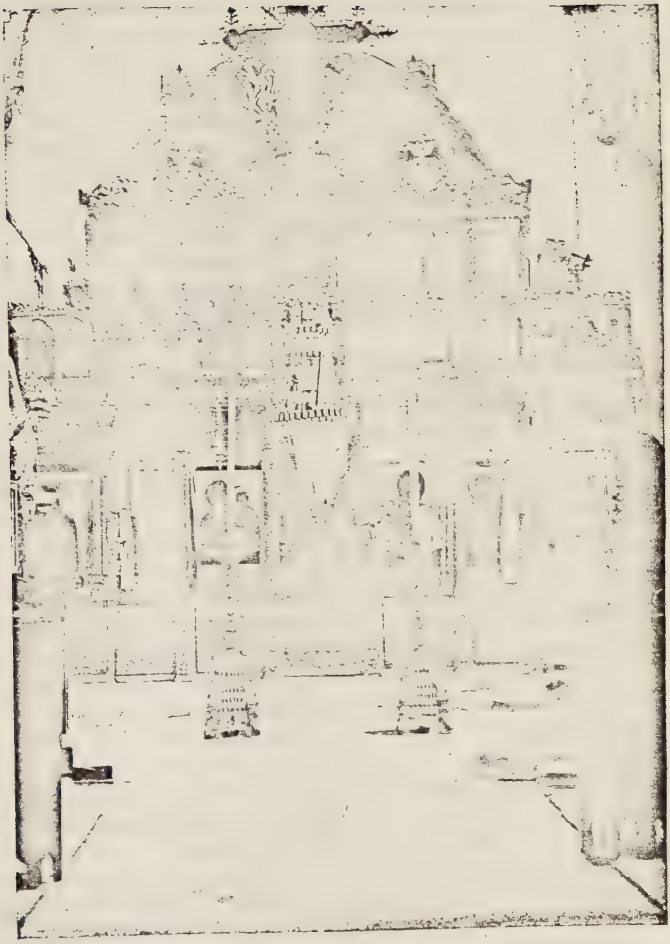
During the persecutions in Egypt the Eleousa of Kykko (III.) was by the Christians placed in a ship for conveyance to some island for safety, but the Saracens captured the vessel, in which it was being carried. The captors were themselves, however, made prisoners by some Byzantine vessels and taken to Constantinople, where the picture was placed in the chapel of Ibid., p. 57. the imperial palace, as has been already related. This eikon is conjectured to have been the one sent by the Empress Eudokia from Jerusalem to her sister-in-law Pulcheria at Constantinople.

[1] *Cf.* Choniates' explanation of the name, *τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος, ἥτις ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ὁδηγῶν μονῆς, καθ' ἣν προσκεκλήρωται, Ὁδηγήτρια ἐπικέκληται.* Choniates, De Isaac Angelo, lib. i., c. 7 (P.G., cxxxix., col. 744).

[2] This may possibly be the eikon alluded to in the following passages as having been brought by the Cypriots to Kyrenia from Satalia (Attalia) on the surrender of that town to the Turks on 14th May 1373.

Machæra, p. 237. Ὁ λαὸς ἐκουβαλήθην εἰς τὰ ξύλα μὲ ὅλαις του ταῖς βιτοναλίαις καὶ τὴν εἰκόναν τῆς Κύπρου Θεοτόκον, τὴν ἐζωγράφισεν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς. καὶ οὗλον τὸ ἀσημοχρύσαφον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων τοῦ τέμπλου, καὶ πολλὰ ἄλλα λειψανα, καὶ ἤρταν εἰς τὴν Κερί(νι)αν.

Strambaldi, p. 149. Il popolo si retirò nelli vasselli, con tutte le vittuarie et con la immagine della santissima Nostra Donna, qual haveva depensa il santissimo santo Luca, et tutto l'oro et l'argento delle chiese, et molte reliquie de santi, et vennero a Cerines.



EIKONOSTASIS, CHAPEL OF KYKKO MONASTERY

The monks have at all times taken the utmost care of this precious relic. To prevent its ever falling into hostile hands they caused an exact copy of it to be made. This in times of danger they have substituted for the original, which was hidden away in one of the numerous caves existing in the mountain. Περιγραφή, p. 33.

While at Constantinople the holy eikon appears to have been exposed to view. It is now, however, invisible, the upper half being concealed by a covering embroidered with gold, and the lower by a silver-gilt plate, on which is stamped a representation of the part lying underneath. This arrangement, which is said only to date from the year 1576, was not adopted earlier from the desire that there should be no distinction between the original and the copy. The explanation is that it was then divinely appointed, not only by reason of the prevalent irreligion, but also to distinguish it from the works of other artists, and to enhance the reverence felt for it. Ibid., pp. 23, 33. Ibid., p. 49.

Many stories are told of the strange experiences which have befallen those who have endeavoured surreptitiously to get a glimpse of the painting itself. Of these the following is the most remarkable :—

A certain learned monk, a native of Rhodes, John by name, came from Jerusalem in the year 1776 on a pilgrimage to the monastery. He requested to be allowed to remain one night shut up alone in the church for the purposes of devotion. The brethren at first refused on the plea that it was not usual, but at length consented at his repeated request. Entering the church with some tapers in his hand he placed them in the chandelier opposite to the holy picture, and commenced his prayers to the Virgin. After being thus engaged for some time he at length approached the eikon and stretched out his hand to draw aside the covering, which concealed it from view. Suddenly from the aperture in the metal case there issued a hot blast, that striking him on the face caused him and the place, on which he was standing, to tremble. Turning his head in the direction of the chandelier, in which he had placed the tapers, he saw them take light of their own accord. Full of astonishment at the sight, and not knowing what to do, he cried out with a loud voice: "All-holy Theotokos," and then falling on his face lay speechless on the ground. Two men, who had been secretly posted by the Abbot to watch his proceedings and protect the church, on hearing the noise rushed to the spot, and seeing him lying there half-dead with fright carried him out of the building. After leaving him sufficient time to recover they inquired what had happened. Ibid., p. 51.

John, who by this time had come to his senses, looked fixedly at them, but was unable to reply, and again entering the church lay at full length before the eikon. The brethren so far knew nothing of this strange occurrence, as it had happened during the fourth hour of the night. But on the conclusion of matins they closely questioned him, when he related what had befallen him.

Περιγραφή, p. 33. Cf. p. 64, etc.

Gerasimos, Patriarch of Alexandria, seems to have met with a somewhat similar experience in 1699. Being, however, but lightly punished for his curiosity on this occasion he cried out with tears: "I believe this holy eikon to be the work of the Apostle Luke," when he was at once pardoned for his presumption.

Strange indeed are the wonders said to have been wrought by this remarkable work of art. The two following will suffice to show the marvellous character of the rest:—

Ibid., p. 39.

A certain shipwrecked sailor, who was being tossed to and fro on a mat on the sea, after invoking the assistance of the eikon, came safely to land, when in accordance with his vow he enrolled himself among the members of the community.[1]

Ibid., pp. 39, 40.

A monk named James, a painter by profession, being possessed by a devil for many years, came to Cyprus in the hope that, with the aid of the holy picture, he might become released from his ghostly tormentor. While on the road from Nikosia to the monastery his companions heard a voice saying: "James, whither art thou going? Turn back and do not proceed farther." This happened two or three times. Full of fear at hearing the voice and seeing no one they determined to turn back, but on perceiving that their fellow-traveller was quite calm and undisturbed they took courage and, after invoking the protection of the Theotokos, resumed their journey. When they had completed half the distance they again heard the demon addressing and beseeching James thus: "James, what evil have I done thee? I have been thy companion now for so many years, and wilt thou go to the All-holy One of Kykko to get rid of me? Or thinkest thou that this picture is like those that thou paintest? Up to now I have never cast thee down any precipice, or into water, or fire, and why dost thou wish to injure me? Know that I will never let thee worship the holy eikon." At last they reached the monastery and dismounted at the gate, where they told the strange occurrence, which had befallen them

[1] "ἐπὶ ψιαθίου ἐνδὸν τῆς θαλάσσης καθεσθεὶς, καὶ τῇ δὲ κἀκεῖσε περιφερόμενος."

by the way. When the monks bade James follow the rest of the company into the church, he tried to rise from the seat on which he was resting, but could not, becoming as heavy and unwieldy as a rock. Despite the efforts of those present he remained for three days immovable at the gate. At length by dint of great exertion he managed to get to the church door, but even then the demon would not let him enter. Though his friends used force to try and push him in, he remained for some hours unable to cross the threshold. Having by a great effort finally got within he at once went up to the holy eikon and saluted it. The demon, terrified at the power of the Ever-Virgin, threw him on the ground where, after rending him terribly, it left him, loudly bewailing the separation and saying: "I leave because the power of the holy eikon through the Theotokos drives me away". Released at last from his ghostly familiar James rose from the ground, sound and well, and expressed his thanks to the Mother of God.

The picture enjoys a great reputation among the credulous for its supposed efficacy in cases of continued drought. When this scourge of the island has endured for any considerable period, it is customary to carry it about the neighbouring districts in solemn procession—a proceeding which is invariably succeeded by a copious supply of the much-needed rain. But whether the eikon really has the power of attracting the precious moisture from the clouds, or whether its reverend custodians are careful not to send it forth on its peregrinations until favourable signs have appeared, is a question on which the writer will not venture to pronounce an opinion.

The decided partiality it has always shown for its usual abode in the mountains is another remarkable peculiarity. In fact, according to popular tradition, no one can make it stir against its will. For instance, after the fire in 1751 the brethren wished to deposit it in a place more accessible to the faithful, but on approaching to carry it off for that purpose they were unable, despite all their efforts, to do so. And as if to mark the sense of its displeasure at the attempt, a great storm of rain immediately ensued, which only ceased after much prayer and entreaty on the part of the brethren. Περιγραφή, p. 50.

Though Moslem fanaticism has several times threatened its destruction, it has happily passed unscathed through the various perils, by which it has been beset. On one of these occasions, which occurred during a time of great drought, the then governor, hearing of the eikon's reported influence over the clouds, sent for Ibid., p. 41.

the hegoumenos and said: "I hear, O monk, that thou deceivest the people with a certain picture that thou hast. Know thou that, if within the next few days it does not rain, I will burn thy picture upon thy head and afterwards put thee to death". The hegoumenos on hearing this threat departed in fear and trembling to the monastery, where he organised a religious procession, which visited the neighbouring districts, carrying the eikon of the Theotokos. When the time allotted for the fulfilment of the threat expired he was in the Myrianthusa. Suddenly falling down in prayer before the picture he poured out such a flood of tears that the very ground was moistened by it. Immediately in the midst of the sky appeared a little cloud, which was succeeded by thick darkness and such a downpour of rain that those, who witnessed it, barely escaped with their lives. So astonished was the governor at the prodigy that he issued a decree permitting the hegoumenos to carry the eikon in procession for the future, without let or hindrance.

Περιγραφή, p. 41. When the notorious Bekir Pasha was governor he despatched the most savage of his subordinates, Djelim Pasha, to the monastery with orders to destroy it. Philotheos, who was then Archbishop, hearing of his intention, sent to acquaint the Œkonomos with the danger. The latter hurried off a messenger to the fathers at Kykko, warning them to be prepared, and to place the eikon for safety in one of its customary hiding-places. No sooner was it concealed in the cave when a terrible thunder-storm ensued, which lasted for three whole days, and so terrified the would-be destroyers that they were fain to retire with their purpose unaccomplished.

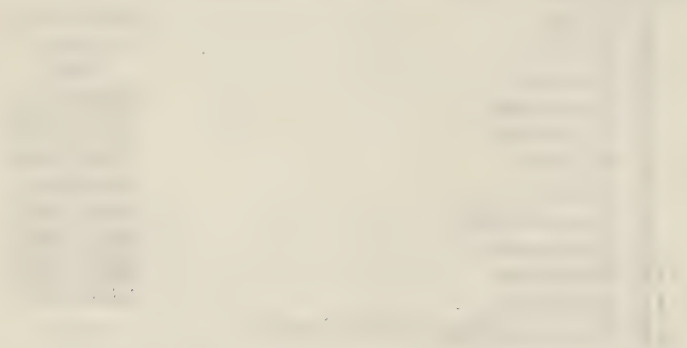
Ibid., pp. 34, 35. There is a holy well near to hand, the marvels of which are only second in importance to those wrought by the eikon itself. According to the tradition connected with its discovery a certain monk, while proceeding on the business of the community, became so overcome by thirst and the heat of the sun that he fell to the earth in a faint. Praying earnestly to the Theotokos for assistance he exclaimed: "All-holy Theotokos, save me, for I am perishing from thirst". Immediately he heard a voice directing him to strike with his hand the rock, on which he was sitting, when he would find water. He did as he was bidden and at once a copious stream gushed forth. After quenching his thirst he retraced his steps and reported to the brethren what had occurred. Many are the cures said to have been effected by this holy water, all of which are well authenticated, as the compiler of these legends takes care to assure his readers.

Pococke and Drummond, among English travellers, have left particulars of their visits. But, as their descriptions refer to the building which perished in the fire of 1751, it will be unnecessary to quote them. The present one, which is principally constructed of grey-coloured stone, encloses a large court and has two entrances on its eastern and western sides respectively. It contains the usual offices and apartments common to such establishments, nor is there anything about them calling for special notice. The church, which in the main resembles scores of others scattered throughout the island, is a fairly large edifice, covered internally with whitewash, but lacking any architectural pretensions whatever. Indeed, but for the undoubted antiquity of the monastery and the romantic position it occupies among its mountain solitudes, few travellers would care to undergo the fatigues of a journey to the site. It possesses a library, the contents of which are now of but little value—the precious manuscripts and charters formerly to be found there having long since been consumed by the flames.

The accompanying list of hegoumenoi has been supplied to the writer by the present courteous head of the monastery. Though very incomplete it contains the names of all who are known to have presided over the establishment, with their approximate dates :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Esaias . . . . . | 1081-1118. |
| 2. | Simeon . . . . . | 1542. |
| 3. | Meletios . . . . . | 1700. |
| 4. | Sophronios . . . . . | 1700-1736. |
| 5. | Parthenios . . . . . | 1745-1776. |
| 6. | Meletios . . . . . | 1776-1818. |
| 7. | Joseph . . . . . | 1818-1821. |
| 8. | Charalampos. . . . . | 1821-1822. |
| 9. | Sophronios . . . . . | 1822-1827. |
| 10. | Neophytos . . . . . | 1827-1860. |
| 11. | Sophronios . . . . . | 1860-1890. |
| 12. | Gerasimos (the present head). | |

The monastery of Machæra, second only to that of Kykko in sanctity and importance, is situated on Mount Aôos at a height of 2250 feet above the sea, and about six miles to the south-west of the village of Lythrodonda. Though within the limits of the archdiocese it is practically independent, and is presided over by an hegoumenos chosen for life by the majority of the community, of which by the statutes he must be a mem-



ber.[1] The few details of its early history still extant are contained in the Ritual Ordinance of its virtual founder, the monk Nilos, composed by him in August 1210.[2] This document, subsequently revised by Ephraim, the learned editor of the *History of Kykko*, was published at Venice in 1756 at the expense of the then Œkonomos, Parthenios.

Τυπική Διάταξις, p. 59, sec. 149.

Ibid., title-page.

Its singular title of Machæra, or the Sword, has been variously derived from :—[3]

Ibid., πρόλογος, p. 7.

1. The name of the first owner of the mountain on which it is built;

2. The sharp and piercing cold of its climate; or,

3. The legend that the holy eikon of the Theotokos, which it possesses, was found in a cave, where perhaps it had been hidden during the Iconoclastic Controversy, with a sword buried in front of it.

The learned editor, who mentions all three explanations in his preface, is inclined to regard the first as the most probable, though he acknowledges that it is a question which permits of great latitude of choice.

Τυπ. Διάταξ., p. 11, sec. 7.

According to Nilos, the first to occupy the site was an old hermit named Neophytos, who had previously acquired a great reputation for sanctity and austerity in the desert region of the Jordan. Compelled by the Saracens to quit his former haunts and seek a new retreat he came to Cyprus, where he fixed upon Mount Aôos as a place suitable for his purpose. There he built a cell and took up his abode with a disciple named Ignatios for his companion, the two of them being supported by the daily contributions of some pious Christian neighbours. After a while Neophytos died, leaving to his companion the cell, in which they dwelt, and his sheepskin cloak. Ignatios was now joined by another aged ascetic named Prokopios. Being unable through want of funds to realise their project of building a monastery, they determined to proceed to Constantinople and appeal in person for assistance to Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180). The Emperor in

Ibid., p. 11, sec. 8.

Ibid., p. 12, sec. 9.

[1] Ἀφ' ἑτέρου μέντοι μοναστηρίου τῆς νήσου, καθ' ἡντιναοῦν αἰτίαν, Ἡγούμενος οὐ προχειρηθήσεται, ἀλλὰ τὸν, καὶ θρέμμα, καὶ παίδευμα καὶ κουρὰν ταύτης τυγχάνοντα, καὶ τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς εἰδότα, καὶ τὰ ἤθη τῶν Ἀδελφῶν ἀκριβέστατα.

[2] This work is entitled : Τυπικὴ Διάταξις, ὡς εὕρηται, τῆς κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον Κύπρον, Σεβασμίας καὶ Βασιλικῆς Μονῆς τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, Μαχαιράδος ἐπιλεγομένης.

[3] Δὲν φαίνεται τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ὀνομασίας τοῦ ὄρους, εἴτε ἀπὸ τὸν ἐξουσιάσαντα πρώτως τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο Μαχαιρᾶν καλούμενον καὶ αὐτὸν, ἐκαλέσθη οὕτως, εἴτε διὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ κρύους καὶ διαπεραστικὸν, εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ εὑρεθῆναι ὡς λέγεται τὴν Θεομητορικὴν εἰκόνα ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ, διὰ τὴν εἰκονομαχείαν ἴσως, καὶ μάχαιραν κεχωσμένην ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῆς.

answer to their petition bestowed upon them an annual donation of fifty pieces of money (*νομίσματα τρικέφαλα*) from the imperial treasury, besides making them a grant of the mountain and surrounding district, and pronouncing the absolute independence of the community from all external interference. In a second decree he especially exempted it from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, who was directed to be content with the usual canonical commemoration. Ignatios, however, afterwards so far relaxed this order as to allow the diocesan to consecrate the abbot, when previously elected by the brethren, but without the power of pronouncing upon the suitability of their choice.[1] On their return from this successful mission they at once commenced to erect an oratory in honour of the Theotokos, as well as a few cells for the reception of the inmates of their proposed community. In the midst of these labours Prokopios died, but Ignatios was not left alone on the death of his associate, his fame for sanctity having so spread that he now found himself at the head of a small band of some five or six followers. Among those thus attracted to him was Nilos, the real founder of the establishment, who appears upon the scene in 1172. He seems to have been a foreigner and was led, as he himself tells us, to Cyprus by the advantages which it offered for a solitary life. From the very first he was distinguished by the special favour of Ignatios, whose intimate friend and assistant he became. During the prevalence of a severe drought and famine in the island he was sent on a mission to the neighbouring coasts of Cilicia, to seek there the means of subsistence for the brethren. Feeling at last the approach of death Ignatios designated Nilos as his successor, a position which the latter only consented to accept after much reluctance. The new hegoumenos had not been long in office when the community was again reduced to great straits by another drought, which continued for three years. It was during this period that the church was erected and other additions made to the monastic buildings. At the consecration of Nilos the privilege of independence, which had already been secured by imperial decree, was formally recognised by the then diocesan, Niketas Hagiostephanites, Bishop of Tamasos. A

Τυπ. Διάταξ., p. 15, sec. 17.

Ibid., p. 12, sec. 10.

Ibid., pp. 12, 13, sec. 11.

Ibid., pp. 13, 14, secs. 12, 13.

Ibid., p. 14, sec. 14.

Ibid., pp. 14, 15, secs. 15, 16.

Ibid., p. 16, sec. 22.

[1] *Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης ἐκεῖνος Πατὴρ ἡμῶν, μοναχὸς κύριος Ἰγνάτιος, οὕτως διετάξατο, πρὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πρὸς Κύριον ἐκδημίας, ὅτι τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἐνορίαν Ἀρχιερέα, ἔχειν τὴν ἀναφορὰν καὶ μόνην, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον καὶ προσκυνητὸν ὁρισμὸν, καὶ τὴν προχείρησιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν Ἡγουμενεύοντος, ὅνπερ πρότερον οἱ Ἀδελφοὶ ἐκλέξονται καὶ ψηφίσονται, ὡς δόκιμον εἶναι τῆς προστασίας, τοῦτον αὐτοῖς προχειρίσεται, μὴ κατά τινα ἀνακρίνας τὸν ψηφισθέντα.*

deputation of the monks being subsequently sent to Constantinople succeeded in obtaining from Isaac (II.) Angelos (1185-1195) a confirmation of the previous charters, together with the grant of one of the imperial gardens at Nikosia and a donation of twelve pieces of money.[1] Alexios (III.) Angelos (1195-1203), was another of its imperial patrons.[2] In addition to ratifying the benefactions of his predecessors he bestowed upon it a gift of twenty-four serfs, with perpetual exemption from taxation.

Τυπ.Διάταξ., pp. 16, 17, sec. 23.

This monastery appears in after times to have lost most of its property and to have been reduced to the utmost destitution. But under the fostering care of its Œkonomos Parthenios, who held the office of steward for nearly fifty years, it recovered some measure of its former prosperity.[3] Unfortunately it has recently experienced a great misfortune, having been totally consumed by fire on 5th September, 1892, when all its contents perished, with the exception of the eikon of the Theotokos. This, as is usual in such cases, alone was preserved. The present annual revenue is estimated at £2000, while the number of its members is stated to be about twenty. The census, however, of 1891 gives the total male population at forty-six on 6th April of that year.

Kyprianos, p. 359.

Philippos Georgiou, p. 39.

Kyprianos, p. 350.

The monastery of Enklistra, situated in the diocese of Paphos, was founded by Neophytos, a native of Levkara in the district of Amathus. From his autobiography, which has come down to us in a somewhat fragmentary condition, we can glean a few particulars concerning his history and character. All his inclinations and tastes seem from the very first to have tended towards asceticism. While quite a youth he was given to meditating upon such subjects as the unsatisfying nature of worldly pursuits and the uncertainty of life, topics which have usually but little charm for healthily minded persons of his age. The result of these musings determined him to become a monk. But his parents had formed other plans for him, which threatened to

Τυπ.Διάταξ., c. 3.

[1] Ἐξαπεστάλησαν ἀφ' ἡμῶν Ἀδελφοί, πρὸς τὸν εὐσεβῆ Αὐτοκράτορα κυρὶν Ἰσαάκιον τὸν Ἄγγελλον, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ δεηθέντες, ἐπεκυρώθησαν τὰ χρυσόβουλλα τοῦ ἀοιδήμου βασίλεως, διὰ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ χειρὸς, οὐμὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ κῆπον ἀπεχαρίσατο τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Μονῇ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ Λευκοσίαν βασιλικῶν, καὶ ἐκκοπὴν νομισμάτων ὑπερπύρων δώδεκα.

[2] Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ὁ φιλόχριστος τώοντι καὶ χριστομίμητος Αὐτοκράτωρ, κύριος Ἀλέξιος ὁ Ἄγγελος ἐπόριζε τῇ ἡμῶν Ἁγίᾳ Μονῇ διὰ θείου καὶ προσκυνήτου χρυσοβουλλίου, πάντων τῶν ὕθεν δήποτε προελθόντων τῇ Μονῇ ἀκινήτων πραγμάτων, παντελῆ ἀτελείαν καὶ ἐλευθερίαν ἐδωρήσατο εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν ἅπαντα, σὺν παροίκοις εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρσι.

[3] Ἐτελεύτησε παρὰ τοὺς 1770, σχεδὸν κυβερνήσας τὴν Μονὴν πεντήκοντα σχεδὸν χρόνους.

put a most effectual stop to the realisation of his wishes. When he was eighteen years old a marriage was arranged by them and all the preliminaries actually settled. To prevent the accomplishment of a project so repugnant to his feelings he resolved to run away from his paternal home. As the place of his retreat he selected the monastery of St. John Chrysostom on Mount Kutzuventi in the northern range. He says that he was led to choose this establishment in preference to any other from its position, which seemed to offer greater difficulties to his pursuers. His sudden disappearance naturally caused the greatest consternation to his relatives and friends. After searching diligently for two months in every district of the island, they at last discovered his hiding-place and compelled him to return home, when, as the result of much entreaty and persuasion, he succeeded in breaking off the intended marriage. His parents, seeing that he was resolved to embrace a monastic life rather than a bride, offered no further opposition to his wishes. Accordingly with their consent he once again entered the monastery on Kutzuventi, where for the first five years of his stay he laboured in the vineyards belonging to the community. Having managed while thus engaged to acquire the rudiments of learning and to commit the Psalter to memory, he was next appointed sacristan—a post which he retained for another two years. During the whole of this period an intense desire for a more solitary life had been gradually taking possession of him, but his superiors dissuaded him from yielding to it on account of his youth. The next step in his career was a visit to Jerusalem undertaken, so he informs his readers, partly as a pilgrimage to the holy places, and partly in the hope of discovering in the adjacent deserts some anchorite, to whom he could attach himself. After a sojourn of six months in the Holy Land, not finding the object of his search he once again, in obedience to a vision, returned to his native land and took up his old quarters in the monastery of St. John Chrysostom. He soon, however, left it a second time for Paphos, whence he intended to set sail for Mount Latros, where he hoped to meet with the recluse, of whom he was in search. On reaching that town he was arrested as a fugitive slave by the harbour police, while loitering about the docks, and thrown into prison. From this predicament he was released through the good offices of some friends and set at liberty, after first being robbed by his captors of his passage money. Left now without the means of continuing his journey and at a loss where to go, he chanced to discover not far from Paphos a likely place of retreat. This,

Τυπ. Διάταξ., c. 4.

which proved to be a cave situated in a cliff at some distance from the ground, had formerly been the resort of numerous birds. The loneliness of the locality induced him, by its prospect of complete freedom from intrusion, to settle there for a while. It was on St. John Baptist's Day (24th June), 1159, when twenty-five years of age, that he first took up his abode in the cave, and by the following September he had decided to remain. Immediately on coming to this determination he commenced to enlarge his strange habitation, a work which he finished on 14th September of the following year. On its completion he dedicated the cave to the Holy Cross and erected an altar within, as well as constructed a tomb for himself in its innermost recesses. There he continued to live in the strictest seclusion until the accession of Basil Kinnamos in 1166 to the See of Paphos. This prelate, who proved a warm friend and patron, after much entreaty persuaded him very reluctantly to enter the priesthood and to share his solitude with a companion. From that time the place, which had hitherto remained tenantless, save for the dweller in the cave, began to be occupied by human habitations, until in 1183 all the buildings necessary for the reception of the new community were completed. As time went on the fame of the recluse near Paphos so extended that pilgrims flocked in crowds to the spot. Annoyed by the ever-increasing numbers of his admirers, whose attentions he found it difficult to escape, he determined to leave the cell, which he had occupied for forty years, and with his own hands to construct higher up the cliff another retreat more inaccessible to the multitude. Though now well advanced in years he laboured at the work with the same enthusiasm as he had shown when a young man. His life was in constant danger from falling rocks, which became detached during the course of the excavations, yet in spite of the entreaties of the brethren he refused to desist. At length his efforts were crowned with success, and the new habitation, commenced on 24th June 1199, was dedicated to St. John the Forerunner. His only means of communication now with the outer world was by a ladder, which was drawn up when not required. Here in this new retreat he continued to practise the most rigid austerities, only descending on Sundays for the instruction and exhortation of the disciples.

Τυπ. Διάταξ., c. 5.

Ibid., p. 35.

Ibid., pp. 37, 38.

Ibid., p. 49.

The foregoing details are contained in the "Ritual Ordinance,"[1] framed by the Saint himself for the community, which

[1] The title of this work is:—
Νεοφύτου, Πρεσβυτέρου, Μοναχοῦ, καὶ Ἐγκλείστου, Τυπικὴ σὺν Θεῷ Διαθήκη.

he had founded. Of this constitution or rule there appears to have been two versions. The first[1] was composed by him in the ninth year of his sojourn in the cave (1167), and the second in 1214, when he had reached the patriarchal age of eighty years. The latter, carefully preserved in the library of the establishment, was subsequently edited by the Archimandrite Kyprianos and published at Venice in 1779 at the expense of the Œkonomos Joannikios. That it was drawn up with the near approach of death before the writer's eyes is evident from the mention of his successors's name,[2] and also from the directions which he gives concerning the disposal of his remains.[3] He charges the brethren to wrap them in the grave-clothes, which he had previously prepared and laid up for the purpose, and after the customary funeral service to deposit them in the tomb his own hands had constructed in the cliff long years before. They were further instructed to paint an eikon over the opening which had been made to admit the coffin, so as the better to conceal the place of sepulture from hostile and prying eyes. Though the exact date of the saint's death is unknown, his body appears to have been duly laid to rest in accordance with his wishes. There it remained undisturbed and forgotten until the following circumstance led to its discovery in 1757: A member of the monastery in his quest for hidden treasure was one day led to explore the recesses of the cave, which had once served as the recluse's habitation. Coming accidentally upon the tomb and thinking that it might possibly contain what he was in search of he, in complete ignorance that it was the saint's last resting-place, resolved on the first favourable opportunity to break it open. Accordingly selecting a night when the rest of the brethren were otherwise engaged, he entered the cave and at once commenced the work of demolition. Being unable, however, from its great size to raise the covering stone he broke it with several heavy blows of his spade. But before he had time to

Τυπ. Δ. αταξ., c. 1. pp. 1, 2.

Ibid., c. 16. p. 15.

Ibid., p. 32.

Kyprianos, p. 350.

Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ ὁσίου Νεοφύτου, pp. 35, 36.

[1] Μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐγκλείστρᾳ καθήρξεώς μου, διεθέμην, καθὼς με ὁ καιρὸς ἐκεῖνος προσαπήτει διαθέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγὸς, τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου παρέτεινε χρόνον, καὶ παρίππευσαν ἤδη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ χρεία γέγονε διαθήκης ἑτέρας.

[2] Chapter xvi. is entitled "περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου διαδόχου καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς, Ἡσαΐου, Ἱερομονάχου καὶ Οἰκονόμου".

[3] Εὐξάμενοι τὰ εἰκότα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δοξάσαντες τὸν πανοικτίρμονα Θεὸν, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἔθους ὠδὰς ἀναπέμψαντες αὐτῷ, κατακρύψατέ μου τὸ ταπεινὸν Λείψανον ἐφ' ᾧ, ἐν τῷ κρημνῷ τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας ἐλάξευσα τάφῳ, ἀμφιάσαντες αὐτὸ ἃ ἐγὼ ἔνησα νεκροτάφια ῥάκη πρὸ χρόνων ἱκανῶν, καὶ ἀπεθέμην αὐτὰ ἐν γλωσσοκόμῳ πευκίνῳ καὶ κυπαρίνῳ καὶ κεδρίνῳ.

ascertain what lay beneath he was in a most mysterious manner struck senseless to the ground. After lying there motionless for quite an hour he came to himself and, it being now the dead of night, stole out of the cave as quickly as he could in fear and trembling. Relating early next morning to the hegoumenos his strange experience of the previous night, the latter proceeded to the spot with the rest of the brethren, and discovered in the tomb a wooden box, corresponding in length to the stature of a man and bearing upon it no traces of age or decay. On opening it the grave-clothes alone were found to have suffered from lapse of time, the corpse itself being still intact and girt with the chains, which the saint had worn during life. The hegoumenos at once reported the discovery to the Archbishop, Philotheos, who immediately sent a commission to investigate the alleged find. With much care and reverence the sacred remains were removed from the chest, in which they had reposed for more than 500 years, and, with the exception of the head, which was reserved for the veneration of the faithful, deposited in a specially prepared receptacle. This, after being carefully sealed up, was conveyed to the church belonging to the monastery and placed behind the altar, where the relic soon proved its genuineness by the many remarkable cures it effected.

The memory of the saint is still honoured by two annual commemorations, at which special forms of service, first published at Venice by Kyprianos in 1778, are used.[1] The former of these occasions (24th Jan.) marks the anniversary of his providential escape from a falling rock while engaged in the construction of the second cell, the latter (28th Sept.) being the day on which his remains were discovered.

Neophytos appears to have been possessed of some literary skill. In addition to the *Ritual Ordinance* he was the author of a brief history of the sufferings inflicted upon his native land by the tyrant Isaac Komnenos, and its subsequent capture by Cœur-de-Lion.[2] The former also contains a catalogue of fifteen other works, composed by him for the instruction of his disciples

[1] A second edition was published at Nikosia in 1893 with the following title: "Ἀκολουθίαι τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου, ἐκδοθεῖσαι τὸ πρῶτον κατὰ τὸ 1778, ἀρχιερατεύοντος τοῦ ἀοιδίμου Χρυσάνθου, ἐξαντληθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ 115 ἤδη ἐτῶν πρώτης ἐκδύσεως, τῇ συγκαταθέσει τοῦ γεραροῦ Μακαριωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου πάσης Κύπρου, Κυρίου Σωφρονίου, καὶ τῇ προτροπῇ τῶν πατέρων τῆς ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου, πολλῶν ἱερέων καὶ εὐσεβῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνατυποῦται τὸ δεύτερον ἤδη δαπάναις Περικλέους Μιχαηλίδου ἔκδοσις δευτέρα."

[2] Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ Ἐγκλείστου, περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν.

and kept in the library of the monastery. One, a commentary on St. Basil's *Hexameros* in sixteen chapters, was published along with the *Ritual Ordinance* by Kyprianos in 1779. Of the remainder some have been printed, while others unfortunately have disappeared in the course of centuries, or been mislaid by the carelessness of those in charge of them.

In his *Ritual Ordinance* Neophytos distinctly lays down that the number of the fraternity is not to exceed eighteen, though, as he informs us, he had been asked to increase it to twenty or twenty-five. But this request he was led to reject, experience having taught him that it was difficult to maintain discipline and ensure quietness among so many. The wishes of the founder in this matter seem to have been scrupulously observed, as the number of inmates at present only averages ten. Τυπ. Διάταξ, c. 9, pp. 7, 8.

The presence of women in the monastery, as might be supposed, was rigorously prohibited.[1] Any found within the precincts of the outer gate for an immoral purpose were liable to the punishment of dry bread for forty days, and were further during that period to make forty genuflexions daily. This exclusion of the sex extended even to female animals, which the brethren were expressly forbidden to employ in the service of the community. Ibid., c. 19, pp. 16, 17.

The *Ritual Ordinance* also prescribed the manner in which the election to the headship of the establishment was to be conducted.[2] On a vacancy occurring it was directed that the election of a successor was to take place without delay. The proceedings were to be conducted in peace and harmony, and the brethren were exhorted to allow considerations of utility alone to govern their choice. The successful candidate was not to be installed in office, however, until after the customary forty days' mourning Ibid., c. 14, pp. 12, 13.

[1] Καλὸν πανταχοῦ ἡ ἀσφάλεια καὶ τὸ ἀπρόσκοπον. πάντα μοι ἔξεστι, φησὶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντ ασυμφέρει. καὶ ὅτι πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γίνεσθαι χρὴ. ὅτου χάριν κἀγὼ τὴν τῆς ἁγίας Ἐγκλείστρας περιφορὰν παντοίας γυναικὸς ἀπρόσιτον εἶναι παρεγγυῶ. εἰ δέ τις γυνὴ μοχθηρευθεῖσα ἐντὸς εἰσέλθῃ τῆς ἐξωτέρας πύλης, ὑποπιπτέτω ξηροφαγίας ἐπιτιμίῳ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ γονυκλησίας τοσαύτας, ἐν ταῖς τοσαύταις ἡμέραις ποιεῖν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴ παιδευθῇ καὶ ἑτέρας διδάξῃ. κ.τ.λ.

Ἐντελλόμεθα δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὄνον θηλείαν, ἢ ἡμίονον, οὐ προσήκει πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἔχειν τὸ τῆς Ἐγκλείστρας Σεμνεῖον.

[2] Πᾶσαν ἐριθείαν καὶ φθόνον παρωσάμενοι ἐκλέξασθε τὸν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἄξιον τῆς ἐγκλειστικῆς πολιτείας. καὶ ὅτε τὰ τεσσαράκοστα μνημόσυνα τοῦ παρελθόντος Ἐγκλείστου, ἐν ἀγρύπνῳ δοξολογίᾳ Θεοῦ συνετελέσητε,—Τότε μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς θείας Λειτουργίας, ἀναγάγετε αὐτὸν σὺν Θεῷ ἐν τῇ Ἐγκλείστρᾳ τῇ νέᾳ Σιὼν. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξ ἔθους Τρισάγιον, ἐξείπατε αὐτῷ καὶ ἣν ἔγραψα εὐχὴν πρὸς Ἔγκλειστον καὶ Ἐγκλείστραν, καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν κατάβητε εὐθέως, αὐτὸς δὲ συνεργοῦντος Θεοῦ, προοιμιαζέσθω τὰ τῆς καθήρξεως καρτερῶς.

for his predecessor. On its conclusion the newly elect was then to be conducted by the brethren to the original habitation of the founder in the cliff and there left, after the singing of the Trisagion and the recital of the prayer specially composed by Neophytos on behalf of the community and its head.

'Ακολουθίαι τοῦ ὁσίου N., p. 42, etc.

Though within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Paphos the monastery is invested with all the privileges of a stauropegion. This distinction appears to have been conferred at the beginning of the seventeenth century (circ. 1611) by the island Synod, with the consent of the local diocesan, in consideration of its alleged royal origin and the sanctity of its founder's life. Reduced by adverse circumstances to extreme poverty and deserted by the brethren, it owed the recovery of its former position to the exertions of the monk Leontios, who was appointed abbot at the instance of Archbishop Christodoulos. The original charter of independence having been lost, he succeeded in obtaining from the Œcumenical Patriarch Kyrillos in 1631 a synodical letter reaffirming its provisions. This document again proclaimed the absolute freedom of the establishment from the local diocesan: all interference on whose part was prohibited under threat of deposition and excommunication. It further directed that the election of the head should rest solely with the community, whose members, however, were required to receive ordination at the hands of the Archbishop, as well as acknowledge his supremacy by the customary commemoration. To Leontios and his successors, moreover, was confirmed the right, which had been granted by the original charter, of precedence over all other abbots, and of supervision over all other monastic establishments in the island.

With regard to the present revenue enjoyed by the community, as no information is forthcoming, not even an approximation can be formed. From a document still extant it is known to have amounted to 200 ducats annually at the end of the fifteenth century. Philippos Georgiou (1875) gives the number of inmates at ten.

Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 503.

Among the other monasteries already mentioned as being still inhabited by religious communities the following alone possess any interest or importance.

Kyprianos, p. 359. Ph. Georgiou, p. 40. Hierides, Ἱστορ. τῆς Κύπρου, p. 120.

1. Chrysorrhogiatissa, situated in the diocese of Paphos and Nahieh of Kelokedara, lies a short distance to the south of the village of Panagia upon Mount Rhoïa, at a height of 3768 feet above the sea. It is said to have been erected about the middle of

the twelfth century, its founder being a monk named Ignatios, and was formerly one of the most celebrated in the island. Through various causes it became so dilapidated as to require to be almost totally rebuilt. The work of restoration took place about 1770 under the supervision of Panaretos, then Bishop of Paphos. It now forms one of the residences of the diocesan, and is the lucky possessor of a miracle-working eikon of the Theotokos, one of seventy reputed to be the work of the Evangelist Luke. The community at present comprises about eight members.

Troöditissa, also in the same diocese, derives its name from its position upon the slopes of Mount Troödos, and is situated near the village of Phini, at an elevation of 4675 feet above the sea. According to the legends it was founded about A.D. 1200 in obedience to a divine intimation. This monastery, which appears never to have been very wealthy, now shelters a community of about ten monks. It, too, contains an eikon of the Theotokos, which is credited with miraculous powers.

Kyprianos, p. 359. Ph. Georgiou p. 41. Hierides, p. 111.

The monastery of Hagios Panteleemon, a saint who suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia under Maximian, A.D. 303, lies near the village of Myrtou in the district of Kyrenia. As it has no hegoumenos of its own the Bishop of Kyrenia, who resides within its walls, acts in that capacity. It contains an eikon of the patron saint, which is reported to possess miraculous powers, and attracts in consequence large crowds of worshippers annually on 27th July, the day of his festival. The establishment according to the latest estimate numbers about ten.

Kyprianos, p. 360. Ph. Georgiou, p. 41. Hierides, p. 131.

The monastery of Hagios Mamas in the village of Morphou is also under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Kyrenia. Its church, which is Byzantine in design, is said to have been erected upon the site of a celebrated temple of Astarte about A.D. 1190, during the time of the Komnenian Emperors. It possesses the marble sarcophagus of the saint, from whom its name is derived, which is fabled to have floated across the sea from the opposite coast of Karamania. Both Pococke and Drummond visited this monastery during their travels in the island. The former, who calls it the magnificent convent of Saint "Mamma," says that it appears to have been built on a very grand design. He conjectures that it was erected by some noble family of Cyprus a little before the commencement of the Venetian occupation. Drummond agrees with him in regarding the church, which he

Kyprianos, p. 360. Hierides, p. 82.

Pococke, vol. ii., p. 223.

Drummond, Letter xlii., p. 257.

considers Italian in style, as the handsomest building of its kind in the whole island. In plan the structure consists of a square enclosure separated into two courts by the church.

Saint John Chrysostom on Mount Kutzuventi in the Kyrenian range is a dependency of the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and receives its president from the parent establishment. Its origin and the date of its foundation are both alike unknown. That it is of very considerable antiquity is evident from the fact that Neophytos, the founder of Enklistra, commenced his monastic career there in A.D. 1152. According to popular tradition it was erected by a princess, who is said to have also constructed as a residence the Castle of Buffavento upon the summit of the range immediately above it.

Van Bruyn (Excerpta Cypria, p. 9).

This lady, who is represented as suffering from some skin disease, had a little dog, which was her constant companion in her mountain retreat. This animal was at length attacked by the same complaint which had already seized upon its mistress. As soon as this happened it was observed to descend the mountain daily and, after a few hours' absence, return much benefited by its trip. It was in consequence watched and seen to bathe in a spring close by the place where the monastery was subsequently built. The princess noticing the good effect wrought upon her pet by the water resolved to try the remedy herself. So efficacious did it prove that in a few days she was restored to her former health. As a mark of gratitude to God for her marvellous recovery she erected the monastery near the healing waters and dedicated it to Saint John Chrysostom. This fountain still exists within the precincts of the monastery and is said to have lost none of its medicinal properties. A somewhat similar legend

Hierides, p. 86.

exists regarding another mineral spring in the village of Skilloura in the Nahieh of Morphou.[1] In this case it is said that a certain nobleman in ancient times had a dog suffering from the mange, which was healed after its owner had one day by chance washed it with water from a sulphur spring in the village. This fountain still exists within the church, and is much resorted to by persons suffering from cutaneous disorders. The village itself derives its name from the incident, while the church is dedicated to the Virgin under the title of the Panagia Skillouriotissa. Whether the story has really been invented to account for the

[1] The ancient name of this village, which appears to have been Κυναρία, may possibly have given rise to the legend. Indeed its modern appellation, Σκυλλούρα, the Dog's Tail, (*Cf.* Βοὸς οὐρά) seems to recall it also.

singular name of the village, and the inhabitants have plagiarised from the good monks of Kutzuventi, or *vice versâ*, is a question which must be left unsolved.

Pococke relates this legend of the monastery's foundation somewhat differently :— Pococke, vol ii., p. 222.

"They have a tradition that a Queen of Cyprus, who had the leprosy, chose to live here (*i.e.* at Buffavento) for the benefit of the air, and that Saint John Chrysostom advising her to build the convent below, she followed his counsel, and was cured of her leprosy; others add that she bathed in a water there, which is still resorted to by persons in that distemper, who find benefit by it." The same traveller gives a description of the place, which, though now 150 years old, still holds good in the main : "This monastery has been a very large building, though part of it is ruined; there are two churches, one of which, called Saint Helena, is ruinous, the other is covered with a dome, and painted all over within; it is dedicated to Saint John Chrysostom. Before it is a handsome portico, from which there are three doors with fine marble cases, that do not seem to be very ancient; two sceptres were formerly deposited behind the folding-doors, the figures of which are painted on the wall, and at the bottom there is a place where the crown was kept. All the account they can give is that they belonged to some Queen, and that they were taken away by a Pasha of Cyprus. It is probable that the regalia of Cyprus were kept there."

The foundress, whose tomb is still pointed out in the church, is said to have been a certain Bavarian lady called Mary of Molino, but this is a very improbable story. There is behind the altar a painting, which represents Saint John presenting a man and woman to the Theotokos. From an inscription at the foot of the picture we learn that the two persons depicted above were Antonio and Maria di Molino.[1] This lady, who was in all likelihood the wife of some Venetian nobleman resident in Cyprus during its occupation by the Republic, may possibly have been a benefactress of the monastery, the hegoumenos of which adopted this method of commemorating her memory. From the fact of her name appearing in the inscription has arisen the legend that she was the foundress of the establishment. The community seems never to have been a large one. When Van Bruyn visited it in 1683 it only comprised three priests and eleven monks, Sakellarios, Κυπριακά, vol. i., p. 135. Excerpta Cypria, p. 9.

[1] Ἡ δέησις τῆς δούλης τοῦ Θεοῦ Μαρίας τοῦ (Φιλίππου) Μολίνο καὶ Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ Φιλίππου Μολίνο.

under the rule of a superior, whom he calls a father guardian. Mariti in 1767 makes the number of inmates to be from ten to twelve, while the last census shows the total male inhabitants on 6th April, 1891, as thirteen.

Mariti, Voyages, tom. I., c. x., p. 122.

Sathas, Vies des Saints Allemands de l'Église de Chypre, p. 4.

The ruined monastery of Hagios Nikolaos near the promontory of Akrotiri is noteworthy as being perhaps the premier monastic settlement in Cyprus.[1] Unfortunately all record of its early history and foundation has perished. That a very remote period may be assigned to it is evident from the mention in connection with it of Kalokairos, who was governor of the island during the reign of Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-A.D. 335). It only ceased to be inhabited within comparatively recent times. The Sire de Villamont describes it, on the occasion of his visit in 1589, as being then almost intact, the Turks having in no way injured it when they captured the island, though they killed or expelled the monks.[2] The only one of the buildings, however, in any state of repair at the present day is the chapel, which is still used for divine worship by the inhabitants of the district. The same traveller records a curious superstition, by which all the fish in the adjacent salt lake caught on the patron-saint's

De Villamont, liv. ii., c. 6, p. 296.

[1] Il est très probable que le couvent élevé autrefois sur le promontoire Curion, le cap aux Chats des modernes, est le premier établissement de moines qui s'éleva dans l'Orient grec.

[2] Parlans ainsi l'un à l'autre arrivasmes à l'Abbaye Saint Nicolas cy dessus nommée, laquelle est édifiée joignant la mer, et est restée quasi en son entier, sans que les Turcs y ayent fait dommage, lorsqu'ils usurpèrent Chypre sur les Venitiens en l'année mil cinq cens septante. Bien vray est qu'ils tuèrent et chassèrent les Religieux de l'ordre de Saint Basile qui estoient dedans, sans avoir du depuis permis qu'aucun y fit sa demeure, tant ils sont ennemis de la Religion Chrestienne. D'avantage il me récita que lesdits Religieux y nourrissoient grand nombre de chats expressément pour prendre les serpens qui sont aux environs de la plaine, la quelle en produit plus en cest endroit qu'en nul autre endroit de l'isle, et les serpens sont du couleur blanche et noir, et ont pour le moins sept pieds de longueur, et gros comme la jambe d'un homme, de manière que difficilement je pouvois croire qu'un chat fût victorieux d'une si grande beste, et qu'ils eussent industrie d'aller à la chasse après eux, et de n'en retourner jusques à ce que la cloche eût sonné à midy, et que si tost qu'ils avoient disné ils continuassent leur chasse jusques au soir, sinon que le Religieux me jura l'avoir veu, ce que m'a depuis esté confirmé de plusieurs autres gens d'honneur, qui l'ont vue de mesme. Depuis que l'Abbaye est demeurée déserte, les chats sont morts par faute de nourriture.

Tout auprès de l'Abbaye et de ce cap est une grande pescherie. Le grand Seigneur en tire six mille ducats de ferme chacun an, et ceux qui la tiennent à ferme, sont obligez, selon l'ancienne coustume de donner à la dite Abbaye tout le poisson qu'ils prendront le jour et la nuict de St. Nicolas, autrement ils n'en prendroient pas un seul tout le long de l'année, ce que tiennent les habitans du pays. Et à cause que ceste Église est déshabitée, les fermiers payent ce devoir à l'église des Grecs.

day (6th Dec.) were formerly presented to the monastery, the captors being firmly persuaded that they would otherwise have no further luck throughout the ensuing year. In the course of time the brethren acquired a wide-spread reputation not so much for their skill as theologians, nor yet for the strictness of their rule, as for the number of cats they maintained within the precincts of their establishment. During the long drought prior to the visit of Saint Helena the venomous snakes, for which the island has always been noted, increased to an alarming extent. The place most infested by these pests was the region anciently called Cape Kurias, but since known as the Cape of the Cats (Capo delle Gatte) from the following circumstance.[1] Kalokairos, to whom the government of the island had been entrusted at the time, determined to do all he could to remove the plague. Aware of the natural antipathy of cats for snakes he sent 1000 of these animals to the monastery, charging the public revenue with a certain annual sum for their maintenance. So successful was the expedient that the reptiles were almost exterminated. The cats were trained to return morning and evening to the monastery at the sound of a bell for their food, which was placed on long planks containing a series of circular depressions to receive it. At the time when Lusignan lived the brethren still maintained a score of these useful pets, though no urgent need for them seems to have any longer existed. Pococke questions the story, but the evidence is too circumstantial to admit of

Lusignan, p. 3 (a).

Pococke, vol. ii., p. 223.

[1] Fù chiamato questo (terreno) capo delle Gatte, perche nelli tempi che erano venuti da Costantinopoli li Duchi, come governatori, mandati dalli Imperatori, et massime il primo al tempo del Magno Costantino, essendo stata l' Isola 30 anni, che non v'era piovuto, quasi era dishabitata: onde multiplicorno li serpenti, quali in greco si adimandano Cuffi, et penso che siano aspidi sordi: liquali ad una lunatione sono sordi, ad un'altra sono ciechi, et quando sono sordi, non sono ciechi, et quando sono ciechi, non sono sordi, et sono venenosi, et hanno una testa grande. et il corpo non hà ossi, et quando piglia un' agnello, ò un capretto, lo manda cosi intiero nella pancia à poco à poco: et dipoi va ad un' albero, et si storze di quà et di là, insin tanto che siano fracassati gli ossi dell' animale già mangiato; et quando more, odora come muschio.—Ma li serpenti Cuffi si ritrovano per l'isola et spesso, et in quelli tempi erano già generati assai, onde volendo il Duca Callocero esterminarli, perche abondavano assai in questo capo per essere un boschetto, messe più di mille gatti in San Nicolò detto in greco de' Acrotiri. Il Duca havendovi posti li gatti, li fece anchora la sua provisione, accioche non mangiassero sempre cose venenose, et che fussero estirpati: onde mattina et sera erano avezzati al suono della campana, et tutti correano, et haveano apparecchiato in certe asse di legno larghe, et in mezo erano concavi à modo delle scudelle, et di dentro li mettevano le minestre: accio che fussero tutte accommodate, dipoi il resto del tempo andavano alla caccia de' serpenti, et cosi gli hanno estirpati quasi tutti, però quel Monasterio anchora tiene una vintina de' gatti, et per questo quel capo fù adimandato il capo delle gatte.

doubt. For instance, De Villamont owns that he would have found great difficulty in believing it had not his informant sworn to the truth of it from personal knowledge, and his statement been corroborated by others who had also witnessed it.

Marvellous, too, are the reports as to the size of these noxious reptiles. The last-named writer, who describes them as being black and white in colour, asserts that they were at least seven feet in length and as thick as a man's thigh. Lusignan, however, surpasses him in his flights of imagination. He says that these snakes were called Cuffi by the Greeks, being blind and deaf alternate months, while they were accustomed on swallowing a lamb or a kid, to coil themselves round a tree in order to crush the bones of their victim. But after what Martinus Crusius on the authority of one Stamatius Donatus, a Cypriot, writes concerning a mysterious kind of beast, which had its habitat on Mount Olympus (Stavro Vouni), we can no longer question the ability of the island mouser to attack and subdue even such formidable opponents as these.[1] According to this veracious chronicler there was to be found on that mountain a species of quadruped resembling a snake in the shape of its body and tail, as long as a horse and fairly tall, with a skin so thick as to be impervious to anything but a bullet, which devoured all human beings unfortunate enough to come in its way. The cats used to hunt it either singly or in couples, and to kill it by springing on its back and tearing out the eyes. As one reads this outrageous yarn one cannot help suspecting that his informant was slyly endeavouring to gauge the extent of the worthy Crusius' credulity.[2] The writer at any rate is thankful to think that during a residence of some days on Mount Olympus he never encountered any of these truly alarming monsters.

Meursius, Cyprus, lib. I., c. 28, p. 76.

During the later period of the Latin occupation the Orthodox are said to have possessed in Nikosia four houses for men and

Lusignan, p. 33 (b).

[1] Ait, in Olympo, qui solus in Cipro sit mons, animal, corpore et caudâ ὀφιοειδὲς, quadrupes, magnum, longitudine equi, et satis altum, robustâ pelle, ferrum non curans, sed bombardas, homines obviam venientes devorans: vinci tamen a catto uno, aut duobus, insidiantibus, insilientibus, oculos magnos eruentibus, et necantibus (Martinus Crusius, *Turcogræciæ*, lib. ii.).

[2] Meursius at least seems to have had considerable doubts as to Donatus' *bona fides* since, when chronicling another of his flights of imagination, he remarks: "Imposuit Martino Crusio, viro bono et erudito, Græculus ille Stamatius Donatus," an opinion which will find very general acceptance.

Meursius, Cyprus, lib. I., p. 71.

the same number for women also.[1] Some have since been dissolved, while others have been converted into parish churches. The names of those for men are :— Phil. Georgios, p. 41.

1. St. John Bibi. As this establishment will be more fully noticed elsewhere the mere mention of its name here will alone be sufficient.

2. St. George of Mankana,[2] situated on the outskirts of Nikosia was constructed by Helena Palæologos, the Greek consort of Jean II., about 1453 for the reception of certain fugitive monks, who had escaped to the island on the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. After existing for little more than a century it was demolished by the Venetians in 1567 when reconstructing the fortifications of the capital. Its endowment, which originally amounted to 1500 ducats annually, had by the end of the fifteenth century sunk to 600. The foundress had given orders that her interment should take place within the walls, but the Dominicans of Nikosia prevented their execution by refusing to deliver up the body. Strambaldi, p. 268. Lusignan, p. 60 (b). Fl. Boustron, p. 372. Hist. de Chyp., iii., p. 503.

3. Andrio and 4, Sergi Flatro are the names of the remaining two. According to Kyprianos one of these, though he is uncertain which, has since been converted into the Church of the Archangel Michael situated in the Tripioti quarter of the town, while all traces of the other seem to have totally disappeared. It was the hegoumenos of Andrio who officiated at all episcopal ordinations in the absence of any of the three remaining Orthodox prelates.[3] Kyprianos, p. 394. Lusignan, p. 32 (a).

But the list is by no means yet exhausted, for in the Constitutio Cypria (A.D. 1260)[4] mention is also made of the church or Raynaldi, ad ann. 1260, No. 49.

[1] Li Religiosi de' Monaci et Monache di San Basilio sono assai. De' Monaci in Nicosia sono 4: Bibi, Andrio, Manchana, et Sergi Flatro. De Monache 4; Palluriotissa, hora Santo Magedoni, Ienechio, Santi omnes, et Faneromeni.

[2] Et essendo che del 1453 ha tuolto l'infidel Turco Costantinopoli, ha fatto gran lamento la signora regina (Helena Paleologo) in Cipro; et venero in Cipro molte cose buone, et nobili monachi. Ha voluto et ha tuolto et fatto fabricar monasterio, fuori della città, nominato san Zorzi de Mangana; et ha fatto molte intrade nel ditto monasterio, per esser fatte le sue commemorationi; et così fanno fino al presente.

Fabricò un Monasterio greco detto Manchana, et donogli dui casali, et ornollo di privilegii.

Fece edificare il monastero di Mangana, et li diede casali ed entrate per più di 1500 ducati all' anno.

[3] Dipoi si fà consecrare da 3 altri vescovi greci, et se non saranno se non due, l'abbate del monasterio di Antrio debba supplire per l'altro absente.

[4] Præfato vero Germano archiepiscopo dictas sedem et ecclesiam de Solia, tam in spiritualibus, quam temporalibus, de eisdem consilio et potestate, committimus, sibi retentis semper dignitatis archiepiscopalis honore ac nomine,

monastery of St. Barnabas, which was assigned by Alexander IV. as an alternative residence for the then Orthodox primate, Germanos, in place of Solea. Moreover the letter written in 1223 by the Œcumenical Patriarch, Germanos, to the Cypriots mentions yet another called Apsinthi (*τῶν Ἀψινθίων*). But, as no particulars are given as to its position, it cannot with certainty be included among the monasteries of the capital. Its hegoumenos, Leontios, was one of the two delegates sent to Germanos at Nicæa after the expulsion of Archbishop Neophytos by the Latins.

The names of the houses for women as given by Lusignan are:—

1. Palluriotissa. 2. Ienechio. 3. All Saints, and 4, Phaneromene.

The two following lists show the monasteries, classed under their respective dioceses, as existing when Kyprianos wrote, and also at the present time. The second, which may be regarded as containing the latest information on the subject, being compiled from returns supplied to the Ecclesiastical Properties Commission lately sitting at Nikosia, is given exactly as received by the writer:—

### The Archbishopric.[1]

Kyprianos, p. 392.

1. Hagia Napa. 2. Mavrovouni. 3. Tochni. 4. Hagios Spyridon. 5. Hagios Anastasios. 6. Avgasis. 7. Kouratha. 8. Chordakii. 9. Apostolos Barnabas. 10. Kantara. 11. Kanakaria. 12. Hagia Photeine. 13. Makedonitissa. 14. Libadiotissa. 15. Neta. 16. Hagios Nikolaos of Davlos. 17. Hagios Kendeas. 18. Maloura. 19. Hagia Thekla. 20. Archangelos of Analiontа. 21. Machæra. 22. Prophetes Elias. 23. Hagios Herakleidios. 24. Hagios Mnason. 25. Hagios Panteleemon of Achera. 26. Palourgiotissa.

episcopaliter gubernandas; ita tamen quod ei sit liberum, vel in dicta sede de Solia, vel apud ecclesiam Græcorum beati Barnabæ Nicosiensis, quam ad episcopum sedis ejusdem, ex hujusmodi nostræ ordinationis beneficio, pertinere perpetuo volumus, pro libito commorari.

[1] *Archbishopric*:—

2. Mavrovouni (St. George). Buildings ruined except the church. Let as a farm.

8. Chordakiotissa (*τῶν Χορδακιῶν*), near Sotira, south of Famagusta. A church only exists which is reckoned as an appendix to Hagia Napa.

17. Hagios Kendeas, no monks there.

18. Maloura (Archangelos), near Goshi, a ruin.

19. Hagia Thekla, let as a farm.

23. Hagios Herakleides. In this monastery are preserved the relics of that

### Stauropegia.

1. Kykko. 2. Hagia Enklistra at Paphos. 3. Hagia Mone, Metochion of Kykko at Paphos. 4. Piani, Metochion of Kykko at Paphos. 5. Sinte, Metochion of Kykko at Paphos. 6. Hagios Nikolaos Stege at Solea. 7. Kathari at Kyrenia.

### Paphos.

1. Troöditissa. 2. Stavros of Omodos. 3. Hagii Anargyri of Phini. 4. Pente Litharia. 5. Stavros of Anogyra. 6. Hagios Sabbas. 7. Salamiou. 8. Haginikoloudin. 9. Hagios Georgios Koumanou. 10. Hagios Onesiphoros. 11. Chrysorrhogiatissa. 12. Stavros of Mitha. 13. Zalakia. 14. Chrysolakourna. 15. Hagii Anargyri of Giolo. 16. Hagios Nikolaos Nikoxylites.

### Kition.

1. Mesapotamos. 2. Hagios Nikolaos of Ergasterion. 3. Hagia Mavra. 4. Archangelos of Monagri. 5. Amasgou. 6. Sphalangiotissa. 7. Hagios Nikolaos of Akrotiri. 8. Amerou. 9. Stavrovouni. 10. Hagios Menas. 11. Stavros of Kouka. 12. Megas Agros. 13. Iamatike.

### Kyrenia.

1. Achiropietos. 2. Hagios Panteleemon of Myrtou. 3. Asinou. 4. Hagios Mamas of Morphou. 5. Podithou. 6. Ara-

saint. Kyprianos reports that it was restored by Archbishop Chrysanthos in 1775 at his own expense in memory of himself and his parents.

*Paphos :—*

3. Hagii Anargyri at Phini, only a church now exists there.

4. Pente Litharia is a ruin tolerably well preserved in the valley above Vasa, and midway between Omodos and Hagios Nikolaos.

6. Hagios Sabbas, now a ruin.

10. Hagios Onesiphoros. Only a church now exists there.

13. Zalakia, at Peyia, no monks there.

14. Chrysolakourna, at Steni, in ruins.

*Kition :—*

5. Amasgou, no monks there.

9. Stavrovouni (Santa Croce), has only one monk and one acolyte. Property let as a farm.

10. Hagios Menas, no monks, let as a farm.

11. Stavros of Kouka, only a church now exists.

*Kyrenia :—*

7. Hagios Joannes Lampadistes, a large monastery in the Marathasa Real between Moutoulla and Kalopanagiotis. The church, which is united to that of Hagios Herakleides, contains a beautiful silver reliquary, within which is the head of the former saint.

9. Hagia Argia, at Chakistra, in ruins.

kas. 7. Hagios Joannes Lampadistes. 8. Trikoukkia. 9. Hagia Argia. 10. Malandrina. 11. Antiphonetes.

### Monasteries of the Holy Sepulchre and Sinai.

1. Chrysostomos (Holy Sepulchre).
2. Basilia (Sinai).
3. Rhigiate (Sinai).
4. Pyrgiote (Holy Sepulchre).
5. Eleousa (Sinai).

### Archiepiscopal See.[1]

1. Ayia Thekla. 2. Archangelos Mallouras. 3. Panayia Theotokos. 4. Palourghiotissa (Panayia). 5. Ayios Pandelei-

[1] The following table shows as far as possible the position of the monasteries given in the above list with respect to the civil divisions of the island. Names in italics have not been identified.

#### Archbishopric.

District of Larnaka, 1, 2, 17.
Nahieh of Deyirmenlik, 3, 4.
Nahieh of Dagh, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.
Nahieh of Famagusta, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.
Nahieh of Mesaoria, 18.
Nahieh of Karpas, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.
Nahieh of Paphos, 30.
Nahieh of Levka, 29.
District of Kyrenia, 28.

#### Independent Monasteries.

Nahieh of Levka, 1.
Nahieh of Dagh, 2.
District of Kyrenia, 3, 4, 8.
Nahieh of Karpas, 6.
Nahieh of Larnaka, 5.
Nahieh of Paphos, 7.

#### See of Paphos.

Nahieh of Kelokedara, 1, 9.
Nahieh of Kilani, 2, 3, 10, 11.
Nahieh of Paphos, 4, 5, 6, 8.
Nahieh of Chrysochou, 7.

#### See of Kition.

District of Larnaka, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.
Nahieh of Limassol, 6, 7, 8, 9.
Nahieh of Kilani, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

#### See of Kyrenia.

District of Kyrenia, 1, 3, 4.
Nahieh of Morphou, 2, 5, 7, 8, 10.
Nahieh of Levka, 6, 11, 12.
Nahieh of Mesaoria, 13.

mon Acheras. 6. Ayios Heraclidios. 7. Ayios Mnason. 8. Archangelos Analiondas. 9. Makedonitissa. 10. Nettas. 11. Kanakarias. 12. Ayia Photou. 13. Kyras. 14. Kantara. 15. Ayios Nikolaos Davlos. 16. Apostolos Andreas. 17. Ayios Yeorghios Mavrovouniou. 18. Ayios Spiridon. 19. Avgasida. 20. Ayios Anastasios. 21. Tochniou. 22. Ayios Napas. 23. Apostolos Loukas (Varoshia). 24. Ayios Ioannis Kourada. 25. Apostolos Varnavas. 26. Ayios Kondea. 27. Chordakioi. 28. Kathares. 29. Ayios Nikolaos Steghis. 30. Ayios Neophytos Enklistras.

### Independent Monasteries.

1. Kikko. 2. Machera. 3. Ayios Taphos. (Sinaitic Monasteries, 4. Vassilia. 5. Psevda. 6. Eleoussa. 7. Ktima.) 8. Ayios Pandeleimon.

### See of Paphos and Dependent Monasteries.

1. Chrysoriatissa. 2. Troödítissa. 3. Stavros Omodhou. 4. Zalakia at Peyia. 5. Ayios Nikolaos at Chloraka. 6. Stavros Mythas at Tsada. 7. Ayi Anarghiri at Yolou. 8. Ayios Onesiforos at Anarida. 9. Ayios Savas at Prastio. 10. Ayi Anarghiri at Phini. 11. Tis Panayias at Arsos. 12. *Ayios Yeorgios* at Kteriou.

### See of Kitium.

1. Ayios Yeorghios tou Kontou. 2. Ayios Yeorghios tou Makri. 3. Stavrou. 4. Ayia Varvara. 5. Ayios Minas. 6. Ayios Nikolaos (Limassol). 7. Ayios Nikolaos (Akrotiri). 8. Panayia Sphalanghiotissa (village of Ayios Athanasios). 9. Panayia Amerou (at Apshou). 10. Archangelos (near Monagri). 11. Ayia Mavra (near Kilani). 12. Stavrou (Koukka). 13. Panayia Agrou (near village of Agros). 14. Prodromos, called Mesa Potamos (near Moniati).

### See of Kyrenia.

1. Metropolis Myrtou. 2. Ayios Nikolaos (Orounda). 3. Acheropiyito. 4. Melandrina. 5. Ayia Mamma of Morphou. 6. Skourokotissis tis Theotokou. 7. Podithou. 8. Aratiou. 9. *Apostolos Andreas*. 10. Stavros Diasmati. 11. Trikoukies Theotokou. 12. Ayios Yannis tou Lambadistou. 13. Trimithiou.

*Notes.*

(1) A MS. copy of the *Ritual Ordinance* of Neophytos by one Basil, who is described therein as a priest, instructor and notary (*ἱερεὺς, διδάσκαλος, καὶ ταβουλλάριος*) of the diocese of Paphos was published with an introduction in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., by Rev. F. E. Warren in 1881. The learned editor assigns the original work of Neophytos to some period between A.D. 1209 and A.D. 1214. But internal evidence proves conclusively that it must be definitely ascribed to the last-mentioned year. In Basil's copy, to which alone Mr. Warren had access, several chapters are wanting, that are to be found in the edition published by the Archimandrite Kyprianos in 1779 (*i.e.* chh. 5, 6, 7, 8). Among those preserved in the latter is one (ch. 5), which shows that he first settled at Enklistra in A.D. 1159, *Ἐν ἔτει ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ ἑξακοσιοστῷ ἑξηκοστῷ ἑβδόμῳ* (6667-5508 = 1159), *Ἰνδικτιῶνος ἑβδομῆς, μηνὶ Ἰουνίῳ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ, ἐν τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου, εἰς τὸ ῥηθεν σπήλαιον προσφοιτήσας, ἦν ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι.* Neophytos states, moreover, further on (ch. 10), that fifty-five years had then elapsed since the foundation of the monastery, *Ἰδοὺ γὰρ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα παρίππευσαν ἔτη, ἀφ' ὅτου ἡ Ἐγκλείστρα αὕτη κατεσκευάσθη.* This would consequently fix the date as A.D. 1214 (*i.e.* 1159 + 55). The correctness of this view is strengthened, too, by another consideration. Neophytos represents his age in 1159 as twenty-five, his birth must therefore have taken place in A.D. 1134 (*i.e.* 1159 − 25). He states (ch. 1) that he undertook the second edition of his *Ordinance* after his sojourn at Enklistra had lasted for fifty-five years (ch. 1), *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγὸς τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου παρέτεινε χρόνον, καὶ παρίππευσαν ἤδη πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, καὶ χρεία γέγονε διαθήκης ἑτέρας.* He must thus have been eighty at the time. Since he was born in 1134 the date of its composition is clearly shown to be A.D. 1214 (*i.e.* 1134 + 80).

Mr. Warren seems, moreover, mistaken in supposing Neophytos to have been fifty-five when he wrote the original *Typike Diatheke*. The saint himself says (ch. 1) that he undertook it after he had sojourned eight years in the cave, *μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐγκλείστρᾳ καθήρξεώς μου*, which would give the date A.D. 1167 when he was thirty-three.

(2) Constantinople would appear to have been the fortunate possessor of more than one portrait of the Blessed Virgin reputed to be the work of the Evangelist St. Luke. From a letter of Innocent III. we learn that there was in that city a special treasure of the kind, which was an object of the deepest veneration to the Orthodox from the idea that it was animated by the soul of the Theotokos herself. This, which was preserved in a chapel attached to one of the imperial palaces, Henri, the Latin Emperor (A.D. 1206-A.D. 1216) shortly after the capture of Constantinople agreed with the Latin Patriarch to have transferred with certain other relics to the Cathedral of Santa Sophia. Raynaldi, ad ann. 1207, Nos. 19, 20.

On hearing of this arrangement the Venetian *podestà* appeared with a body of his compatriots before the Patriarch, Tommaso Morosini, and demanded the eikon on the ground that the Emperor had promised it to him. The Patriarch refused to surrender the relic, ironically adding that the *podestà* might have it if he could find it in the cathedral, which he knew was not likely, as the building was closed and the picture secured under a treble lock in the sacristy. The *podestà* failing to get the church opened lowered one of his companions inside by means of a rope. This individual, not being able after repeated search to find the object of his quest, by his leader's orders burst open one of the great doors of the church, on which the rest rushed violently in and being guided by a certain Greek to the place, where the eikon was concealed, battered in the doors of the sacristy. News of these lawless proceedings reaching the ears of Morosini he hastened at once to the cathedral, and ordered the robbers to desist from their act of sacrilege under pain of excommunication. They, however, paid no heed to his threats, but laying forcible hands on the picture carried it off to the church known to the Greeks as Pantokrator. Morosini, thereupon, proceeded in the most solemn and public manner to pass sentence of excommunication, which was confirmed the same day by the Papal Legate. On Morosini reporting to Innocent what had occurred the Pope upheld the action of his representatives at Constantinople and confirmed the sentence they had already pronounced.

(3) In the *Ritual Ordinance* of the monk Nilos mention is made of a donation of twelve hyperpyra to the monastery of Machæra by the Emperor Isaac (II.) Angelos, "*ἀπεχαρίσατο τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ Μονῇ—καὶ ἐκκοπὴν νομισμάτων ὑπερπύρων δώδεκα*

(p. 16, § 22). The *ὑπέρπυρον*, a gold coin of the Byzantine Empire, derived its name from its colour. To the Crusaders it was known as a besant from the city in which it was minted. Guillaume de Tyr mentions it in his description of the dowry which the Emperor Manuel Komnenos presented to his niece, Theodora, the daughter of his brother Isaac, the Sebastokrator, on her marriage with Baudouin III., King of Jerusalem, in September 1158: "Dotis autem quantitas erat in centum millibus Hyperperorum, justi ponderis, exceptis decem aliis ejusdem monetæ millibus, quos dominus imperator ad opus nuptialium expensarum liberaliter concessit".

Guil. Tyren. lib. xviii., c. 22.

Cf. Beveridge, Pandectæ, tom ii., Annotat, p. 168.

(4) *Σταυροπήγιον*, *i.e.*, the fixing of the cross, the name applied to the ceremony observed in the Orthodox Church at the foundation of an ecclesiastical building, is conducted as follows. Before the erection of a church or monastery the bishop of the diocese, in which it is situated, proceeds to the site selected and, after certain forms and prayers, places the first stone in position, having previously marked it with a cross. Sometimes, however, he employs a wooden cross instead, in the centre of which he first traces another cross and then hands it to one of the attendant clergy to carve out. On receiving it back he next places it in the middle of the proposed building to serve as a foundation stone. As soon as this is done the work of construction is proceeded with. The effect of the ceremony is to bring the building, within which it takes place, under the jurisdiction of the local diocesan. There is, moreover, another kind called *πατριαρχικὸν σταυροπήγιον*, in which the Patriarch, and not the bishop of the diocese, plays the principal *rôle* in the proceedings. The monastery or church then becomes exempt from all local control and vested in the Patriarch only. In this case the latter issues to his exarch, or some bishop whom he selects, his licence for the foundation and consecration, and causes a wooden cross to be constructed, on one side of which the patriarchal notaries inscribe the names of the saint, to whom the building is to be dedicated, of the city and province in which it is situated, and of the Patriarch authorising its erection, on the other the date and name of the reigning sovereign. This cross he forwards to the local diocesan, who places it in a certain raised receptacle behind the altar, after laying the foundation in the manner already described. This prerogative was in course of time so abused that metropolitans and bishops loudly protested against its exercise, but Balsamon,

Balsamon, In Apost. Can., No. 31.

himself a Patriarch, defends it on the score of ancient usage, while also arguing that, as the whole Christian world has been divided among the Patriarchs, they have the power of withdrawing whatever places they please within their respective Sees from the jurisdiction of their suffragans and placing them under their own immediate supervision.

Neale ventures the opinion that this custom was confined to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, and was adopted by the Jacobite Patriarchs of Alexandria. Monasteries so constituted were known as *σταυροπήγια*. Since the Archbishop of Cyprus holds within the confines of that island the same position as the Œcumenical Patriarch in his See, he stands in the same relation to these stauropegic communities within his jurisdiction as that ecclesiastic does towards those in the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Neale, Holy Eastern Ch., Introduct., vol. ii., p. 1041, note c.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### The Saints of Cyprus.

### (1). *The Native Saints.*

FOR so small a community the Church of Cyprus is singularly rich in the number of those who have acquired a reputation for sanctity. Almost every village would seem at one time or another to have had its local celebrity, whose name is still regarded with veneration. Indeed, so great was their number that there were more than 100 villages fortunate enough to possess three, and even four, of these saintly personages.[1]

Lusignan, p. 27 (a). Cf. p. 28 (b).

Foremost among them all stands Barnabas (11th June)—the patron and pride of the island Church—a native of Salamis on the eastern coast.[2] Holy Scripture is silent regarding the events of his early history. For them recourse must be had to a work of the sixth century, the production of one Alexander, a monk and fellow-countryman of the Apostle. Its statements, though perhaps often open to doubt, are at least of some value as showing the traditions current in the Cypriot Church when it was written. From it we learn that Barnabas' ancestors, men of substance and position at Jerusalem, and zealous upholders of the Law, were compelled to leave their native land on account of the frequent wars, which devastated it, and to settle in Cyprus. While the saint was still a youth his parents took him to the Holy City for his religious education and placed him

Cf. Lusignan, Description, etc., p. 23 (a).

Kyprianos, p. 345.

Alexandri Monachi Laudatio in Apostolum Barnabam (Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. lxxxvii., pars. 3, pp. 4087-4106).

cc. v.-ix.

[1] In più di cento casali si ritrovano ò uno, ò 3, ò 4, santi di Cipro.

Se io volessi scrivere li Santi et Reliquie et le Immagini che si ritrovano in Cipro, veramente empirei gran fascio di carta.

Cf. Lusignan, Description, etc., p. 64 (b).

Pour le faire brief, tous les Saincts que j'ay cy dessus nommez en l'Isle de Cypre sont en nombre cent sept: en ce non compris ceux, desquels les noms me sont incognus. Quant aux corps de ceux de pais estrange, qui neantmois reposent en Cypre, je trouve qu'il y en a trois cens quinze.

[2] Kyprianos styles him: "*πρωτόθρονος τῆς Νήσου καὶ Κορυφὴ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων Κυπρίων*".

under the care of the celebrated Gamaliel, where he is said to have had Paul as a fellow-student. It was at the pool of Bethesda that Barnabas first met the Saviour. Filled with astonishment at the cure there wrought on the paralytic and the many other marvels which he witnessed in the Temple, he threw himself at Christ's feet and besought His blessing. Upon the departure of the latter to Galilee Barnabas accompanied Him and on the selection of the Seventy was placed at their head.[1] Hearing the Lord preach from the words: "Sell that ye have and give alms," he was so moved that he immediately disposed of the property left him by his parents and distributed the proceeds among the poor, reserving only one field for his own support. Later on he parted even with that and brought to the Apostles the entire sum realised by its sale. It is reported that he was wont to hold disputations with Paul, whom he earnestly sought to convert to the new faith. But the latter resolutely opposed all such attempts, ridiculing Barnabas as being himself the victim of a delusion, and blaspheming the name of Christ. Whom he taunted with His humble origin and ignominious death. Of the events which occurred during his first visit to Cyprus in company with Paul and Mark the few notices recorded in the Acts are all that we possess. Holy Scripture supplies no information whatever concerning Barnabas' subsequent career. There are, however, various traditionary accounts which, though now universally rejected, appear to have been received without question by the Cypriot writers. Lusignan tells us that after becoming Bishop of Salamis he went by direction of St. Peter into Italy.[2] At Rome he converted St. Clement, whom he sent to St. Peter at Antioch for baptism and further instruction. Next he visited Milan, of which town he became the first bishop. After remaining there a short time and appointing a successor he came to Bergamo, where he consecrated as bishop his disciple Narnus. From

St. John, v. 2.

St. Luke, xii. 33.

Acts, iv. 36.

Clementine, Homilies, bk. i.
Ibid., Recognitions bk. i.
Lusignan, p. 23 (a).
Kyprianos, p. 345.

[1] Eusebios (H. E., lib. i., cap. 12) and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. ii.) reckon Barnabas among the Seventy, but they make no mention of his leadership.

[2] Dipoi da Pietro Apostolo fù mandato in Italia, et questo fù il primo che convertì Roma nella fede et San Clemente quale mandolo in Antiochia da Pietro à confirmarlo et battizzarlo. Dipoi fù fatto Vescovo primo di Milano, dove dimorato alcuni giorni, instituì un'altro in suo luogo, et esso andò et convertì Bergamo, et v'instituì Vescovo Narno suo discepolo, et andò à Brescia, et fece il medesimo. All'ultimo ritornò in Salamina, dove dalli Giudei et da Barieu mago fù martirizato, et da suo consobrino fù sepelito in una caverna con l'Evangelio scritto da San Matteo di propria mano: et al tempo di Zenone Imperatore fù trovato, come dicemmo, in Salamina.

Bergamo he went to Brescia, returning subsequently to Salamis, where he met a martyr's death.

Acta et Passio Barnabæ in Cypro (Acta Sanctorum, 11th Junii)

In an apocryphal work of the fifth century, the reputed author of which was his kinsman, John Mark, we find a somewhat more detailed description of the incidents connected with his second visit to Cyprus and the closing scenes of his life. Barnabas and his companion soon after landing encountered, we are told, at a place called Kromiakiates two temple slaves (*ἱερόδουλοι*),[1] Timon and Aristion, who received them hospitably. The former was suffering from a severe fever, which the new-comers miraculously cured. At Lapithos, where the idol sacrifices were taking place in the theatre, they were refused admission by the inhabitants. Accordingly crossing the mountains in company with Timon to his native village, Lampadista, they there fell in with Herakleon, who had come from Tamasos to visit his relatives.[2] Him Barnabas recognised as having met at Kition during his former visit and now consecrated Bishop of Cyprus, assigning to him as his church a cave near the city of Tamasos. After partaking of his hospitality the two missionaries continued their journey to Old Paphos, where they found another temple slave named Rhodon, whom they converted to the faith. Here they also encountered their former adversary, the sorcerer Bar-Jesus, who denied them entrance to that town. Retracing their steps they next made their way to Kurion. On the hill near this city they witnessed a race by naked men and women, a sight which Barnabas indignantly reproved. Immediately on the words leaving his lips part of the hill to the west of the place fell in, killing and maiming many of the competitors, upon which the survivors fled for refuge to the neighbouring temple of Apollo.[3] Unable to gain admission into Kurion through the opposition of an excited Jewish crowd headed by Bar-Jesus they spent the night under the shelter of a tree outside the walls. The next day they made their way to a village, where resided a certain Aristoklianos, whom Paul and Barnabas after

[1] Hierodouloi were persons of both sexes who were devoted like slaves to the worship of the gods. They were of Eastern origin and are most frequently met with in connection with the deities of Syria, Phœnicia and Asia Minor.

[2] That this work was written by some one well acquainted with Cyprus is evident from the topographical knowledge displayed, *e.g.* the mountain Barnabas and his companions are said to have crossed is called Chionodes, *i.e.* Troödos, still known to the natives as Chionistra (*Χιόνιστρα*), the snow peak.

Sakellarios, Κυπριακά, tom. i., p. 76.

[3] The remains of this building are still to be seen and the site is locally known as Apello.

*Ἤδη δὲ καλεῖται Ἀπέλλο ἐκ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.*

curing of leprosy at Antioch had raised to the episcopate and sent to labour among his heathen compatriots in Cyprus. After partaking of his hospitality the Apostles rested for one day in a mountain cave and then directed their steps to Amathus, where they found a great concourse of worshippers engaged in celebrating the impure rites of their deities. Here again Bar-Jesus made his appearance and so excited the Jews against the travellers that they would have found it impossible to enter this city also had not a poor widow, eighty years of age, received them into her house. After a stay of one hour under her roof they departed, Barnabas, when opposite the principal temple of the city, shaking the dust off his feet as a protest against the impure rites carried on within. From Amathus their route lay towards Kition. But hearing that a great crowd was assembled on the race-course to dispute their passage they decided to halt instead outside the city gate near the aqueduct. At Kition they took ship for Salamis and landed in the district called the "Islands," the inhabitants of which were noted idolaters. In another part of the same town, known as Biblia, they found a synagogue, into which they entered. Here Barnabas at first met with great success in his evangelistic labours, converting numbers of the Jews. But two days after their arrival Bar-Jesus, who had dogged their steps from Amathus, appeared once more upon the scene. Excited to fury at the progress already made their relentless enemy got together the entire Jewish population of the town and proceeded to lay hands on Barnabas. Loading him with chains they were about to bring him before Hypatius, the Prætor, when the unexpected arrival in the island of a kinsman of the Emperor Nero caused his persecutors to change their plans. Evidently fearing lest the new-comer might interfere on behalf of their prisoner they hurried Barnabas by night with a rope round his neck to the hippodrome without the city gate, where they burnt him alive. To prevent his followers from getting possession of the remains they wrapped them the same night in a linen cloth, with a mass of lead attached, intending to sink them in the sea. But Mark, with the assistance of Timon and Rhodon, watching his opportunity carried them off under cover of darkness and buried them in the recesses of a cave, where he and his companions also took refuge (11th June, A.D. 102). The Jews searched diligently for the thieves, and at last discovering their hiding place followed them to Ledra, until the latter baffled their pursuers by again taking refuge in a cave near that city. Three days afterwards

(Cir. A.D. 56 or 57 is the more probable date.)

they left their place of concealment and came to Limneti. Here they found a ship bound for Alexandria, in which they embarked and so got away.

Alexandri Monachi Laudatio, cc. 18-22.

The story of the martyrdom is, however, somewhat differently related by Alexander. According to him it was Barnabas' custom every Sabbath Day, while at Salamis, to go to the Synagogue and enter into friendly discussion with the worshippers, who received him well until some Jews from Syria by their misrepresentations caused a revulsion of feeling. The Apostle, though he noted the change in their attitude towards him, and knew that it boded him no good, would not discontinue his visits, but resolved to meet his fate, whatever it might be, with Christian fortitude. On the day of his death, after celebrating the Eucharist with his friends and bidding them farewell, he entered the Synagogue as usual, having previously given directions to Mark concerning his burial, and charging him to go, when all was over, to Paul at Ephesus. The Jews from Syria, excited to fury at his presence, suddenly rose up in their places and laying hands upon him thrust him into a dark cell adjoining the Synagogue. Late the same night they led him forth to his doom and after many tortures stoned him to death. His body they next placed upon a huge pyre with the intention of consuming it to ashes, but it most marvellously resisted the action of the flames. Mark, thereupon, carried off the remains and secretly buried them in a cave, which lay about five furlongs to the west of Salamis. Soon after the death of Barnabas a fierce persecution arose against the Christians and thus all knowledge of the place of interment was completely lost, until it was miraculously revealed by the saint himself in the reign of the Emperor Zeno. For many years prior to the discovery of his tomb mysterious cures of persons afflicted with unclean spirits and various diseases are reported to have taken place in its vicinity, which procured for the spot the name of the "Place of Healing".

In the same writer there is preserved to us a sketch of Barnabas' appearance and character, which is not without interest. His expression, according to his biographer, was dignified, his eyebrows somewhat close together, while his eyes, which had a kind expression, were mild and serious in aspect. His countenance was indicative of sincerity and, though a pleasant and persuasive speaker, he was very sparing of his words. His demeanour was quiet and free from display, and in all his actions he showed himself to be a man replete with every virtue.

Aristion is identified by one of the island historians with the individual of the same name stated by Eusebios to have been a disciple of the Lord and one of the "elders," from whom Papias derived his traditional information. Another of them reckons him among the number of the seventy-two disciples and says that he suffered martyrdom at Salamis, where he was also buried. The Acts of Barnabas, however, distinctly state that he was a temple slave prior to his conversion by that Apostle on the occasion of his second visit. The Menology (3rd Sept.), makes mention of an Aristion, but reports that he was Bishop of Alexandria, where he was put to death by being thrown into a furnace. Le Quien places him immediately after Barnabas in his list of the Archbishops of Cyprus. His festival day in the island appears to have corresponded with the date given in the Roman Martyrology, *viz.*, 22nd February.

Kyprianos, p. 346.
Eusebios, H. E., lib. iii., c. 39.
Jerome, De Vir. Illustr., c. 18.
Lusignan, p. 27 (b).
Le Quien, O.C., ii., col. 1043-44.

Aristobulos is said to have been a brother of the Apostle Barnabas and like him one of the Seventy. According to the Greek Menology (15th March), he was the constant companion and attendant of the Apostle Paul in his travels and was by him consecrated Bishop of Britain, where he died. His memory is further commemorated on 31st October in conjunction with Stachys, Amplias, Urban and Narkissos.

Kyprianos, p. 346.

Aristokles (23rd June), a native of Tamasos, where he was a priest, flourished in the year A.D. 302. In the reign of the Emperor Maximian he fled to the mountains to escape the persecution then directed against the Christians, and hid in a cave. One day while praying he saw an exceedingly bright light and heard a heavenly voice bidding him go to Salamis and there suffer martyrdom. He wended his way accordingly to Salamis and at the Church of St. Barnabas met with the deacon Demetrianos and the reader Athanasios, to whom he related the reason of his journey. On hearing the story they, fired with enthusiasm and holy zeal, resolved to share his sufferings and death. Coming into Salamis the three companions soon attracted the notice of the governor who, on learning from their own lips that they were Christians, caused Aristokles to be flayed alive and then beheaded. Seeing that the other two were not to be shaken in their belief by what had befallen their friend he next subjected them to torture, and gave orders that they should be cast into a fire. But by the help of Christ they

Synaxaristes (23rd June).

were miraculously enabled to bid defiance to the flames, whereupon he caused them to be beheaded also.

Cf. Excerpta Cypria, pp. 242, 243.

Demetrianos (6th Nov.), a native of the village of Syka in the district of Ketheria, was connected with the service of the Church from his earliest years. After much opposition he consented at his parents' entreaties to take a wife, but being left a widower three months after marriage he became a monk. At the request of Bishop Eustathios[1] he allowed himself to be ordained a monk, and was subsequently appointed to the Bishopric of Ketheria (Chytri). During his occupation of the See occurred one of the numerous Moslem invasions, to which for some centuries the island was so frequently exposed. Many of his flock among others were carried away by the raiders to Egypt. The good bishop, commiserating the fate of his co-religionists, followed them into captivity and by his intervention secured their release and restoration to their native land. He is reported to have died a natural death at an advanced age.

Lusignan, p. 23 (b). Kyprianos, p. 346. Cf. Coloss., IV. 12.

Epaphras, or Epaphroditos. The native writers refer these two names to the same person, whom they claim as a compatriot, though he is generally supposed to have been a citizen of Colossæ. He is reckoned by them as one of the Seventy and is said to have been Bishop of Acte Argeion, called also Adriake, where he suffered martyrdom.[2] His skull and tomb were still to be seen at Nisou near Nikosia when Kyprianos wrote.[3] In the life of Auxibios, Bishop of Soli, it is stated that St. Paul on hearing from Mark of the death of Barnabas, as there was then no apostle in Cyprus, sent Epaphras among others to Herakleides, Archbishop of the island, that he might be consecrated for the See of Paphos. He is also stated to have been

Acta Sanctorum (19th Feb.).

[1] The mention of Eustathios enables us to approximately determine the saint's date, as that prelate was probably the Bishop of Soli, who was present at and signed the decrees of the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787). The invasion of Cyprus was most likely the one carried out by Harun-al-Rashid during the reign of Nikephoros I. (A.D. 802-A.D. 811). The invaders are described as the barbarians of Babylonia, and the place, to which the captives were carried, as Babylon. This, however, was not the famous city in Mesopotamia, but another on the right bank of the Nile, called now Baboul or Old Cairo, from the settlement there of some Babylonians by the Persians. This, too, is proved by the statement of the legend itself, which represents the bishop like another Jeremiah following the captives to Babylon (Egypt).

Lusignan, p. 23 (b).

[2] Questo fù Vescovo di Acta Argivorum città di Cipro li Latini chiamano Andriace, et li Greci la chiamano Edriargi. Fù martirizato in quella città.

[3] Εἰς χώριον Νῆσον εὕρηται τὸ μνῆμά του, καὶ ἡ ἁγία αὐτοῦ Κάρα.

the successor of Sosthenes in the See of Colophon in Lydia.[1] The Menology commemorates him on 9th December.

Herakleides, whose name originally was Herakleon until changed by St. Paul, was converted to the faith at Kition on the first visit of the two Apostles to Cyprus. Barnabas is said to have met him again on his second visit,[2] when he consecrated him bishop of the island and placed him over the church of Tamasos. In the life of Auxibios, Bishop of Soli, it is stated that Barnabas found him presiding over the diocese of Salamis on his return. Le Quien places him third on the list of Archbishops of Cyprus, as well as first among the Bishops of Tamasos. Lusignan calls him Heraclio and does not mention his occupation of the See of Salamis, but says that he was Bishop of Tamasos, where he was martyred.[3] Kyprianos further adds that his memory was celebrated on the same day (17th Sept.), with that of another occupant of the See, Myron.

Acta et Passio Barnabæ. c. 13.

Acta Sanct. (19th Feb.).

Le Quien, O.C., ii., coll. 1243-44.

Lusignan, p. 26 (a).

Kyprianos, p. 348.

According to the Synaxarion contained in the local office of the saint, in which he is called Herakleidios, he was the son of a heathen priest named Hierokleos. It was at the village of Lampatiston that the two Apostles are said to have first met him. His father seeing that they were strangers offered them hospitality, as was his wont. Though they refused his invitation, being unwilling to eat with one who ministered at an idol shrine, they requested him to furnish them with a guide to direct them on their journey. Herakleides was accordingly sent by his father to show them the way. Seeing that he was intelligent and eager to learn, Paul and Barnabas explained to him the mysteries of Christianity. In consequence of their teaching Herakleides believed and, after receiving baptism, was appointed first pastor of the church at Tamasos. During his career as a bishop he is reported to have built churches, cured diseases, raised the dead, cast out devils, and worked innumerable other wonders. He was burnt at last by the idolaters together with Myron, his successor in the See of Tamasos. Even so late as

Cf. Excerpta Cypria, p. 244.

[1] Ὁ δὲ Ἐπαφρόδιτος—ἔγινεν Ἐπίσκοπος Κολοφῶνος μετὰ τὸν Σωσθένη. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χειρογράφῳ Συναξαριστῇ γράφεται ὅτι ὁ Ἐπαφρόδιτος οὗτος ἔγινεν Ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Κύπρῳ τῇ οὕτω καλουμένῃ Ἀδριακῇ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκεῖ διὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας του προσοικείωσε τῷ Χριστῷ.

Synaxaristes, tom. i., p. 334. Ibid., note 3.

[2] Local tradition, however, represents his consecration as taking place during the first visit of the Apostles.

[3] Heraclio santo fù Vescovo della città di Thamasso, et fù martirizato anchora nella predetta città.

1769 his miraculous powers do not seem to have entirely deserted him, as the following well-attested story proves: A certain Haji Savas, an inhabitant of the Phaneromene quarter of Nikosia, had a son named John, the victim of demoniacal possession. During a festival held in honour of Herakleides the parents brought the child to the saint's shrine in hopes that the latter might do something to alleviate his sufferings. While the Holy Mysteries were being celebrated a most strange occurrence took place. The boy suddenly falling to the ground in convulsions began to vomit, when to the astonishment of the beholders his ghostly tormentor issued forth in the shape of a snake, a span long, and two crabs. These reptiles were afterwards hung up publicly in the church to confirm the faith of the credulous and to silence the cavils of the unbelievers.

Lusignan, p. 25 (a). Kyprianos, p. 350.

Leontios, Bishop of Neapolis, who flourished during the reign of the Emperor Maurice (A.D. 582-A.D. 602), appears to have been a voluminous writer. Among other things we owe to his pen the biographies of St. John the Almsgiver and St. Simeon Salus. His apologies against the Jews and in defence of images were quoted at the fourth session of the Second Council of Nicæa (A.D. 787).

Cf. St. John Damasc, Orat. I., De Imagin, sec. 24.

Lusignan, p. 26 (b). Kyprianos, p. 347.

Markellos is stated to have flourished during the reign of the Emperor Theodosius I. (A.D. 379-A.D. 395). He at first exercised civil authority in Cyprus, where by his good government he acquired considerable renown. Subsequently at the request of the inhabitants of Apamea in Syria he was consecrated their bishop. Here he distinguished himself by his zeal in the destruction of the heathen temples in his diocese, whose continued existence he regarded as perpetuating idolatrous tendencies among the people. The story of his martyrdom is told as follows in the Menology (14th Aug.): On one occasion with the help of some soldiers and gladiators he attempted to destroy the great temple of Zeus. But the god successfully resisted all attempts either to level or set fire to his sanctuary, until the prelate sprinkled the pile of logs with holy water, when its destruction was immediately effected. The pagans, excited to fury by the loss of the object of their veneration, seized and hurled the destroyer into the midst of the flames, where he met a martyr's death. His sons would have avenged him, but were dissuaded from their purpose by the provincial synod held in A.D. 391.

Mark (30th Oct.), the cousin of Barnabas[1] and like him a native of Salamis, is said to have been one of the Seventy.[2] He is commonly supposed to have been the founder and first bishop of the Church of Alexandria and to have suffered martyrdom there. The Cypriots, however, say that after the death of Barnabas he crossed over into Asia and became bishop of Apollonia, where he was martyred.

Cf. Coloss., iv 10. Lusignan, p. 23 (a). Kyprianos, p. 346.

Mnason (19th Oct.), at whose house St. Paul lodged during his last visit to Jerusalem, was a Cypriot by birth. Local tradition represents him to have been one of the Seventy. He is reported to have suffered a martyr's death.[4] Cypriot sources supply further information concerning him which is not to be found elsewhere. According to the legends he was a native of Tamasos and the child of idolaters. While on a visit with a friend named Theonas to Jerusalem the two met with John the Divine who, after instructing them in the doctrines of Christianity, counselled them to return, as Paul and Barnabas were in Cyprus. On reaching Tamasos they found the two Apostles engaged in missionary work there, as he had said. Mnason they ordained a monk for his knowledge of Scripture, while his companion, Theonas, they appointed a reader. The story goes that one day Mnason leaving the cave near the city, in which the little congregation of Christians used to meet for worship, walked through the streets of Tamasos until he came to a temple dedicated to Asklepios (Æsculapius). Moved with indignation at the sight of the heathen shrine he ordered it in the name of Jesus Christ to come down. The idols at his word immediately fell shattered to the ground. The heathen priests seeing what had been done ran off to tell the people, who rushed upon the saint to kill him. But Mnason breathing upon

Lusignan, p. 23 (b). 3 Kyprianos, p. 346. Acts xxi. 16.

Cf. Excerpta Cypria, p. 245.

[1] Kyprianos describes Mark as *ὁ ἀνέψιος αὐτοῦ* (*i.e.* *Βαρνάβα*) *καὶ Μαρίας τῆς ἀνεψιᾶς Βαρνάβα.*

The Synaxaristes appears to have fallen into a curious mistake regarding Mark's relationship to Barnabas :—

Synaxaristes, tom. i., p. 207.

*Μάρκος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Βαρνάβα ἀνέψιος ἐξ ἀδελφοῦ.*

[2] The testimony of Papias as given by Eusebios directly contradicts this tradition.

Eusebios, H. E., lib. iii., c. 39.

[3] Lusignan makes the following extraordinary statement with regard to Mnason, whom he calls Naasone: "Nel 21 primo de gli Atti Apostolici lo chiamano Jasone: Hospitaremur Jasonem quemdam Cyprium antiquum discipulum". Jason of Thessalonica entertained Paul and Silas, and was in consequence attacked by the Jewish mob (Acts xvii. 5, 6, 7, 9). The worthy ecclesiastic would seem to have confused the two hosts of St. Paul with one another

[4] The Synaxaristes gives 18th Oct., as his feast day.

his assailants blinded them, nor would he consent to restore their sight until they had promised to become believers. As a result of this adventure 300 of them received the rite of baptism. Many stories, as usual, are related of the wonderful things he is said to have done. A woman named Trophime having lost her son from the bite of a snake besought the saint to restore the child to life, whereupon Herakleides, who seems to have been present also on the occasion, by his prayers raised him from the dead. Overcome with joy the mother herself next expired, but at the intercession of Mnason the same miracle was wrought in her case too. In consequence of these marvels 400 more were added to the Church. At another time he intervened to protect a poor Christian from the ill-usage of a heathen money-lender, in whose debt he was. The usurer, resenting the interference of the saint, abused him and threatened to strike him, when his uplifted arm suddenly became withered and immovable. But upon his promising to forgive his debtor Mnason restored the use of it to him, upon which he was at once baptised with all his household. Shortly before Herakleides' death Mnason is reported to have been appointed by him as his successor at Tamasos by the unanimous wish of the people. After presiding over the See to an advanced age and feeling that the time of his own departure was drawing nigh he consecrated one Rhodom to fill the post he was so soon to vacate. The day of his death (19th Sept.), was marked by the occurrence of many miracles. After lying exposed for the adoration of the faithful his remains were buried near those of his immediate predecessor.

Acts vi. 5. Lusignan, p. 24 (a). Kyprianos, p. 346.

Nikanor (28th July), one of the seven deacons, is claimed as a compatriot by the island historians, who state that on his return from Jerusalem to his native land he was martyred while preaching the Gospel. Another tradition represents him as having been put to death on the same day with St. Stephen. Lusignan says that his memory was celebrated in Cyprus in the month of January.[1]

Kyprianos, p. 350. Theophanes Chronograph, A.M. 6272 (A.C. 772), (Pat. Grec., cviii., col. 913). Kedrenos, Hist. Compend. (Pat. Grec., cxxi., col. 900). Ibid., col. 904. Theophan., Chronograph, A.M. 6276 (P. G., cviii., col. 912).

Paul (30th Aug.), a native of Salamis, was Patriarch of Constantinople in the time of Constantine VI. and Irene (A.D. 780-A.D. 784). Though secretly favourable to image worship he concealed his real inclinations through fear of the Emperor Leo IV. It was at his instigation that the Empress Irene assembled the Second Council of Nicæa against the Iconoclasts.

[1] La festa si celebra in Cipro nel mese di Gennaio.

Philagrios is represented by Kyprianos as having been a disciple of St. Peter, by whom he was consecrated Bishop of Soli, where he died. The Menology also notices him (9th Feb.), but makes no mention of his having been a disciple of St. Peter, merely saying that he was appointed a bishop in Cyprus. Lusignan, p. 25 (a). Kyprianos, p. 347.

Philo (24th Jan.), Bishop of Karpasion, was originally a rhetorician.[1] His nationality, however, is unknown. Kyprianos says that he was regarded by many as a native of the island of Karpathos and that his church was still to be seen in ruins near the village of Rizokarpaso. In the life of St. Epiphanios he is represented as having been sent to Cyprus by the sister of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius to bring Epiphanios from Salamis to Rome that, by the saint's prayers and the imposition of his hands, she might recover from a dangerous illness. Epiphanios is reported to have formed so favourable an opinion of him as to have consecrated him Bishop of Karpasion (A.D. 382), in obedience to a divine revelation, though only a deacon, and to have confided to him the care of his own diocese during his absence, with authority to administer ordination if necessary. He was the author of a commentary on the Song of Songs. Lusignan, p. 25 (a). Kyprianos, p. 349. Polybii Rhinocoruræ Vita S. Epiphanii, c. 49.

Philoneides (17th June), Bishop of Kurion, was a fellow-sufferer with the martyrs, Aristokles, Demetrianos, and Athanasios in the Diocletian persecution. Hearing that the heathen had received orders to debauch the Christians Philoneides, wishing to escape such a fate, threw himself over one of the cliffs near Kurion and so ended his life. Shortly after his suicide the saint appeared to two men as they were walking at some distance from the city, running naked before them with a crown upon his head, his body anointed with sweet-smelling myrrh and bearing a palm branch in his hand. On the spectators drawing near to Kurion the apparition vanished, when they found the spot where the body was lying. The heathen Greeks are said to have placed the remains in a sack and dropped them into the sea, which threw them on shore again, when they were discovered and buried by the Christians. Synaxaristes (17th June).

[1] Lusignan. however, remarks: "Di qual città non sappiamo".

The Synaxaristes describes him as: Ὁ Ὅσιος Πατὴρ ἡμῶν Φύλων, Ἐπίσκοπος Καλπασίου. Synaxaristes (24th Jan.).

Kyprianos, p. 347.
Sokrates, H. E., lib. i., c. 12.
Metaphrastes, Vita S. Spiridon, c. 2.

Spyridon (12th Dec.), Bishop of Trimythus, is one of the most famous among the earlier worthies of the Cypriot Church. In his youth he is said to have been a shepherd, a calling which he did not relinquish even on becoming a bishop. He was a diligent student of Holy Scripture and is reported to have possessed some knowledge of medicine, as well as the gift of prophecy. It was his blameless and upright life which procured his consecration to the episcopate. Though his name is not to be found among the signatories of the First General Council it is known from other sources that he figured among the fathers assembled at Nicæa in A.D. 325. There he is said to have converted by the cogency of his arguments a heathen philosopher to the faith. Many strange stories are told of his wonderful doings by the earlier ecclesiastical historians and, among others, by Sokrates, who professes to have derived them partly from the saint's fellow-countrymen, and partly from Rufinus. Among those related of him by the island chroniclers are the following, which will sufficiently indicate the marvellous character of the rest. When he was about to leave Cyprus for the great conference at Nicæa eleven Arian bishops, also bound for the same place, fearing the effect of Spyridon's powerful advocacy on behalf of orthodoxy, persuaded the governor, who was of their party, to forbid any ship to receive him as a passenger. The order was duly issued, but it could not hinder the saint from appearing at the Council. Some days after the departure of the eleven heretics Spyridon went down to the sea-shore and taking off his hermit's cloak placed one half of it upon the water, and tying the other as a sail to his staff, which served as a mast, committed himself in this strange craft to the mercy of the winds and waves. The weather being favourable he reached his destination before his Arian rivals, who were greatly astonished at what he had done.[1]

Sokrates, H. E., lib. i., c. 8.
Metaphrastes, Vita S. Spiridon, cc. 13-15.
Nikeph. Kalliat., H. E., lib. viii., c. 15.
Sokrates, H. E., lib. i., c. 12.
Sozomen, H. E., lib. i., c. 11.
Rufinus, H. E., lib. i., c. 5.
Lusignan, p. 24 (b).

Lusignan, p. 24 (b).
Rufinus, lib. i., c. 5.

A certain man, when on the point of leaving Cyprus for a while, entrusted something of value to Irene, the saint's daughter, for

[1] Questo fù al tempo del primo Concilio di Nicea, nel quale ha confuso gli Arriani con la sua dottrina, quali prevedendo essi Vescovi Arriani, undici avanti che andassero nel Concilio pregorno il Duca di Cipro di non lassare nessun navilio di levarlo, et cosi comandò esso Duca, quale era fautore. Et essendo essi Vescovi partiti alquanti giorni Spiridione cavò il manto monacale, et messe la mittà in mare, et l'altra l'attaccò in alto al suo bastone à modo di vela, et esso si messe à sedere nel manto disteso nel mare, et con un vento prospero arrivò al Concilio, avanti che li undici Arriani fussero venuti: onde sbigottiti et confusi furono.

Stanley's *Eastern Church*, pp. 108-109, gives a different version of the saint's journey to the Council.

safe keeping.[1] On his return, finding that she had meanwhile died, he became greatly distressed, fearing that he would lose his property. At length the bishop, taking compassion upon him, went to his daughter's grave and, addressing her by name, requested that she would say where she had deposited her charge. On hearing her father's voice she is said to have indicated the spot and thus enabled Spyridon to restore the treasure to its sorrowing owner. The remains of the saint, after resting for some centuries in his native land, were carried for safety to Constantinople during the period of the Moslem invasion. There they found a home until they were once again removed to save them from the clutches of the Turks. On this occasion their rescuer was a priest of the Imperial City, named Georgios Kalochairetos, who shortly before the siege carried them off together with the body of Theodora, wife of the Emperor Theophilos. Making his way with the precious relics through Servia to Arta in Albania he crossed over to Corfu in 1460. As patron saint of this island Spyridon is reported to have played the leading part in its successful defence against the Turks in 1710. So sensible was the Signory of Venice of the great services rendered by the saint on the occasion that, as an expression of its gratitude, it dedicated a large silver candlestick to the church which contained his remains, and issued a decree authorising them to be carried in public procession annually on the day of deliverance, 11th August.

Sokrates, H. E., lib. i., c. 12.

Sozomen, H. E., lib. i., c. 11.

Ἀκολουθία Σπυρίδωνος,[1] p. 90.

Ibid., p. 93.

That the saint at times resented the attempts of the un-Orthodox to do him honour the following story will show: Andrea Pisani, admiral of the Venetian fleet and governor of Corfu, with the object of returning thanks for his timely aid resolved to erect in the church an altar, at which daily mass might be said by a Latin priest. The idea of having Roman ecclesiastics with their hateful azymes under the same roof was one, which no self-respecting Orthodox saint like Spyridon could for an instant tamely endure! Twice he appeared to Pisani in his sleep and bade him desist from the design. But the governor,

Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

[1] Accounts somewhat vary as to what this deposit was:—

Sc'crates calls it a *πολύτιμον κόσμιον*. Sozomen merely says, *παρέθετό τις τῶν γνωρίμων τι*. Rufinus describes it "as quoddam depositum," Metaphrastes (c. 16) as a *κόσμιόν τι χρυσοῦν*. The Menology (12th Dec.), as a *παρακαταθήκη*. The last two authorities, moreover, represent the depositor as a woman.

[2] The full title of this work is—"*ἡ θεία καὶ ἱερὰ ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σπυρίδωνος Ἐπισκόπου Τριμυθοῦντος τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ, πατρὸς καὶ προστάτου Κερκύρας*". The first edition was published at Venice in 1674, and the sixth, from which the following extracts are made, was also published there in 1880.

listening to the representations of his chaplain, who explained that the dream was merely the result of some devilish agency, not only disregarded the injunction, but also threatened the priests in charge of the sacred remains on account of their disapproval of the project. Since Pisani plainly showed that he was not to be diverted from his purpose by mere visions stronger measures were resorted to. On the night of 12th November, 1718, the magazine in the old fort suddenly exploded, levelling the houses in the citadel, besides killing all the Venetians in the vicinity, with many others. Pisani himself was suffocated by two beams falling across his neck, while his chaplain, the cause of the mishap, was found lying dead in a ditch. The strangest experience of all was that of the sentry posted in front of the magazine. He beheld the saint approaching him, with a torch in his hand, and was by him carried off and deposited safely near the Church of the Crucified. The catalogue of prodigies, however, is by no means yet exhausted. One of the Venetian inhabitants of the city, being the same hour in his attic, saw three flames issuing from the belfry of St. Spyridon's Church and going towards the citadel, when the magazine immediately caught fire. The same night, too, at Venice the portrait of Pisani was struck by lightning, without ought else in the house receiving any damage. "Who then" exclaims the narrator of these marvels "does not from this judgment of Heaven see that the innovations of the Papal Church are blasphemous and abominable to God?" "Would that God might enlighten them to return to the truth, from which they have been perverted" is the prayer that closes this tale of wonders.

Even in these prosaic times Spyridon seems to have lost none of the power for which he was once so remarkable. The two following well-attested instances within the last half century show that, despite the lapse of years, his natural force is not yet abated. The first is vouched for by the priest-monk Gregory Valmis, who published a pamphlet on the subject in 1856:—

Ακολουθία Σπυρίδωνος, p. 97.

A certain woman named Vasilo, a native of Epirus, on 15th June 1853 left her home on Mount Chimera, where she dwelt with her husband, Yanni Andreou, and in company with other women of the place went on a two days' journey to Mount Logara, to gather there, according to custom, a peculiar kind of wood much used by the Epirotes for torches. Returning on the 16th of the same month, as soon as she reached home, she plunged her hands and feet into cold water to remove from them all traces of the journey. Immediately her right

hand and foot became withered and contracted. For two years and more she tried without avail all the remedies medical skill could suggest. In her despair she even had recourse at last to a Turkish quack. But his nostrums proved as ineffective as the drugs of the more orthodox practitioners. She now betook herself to prayer, earnestly beseeching God and the saints to release her from this terrible affliction, which rendered her existence a burden to herself and her friends. One night in December, 1855, she had a dream, in which she saw a man in clerical garb, who treading upon her withered foot addressed her thus: "Do not write to your brother in Corfu, as you intended, but go to him in person". Full of astonishment and curiosity she asked him who he might be, when he replied: "I am the saint whom you have so often invoked". Terrified at the vision she awoke and informed her neighbours what she had seen. They advised her to do as she had been bidden by her mysterious visitor. Making her way to the coast without delay in a basket strapped to the back of a horse she crossed over to Corfu, where on the pier she told the bystanders, among whom was the public officer of health, the story of her sufferings. Being taken in a carriage to the church, where the body of the saint reposed, she was borne in a chair from the door to the place in which his coffin rested. Immediately on her arrival before it she fell down on her knees and entreated its occupant to plead with the Almighty on her behalf. The fervour of her faith, coupled with his intercession, at length prevailed. For three whole nights she lay stretched upon the ground near the sacred relics. During the evening of her second vigil she called about midnight to the priest in charge of the church, and informed him with tears of joy and gratitude that Spyridon had healed her. Next morning all doubt was set at rest, when she walked erect and unsupported to the sanctuary doors to receive the sacrament.

The second instance is of somewhat later date (1861) and even more remarkable. The recipient of the saint's favour on this occasion was a boy, the only child of Orthodox parents resident for some years at Barletta in Southern Italy. On reaching his eighth year he contracted a severe attack of typhoid fever, which defied all the efforts of the doctors to cure. On the morning of the seventeenth day after his seizure the lad lay to all appearances at death's door. His mother, who had not ceased during the whole period of her son's illness to weep and pray to St.

'Ακολουθία Σπυρίδωνος, p. 99.

Spyridon, now redoubled her lamentations and supplications. Suddenly, as though struck with an inspiration from on high, she exclaimed: "I will telegraph at once to my relatives in Corfu to uncover the saint and entreat him for my little Yanni. The saint by his intercession with God will, I feel sure, preserve and grant him to me, because I have besought and do now beseech him with all my heart and soul." The telegram was accordingly sent when, wonderful to relate, about the hour (11 A.M.) Spyridon was uncovered and his good offices solicited, the lad was seized with strong convulsions. These the doctors, who were present, mistakenly regarded as showing that all was nearly over, whereas in reality they marked the expulsion of the disease through the saint's intercession. The lad soon after opened his eyes and to the astonishment of those, who expected every moment to be his last, gave signs of returning life. Complete recovery, however, was slow, as it was not until the 11th of December following, the eve of his preserver's festival, that he recovered all his powers of speech.

The compiler of these astounding prodigies concludes his pious labours as follows:—

"Corfu is the spectator of his countless miracles. All the Orthodox everywhere, and the Westerns also, testify to and proclaim the wonder-working grace of Spyridon. Sailors more especially and the afflicted have recourse to Spyridon. The many and costly offerings to be found in his church are clear proofs of his wondrous works. No one seeking Spyridon with faith and contrition fails to attain his desires. Let us Corfiotes then with one accord send up praise and thanks to the all-good God, Who has bestowed upon our most-beloved country so sacred a treasure, and let us exclaim, 'Wonderful is God in His Saints, to Whom be glory and power, honour and worship for ever. Amen.'"

Theodotos,[1] Bishop of Kyrenia, is said to have suffered persecution during the reign of Licinius, while Sabinus was Governor

Lusignan, p. 26 (a), (b).
Kyprianos, p. 348.

[1] Both Lusignan and Kyprianos mention two individuals of this name, *e.g.*,

(1) Theodoto santo Vescovo di Cerine di Cipro, et la sua festa si celebra al mese di Marzo: nacque anchora nella predetta città di Cerines, et fu martirizato nel tempo di Decio Imperatore, et di Sabino, Consulo de' Romani in Cipro, over Capitaneo [Κατάπαν ?], come dicono li Greci.

(2) Santo Theodoto Vescovo di Cipro, un'altro oltra quello che dicemmo di sopra, fu martirizato, et la sua festa si celebra nel mese di Luglio.

(1) *Θεόδωτος. Ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Μάρτυς ἀπὸ τὴν Κυρηνίαν. Ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ Λικινίου, καὶ Σαβίνου ἡγεμόνος τῆς Νήσου. Ἑορτ. Μαρτίου β'.*

(2) *Θεόδωτος. Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κυρηνίας Κύπριος, καθὼς γράφει Γεννάδιος ὁ Πρεσ-*

of Cyprus. On the death of that emperor he was set at liberty and restored to his See, over which he continued to preside until his own death two years later. The Menology celebrates his memory on 19th January, the day of his release from prison, the Synaxarion on 2nd March, when he died.

Theophanes, a monk and native of Nikosia, may be regarded as one of the very latest in the catalogue of the island saints, having died so recently as A.D. 1550. By reason of his exemplary life he was promoted to the See of Soli, an office which he only accepted with great reluctance.[1] The following incident which befell him would seem to show that a Clergy Discipline Act was much needed during the period when he flourished: Having on one occasion to reprove his Œkonomos, the latter, a very saucy fellow, by way of reply gave his superior a sounding box on the ears. The meek Theophanes perceiving from this act the scanty respect in which he was held, deemed himself unworthy of his high office and requested the representatives of the Venetian Government

Lusignan, p. 26 (b). Kyprianos, p. 351.

*βύτερος. Αὐτὸς ἔγραψεν ἕνα βιβλίον ἐναντίον τῆς αἱρέσεως τοῦ Διοσκόρου, καὶ τοῦ Εὐτυχοῦς τῶν αἱρετικῶν, ὅποῦ ἐκαταδικάσθησαν ἀπὸ τὴν τετάρτην Σύνοδον.*

Reference to the Synaxaristes (4th July), would seem to suggest that Lusignan is confusing Theodoto (No. 2), with Theodoros, Bishop of Cyrene in Libya, who suffered martyrdom during the reign of Diocletian. The two towns of Cyrene (Κυρήνη) and Kyrenia (Κυρηνία) are frequently mistaken for one another, hence perhaps the origin of the Cypriot legend that Simon of Cyrene was a native of Kyrenia.

Lusignan also mentions a Theodoro, who corresponds to the Theodotos (No. 2) of Kyprianos.

"Theodoro di Cipro nato, et fù Vescovo della città di Cipria cioè di Cerines, come narra Genandio presbitero di Marsiglia de viris illustribus: il quale Santo Theodoro scrisse alcune opere contra Dioscoro, et Euthice heretici condannati nelli Concilii. Lusignan, p. 24 (b).

[1] Theoffanio monaco di Nicosia morto a' giorni nostri: alquale della sua vita invero non si potria opponere, onde essendo fatto Vescovo, con gran difficultà accettò: et havendo un giorno ripreso il suo Iconomo, esso Iconomo superbo gli diede uno schiaffo: onde vedendo il Vescovo la poca riverentia, giudicò non esser degno di tal'ufficio, et andò con mille preghiere, et pregò li Signori con le lacrime che dovessero accettare la sua rinuntia. Essi stavano duri, et non volevano, ma all'ultimo sforzati l'accettarono, et esso Theoffanio andò in un monasterio à Messapotamo, alli monti solitario, dove fece la sua vita. Quivi una notte havendo veduto in sogno, che un suo amico gli portò una zara di mele, la mattina risvegliato, ecco il suo amico col mele, et il vaso pieno, et esso Vescovo lo ricevè gratiosamente, ma poi lo trasse al muro, et sparse il mele, et disse all'amico che ciò facea perche non voleva che il Diavolo havesse fattogli credere à gli insogni. Morì poi presso tutti in opinion di vita molto santa, ma indi (*i.e.* 1573) à 4 over 6 anni discoprendo la sepoltura ritrovorno li ossi i quali non pareavano che fussero ossi di morti, et il capo anchora haveva della carne, et la posero dal claustro in chiesa, et dicono che fà molti miracoli. Io vidi la sepoltura co gli ossi mescolati con la polvere, quali invero havevano odor non di morti, però io stò cosi ambiguo, et lascio giudicare à chi tocca.

to relieve him of his functions. His petition at first was refused, but after further solicitation eventually granted. Thereupon he retired to the secluded monastery of Mesapotamo at the foot of Troödos, where he passed the remainder of his days. The chronicler of the above tells another story of the saint, which is perhaps more edifying: One night he dreamt in his sleep that a friend had brought him a jar of honey. Sure enough in the morning on rising from his bed there stood the friend before him, with the honey according to his dream. Receiving him courteously Theophanes took the jar from his hands and emptied its contents over the monastery wall, giving as a reason for his strange act that he did not wish to become through Satanic agency a believer in dreams. His contemporary, Lusignan, from whose pages the above are taken, says that his grave, which he professes to have seen, was opened some five or six years after his decease. He describes the remains as then presenting an appearance quite unlike that of a corpse, and he adds that the head, to which the flesh was still adhering, was placed in the monastery church, where it was reported to have wrought many miracles.

Lusignan, p. 24 (a).

Kyprianos, p. 346.

Titus, to be distinguished from the first Bishop of Crete, was a native of Paphos and a disciple of St. Paul.[1] He is reported to have been a fellow convert of Sergius Paulus and to have been ordained deacon by that Apostle at Paphos, where he was afterwards martyred. Le Quien in his list of the bishops of that See gives the second place to Titus in succession to Epaphras.

Lusignan, p. 24 (a).
Kyprianos, p. 347.
Jerome, De Vir. Illust., c. 92.
Synax. (12th June).

Triphyllios (12th June), was Bishop of Ledri or Leucotheon, now called Nikosia. Jerome describes him as being the most eloquent man of his age and says that he was the author of many works, one of which only, a Commentary on the Canticles, he had read. Originally educated for the law in the celebrated schools of Beyrout, where he acquired reputation for oratorical ability and legal knowledge, he abandoned all his prospects of professional success on embracing Christianity. After his conversion he attached himself to Spyridon, whose life he is reported

[1] Tito, discipolo di Paolo Apostolo, fù fatto quando convertì Paolo Sergio, nel qual tempo anchora esso fù convertito, et da Paolo Apostolo ordinato in Diacono nella predetta città di Paffo, nella quale era nato, et in quella anchora fù martirizato. Et questo è un'altro da Tito Vescovo di Candia, alquale scrisse le Epistole.

by Suidas to have written in Greek iambics. According to Sozomen[1] it was to him Spyridon addressed his well-known rebuke for substituting in a quotation from St. Mark the more refined expression "couch" for the homely word "bed". "What, are you better than He Who said "bed" that you are ashamed to use His words?" Athanasios represents him as having been present at Sardica in company with his master. One of the native chroniclers relates that his tomb at Hodegetria was rifled by the Saracens during one of their many incursions and his remains disturbed. St. Diomedes, however, another of the island saints, rescued the holy skull from their profane hands and buried it at Levkomiati, erecting a church over the spot.

Sozomen, H. E., lib. i., c. 11. Nikeph. Kallist., H. E., viii., c. 42. St. Mark, ii., 11. Athanasii Apolog., 16. ii. Machæra, p. 71.

Tychicos (8th Dec.), is identified by one of the island historians with the person of the same name mentioned in the Acts and Pauline epistles. Though the commonly accepted tradition reports him to have been Bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia the anonymous life of St. Auxibios represents him as having been sent by Paul to Herakleides for consecration to the See of Neapolis. Kyprianos and the Roman Martyrology, however, connect him with Paphos.[2] The latter also commemorates him on 29th April.

Kyprianos, p. 347. Acts xx., 4. Eph., vi., 21. Col., iv., 7. 2 Tim., iv., 12. Tit., iii., 12. Acta Sanct. (17th Feb.).

Tychon (16th June), Bishop of Amathus,[3] is said to have been ordained deacon by St. Mnemonios, whom he succeeded, his consecrator being the celebrated Epiphanios. There is a story to the effect that his father, who was a baker by trade, once sent his son, while still a youth, to sell loaves. The latter distributed them instead among the poor. His father, on hearing what he had done, was very angry until his son, taking him to the granary, showed it to him full of corn, which had got there in some miraculous manner. On another occasion the saint is said to have planted a vine slip, which he chanced to find, when it immediately put forth leaves and bore fruit. A remarkable feature about this particular plant was that, though the saint's

Lusignan, p. 25 (a). Kyprianos, p. 349. Synaxaristes (16th June).

[1] *I.e.* σκίμποδα for κράββατον.

οὐ σύ γε, ἔφη, ἀμείνων εἶ τοῦ κράββατον εἰρηκότος, ὅτι γε δι' αἰδοῦς ποιῇ ταῖς ἐκείνου λέξεσι διαπρέπειν;

[2] "Apud Paphum in Cipro Tychici, discipuli beati Pauli Apostoli." Martyrologium (29 Aprilis).

[3] Tigona Santo fù Vescovo di Amathunda: onde la Chiesa Cathedrale à lui é intitulata, laquale anchora sta in piedi. Io vi sono stato, et la festa si celebra nel mese di Giugno.

festival fell rather early for the grape harvest, yet on that day it always bore fruit, which ripened during the holding of the commemoration service and was fit to be plucked at its close.

Lusignan, p. 25 (a). Kyprianos, p. 349. Guil. Tyr, Archiep., lib. xviii., c. 5.

John the Almoner (12th Nov.), the celebrated Patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 609-A.D. 615), and original patron saint of the Hospitallers,[1] though his fame was acquired elsewhere, must be reckoned among the island worthies. He was born at Amathus while his father, Epiphanios, was Governor of Cyprus. His curious title of the Almoner was bestowed upon him by reason of his excessive benefactions to the poor, 7500 of whom he is said to have maintained at his own expense. On his deathbed he even prided himself, as the result of his unparalleled charity, with having nothing more to leave than one small coin,[2] though on his consecration he found in the patriarchal chest 8000 pounds of gold. This hoard he had spent in his accustomed manner, together with various other immense sums bestowed upon him by the faithful. The death of his wife and children first led him to turn his attention to religion. So great was the reputation for sanctity, which he acquired, that on the death of Theodosios at Alexandria he was appointed by Heraclius to succeed him at the request of the citizens. John, however, was only persuaded after great reluctance to accept the honour.

Leontios, Life of St. John Eleemosynary (Pat. Græc., tom. xciii.).

His life written by one of his contemporaries, Leontios, Bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, from materials supplied by one of the highest officials of the Patriarchate, was translated into Latin by Anastasios the Librarian at the command of Pope Nicolas.[3] From it we learn in the saint's own words that the characteristic which won for him his name of Almoner was the result of a vision he had in his native isle, when not more than fifteen years of age. One night, as he lay asleep in his bed, he was awakened by feeling some one touch him in the side. Starting up quickly he was astonished to see the dazzling apparition of a female form standing by him, with a crown of olive branches upon her head. Thinking it was some woman who had thus

[1] Erexerunt etiam in eodem loco altare in honore beati Joannis Eleymon. Hic vir Deo placens et per omnia commendabilis, natione fuit Cyprius; tandem suffragantibus meritis, factus est Alexandrinus patriarcha, vir in operibus pietatis singulariter excellens, cujus pia studia et liberales eleemosynas in perpetuum enarrabit omnis ecclesia sanctorum. Unde et a Sanctis Patribus vocatus est Eleymon, quod interpretatur *misericors*.

[2] Tremis = one third part of an aureus.

[3] There is also another biography of the saint by Simeon Metaphrastes. (*Cf.* Migne, Pat. Græc., tom. cxiv., pp. 896-965).

broken in upon his slumbers, he demanded of her, after first making the sign of the cross, who she was and why she had thus dared to disturb his rest. She replied with a smile, "I am the eldest daughter of the great King, and if thou wilt take me as thy friend I will bring thee to Him, for no one has the influence with Him that I possess. It is I who caused Him to come down as a Man upon earth and to save men." With these words she disappeared. Turning over in his mind what he had seen and heard John came to the conclusion, from the olive crown she wore, that his visitant represented Mercy and Charity. Immediately donning his clothes he stole out of the house, without waking any of the inmates, and made his way to the church. The day was just breaking and on the road he met a man shivering with the cold, upon whom he bestowed his goat-skin cloak. He did this, so he informs us, that he might ascertain whether his recent vision was of celestial or diabolic origin. He had not yet reached the church, when suddenly a man clothed in white accosted him, and placing in his hand a purse containing 100 pieces of money bade him spend it as he pleased. He at first received the gift with joy, but on second thoughts wishing to restore it, as he was in need of nothing, he could not find the donor. From that hour he made a practice of alms-giving.

On the capture of Alexandria by the Persians under Chosroes II. (A.D. 616) John, instead of remaining to share the dangers of his flock, resolved to seek safety in his native Cyprus, justifying his desertion of it by the words of Christ: "But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another". His companion in flight was the governor of the city, the patrician Niketas, who persuaded the prelate to promise that he would journey as far as Constantinople to bestow his blessing upon the Emperor. During the voyage the vessel was in great danger of being engulfed by a terrible storm, and was only saved through the Patriarch's timely intercession. On arriving at Rhodes, John, as he was leaving the ship, was accosted by an angel with a golden sceptre in his right hand, who said to him: "Come, I pray thee, the King of kings seeketh thee". The saint at once acquainted Niketas with the angelic vision and requested permission to return to Cyprus. Coming to his native city of Amathus he immediately called for writing materials and bade his attendants draw out his will, on the completion of which he died. Matt. x. 23.

It was not to be expected that the death of one so highly

favoured by Heaven would take place without some strange portents occurring. His veracious biographer has recorded several for the edification and amazement of succeeding generations. It is gravely asserted that at the funeral of the saint in the Church of St. Tychon, a former occupant of the See of Amathus, as the body was being lowered into the grave, the corpses of two holy bishops already interred there side by side rolled apart and left the space between them for the newcomer. Leontios, evidently aware of the incredible nature of this tale, assures his readers that the witnesses of this astounding incident were not a mere handful of spectators, but the whole concourse present at the obsequies. What follows, however, is even more remarkable. A certain woman, also a native of Amathus, hearing of his arrival from Rhodes and that his approaching end had been divinely predicted, came to him with the weight of a very grievous sin upon her conscience. Clasping his feet with her hands she thus besought him: "O thrice blessed one, miserable woman that I am, I have something which I cannot tell to men, but I know that if thou wilt thou canst forgive me, for the Lord hath said to men like thee, 'Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted to them'". John on hearing these words, afraid, if he should refuse her request, that he might render himself liable to her punishment, while she through her faith in him would be forgiven, said: "If thou dost indeed believe that God will pardon this sin for my unworthiness, confess it to me". The woman assured him in reply that to do so was impossible, since it was something which no man's ears might hear. The saint pressed her again, saying: "If thou art ashamed to tell it, go and write it down, if thou knowest how, and bring it to me". On her repeating her former objection the Patriarch further urged her, saying: "Canst thou not write it and seal it and then bring it to me?" After some hesitation the woman at last consented on condition that the paper was not to be unsealed nor allowed to come into possession of any one else. Five days after the interview the saint died without mentioning the occurrence to any one. The day following his decease the woman, who had been absent when he died, returned to Amathus. Hearing of his death she was almost beside herself with anxiety for her confession. Accordingly, coming with all haste to the place of his interment, she addressed the dead, as though he were still alive, in these words: "Man of God, I could not tell thee my sin on account of its enormity, and now for aught I know it is the common property of all. Alas! alas! Whereas I thought

to find peace for my trouble, behold I am in a worse plight than before. I will not cease to cry at thy tomb until my prayers are answered. Thou art not dead, O Saint of God, but alive: for it is written, 'The Just shall live for ever'." After continuing her clamour at the grave of the saint for three whole days and refusing all sustenance, on the night of the third, in the midst of her lamentations, she saw the servant of God issue forth from the tomb with the two bishops, his companions, on either side, and heard him say: "How long, O woman, wilt thou disturb the occupants of this tomb and forbid their repose? Our robes are wet with thy tears." With these words he handed her the paper sealed, saying: "Take it. Dost thou recognise it? Open and examine it." On recovering from her surprise at the vision she saw the three saints returning to their last resting-place. Breaking open the seal she found the confession, which she had written, rubbed out and underneath it the following sentence: "Thy sin has been blotted out for My servant John's sake".

Strange occurrences, too, are recorded as having taken place in Alexandria on the day of his death. A monk of that city named Sabinos, a man of unimpeachable veracity, had a vision of the blessed John. He saw the Patriarch, surrounded by his clergy and with a taper in his hand, leaving the episcopal residence and going to the heavenly King, at the call of a chamberlain resembling an eunuch and under the guidance of a girl, bright as the sun, and wearing a crown of olive branches upon her head. Corroboration of this story was soon forthcoming, when it was discovered from some travellers from Cyprus that it occurred at the very same hour in which the Patriarch died. The mention of the girl was regarded as additional confirmation, for it was remembered how she had promised the saint long years before that, if he would take her as his friend, she would lead him to the great King.

Another inhabitant of the same city also met with a very remarkable experience the same night. He had a vision of all the poor, the orphans and widows of Alexandria, the recipients of John's bounty, hurrying to the church with branches of olive in their hands to take part in the funeral obsequies. But this catalogue of marvels is not yet exhausted, for we learn that in proof of the esteem, in which Heaven held him, there issued a sweet-smelling unguent from his saintly corpse. His remains were subsequently removed from Amathus to Venice, where Kyprianos saw them, having often worshipped at his shrine on the day of

his commemoration.[1] From their appearance he conjectures that the saint must have been a man of lofty stature and imposing presence.

Another name, which ought not to be omitted, is that of St. John Lampadistes. Though entirely unknown outside the confines of his island home his local reputation for sanctity stands very high. A native of the village of Lampas near Galata he owes his distinguishing name to the place of his birth. According to the legend he renounced matrimony for monasticism and suffered the loss of his sight in consequence through the enchantments used by the parents of the girl whom he had slighted. He died at the early age of twenty-two and his memory is celebrated on the 4th October (O.S.). His office or *ἀκολουθία*, from which these particulars are derived, was published at Venice in 1667. An extensive monastery bearing his name still exists in the Marathasa Valley between the villages of Moutoulla and Kalopanagiotis. De Mas Latrie seems to regard his title of Lampadistes as meaning the Brilliant or the Illuminated, though admitting that nothing in his history appears to justify so high sounding a designation.[2] Florio Boustron, who notices the great veneration paid to the saint, derives his cognomen from Lambadisto, an ancient name of Troödos, which was possibly given to it from the glittering snow that during the winter crowns its summit.[3]

Hist. de Chypre, tom i., p. 96.

Fl. Boustron, p. 30.

Catharine (25th Nov.). The legends connected with her exemplify in a most remarkable manner the exuberant growth

Kyprianos, p. 349.

[1] Τὸ ἅγιον λείψανον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου εὑρίσκεται τὴν σήμερον εἰς τὴν περίφημον καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτην Βενετίαν. Ὁ Ναὸς, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἀναπαύεται ἐντίμως, κράζεται ἐπιχωρίως Σὰν Γιωάννε Μπράγολα (San Giovanni Bragola). Πολλάκις αὐτὸ ἐγὼ ἐπροσκύνησα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ἑορτῆς του τῇ ιβ' Νοεμβρίου. ἦτον ὁ ἅγιος, ὡς φαίνεται ἀπὸ τὸ λείψανόν του μακρὺς εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν, καὶ θεωρητικώτατος.

[2] Saint Jean Lampadiste, le Brillant, l'Illuminé, est, à juste titre, un des saints populaires de l'île, surtout dans les cantons du nord-ouest, où il est né et d'où est venu vraisemblablement son surnom. Sa vie, peu connue d'ailleurs, paraît n'avoir eu rien d'éclatant, et ne semblerait pas justifier la glorieuse dénomination qui le distingue dans l'Église grecque.

[3] Un' altro monte vi è che da gli antiqui si chiamava Lambadisto, da altri Chionodes, et al presente Triodos.—Un'huomo di santa vita, chiamato Gioanni, per esser del medemo loco chiamasi san Gioanni Lambadisti, che appresso li Greci è di gran veneratione. Chionodes giudico sia chiamato, però che sempre ha neve in cima di quello, et Chionodes in lingua greca vuol inferire pien di neve.

The Acta et Passio Barnabæ mentions a village near Troödos called Lampadiston, but it does not give the name to the mountain, which, however, it says was called Chionodes for the reason already given, c. 43.

of fiction during the Middle Ages under the guise of ecclesiastical history, as well as show on how small a basis of fact an elaborate superstructure can be erected. Indeed a distinguished Church writer has pronounced all the materials of her biography worthless. The only real fact in the whole history of the saint consists of a few lines in Eusebios, who relates, without giving her name, that a lady of Alexandria was one of the victims of Maximinus' cruelty at the beginning of the fourth century. The Cypriot Church, however, in spite of the uncertainty hanging over her existence, regards her as one of its most illustrious confessors and martyrs. The following account of her by Lusignan, though bristling with palpable inaccuracies, represents the local tradition.[1] About the year 290, while Diocletian was Emperor at Rome, there reigned in Cyprus a certain King named Costa, in whose honour the city of Salamis was called Constantia. On the suppression by Diocletian of the rebellion of Achilleios in

Tillemont, Memoires ecclesiastiques, p. 761.

Eusebios, H. E., lib. viii., c. 14.

Lusignan, pp. 23 (b), 39 (b), 40 (a).

[1] Caterina. La leggenda et tutti li historiografi pongono che ella fusse di Alessandria, ma li Famagostani hanno una leggenda greca, laquale dice esser di Cipro, da Famagosta vecchia, et era figliuola del Re Costa, dal quale la città fù chiamata da Salamina Costantia, et in essa città, come habbiamo detto di sopra, è la sua prigione, et poi condutta à Paffo, et posta in prigione, et de lì in Alessandria, fù martirizata.

Circa li anni del nostro Signore 290 in Cipro era Re Costa, il quale fece chiamare la città di Salamina Constantia, dove esso faceva residentia, et li suoi Re predecessori. Era in questo tempo Diocletiano Imperatore, et in Egitto regnava Achilleo, il quale si ribellò dall' imperio Romano, onde Diocletiano andò da Roma in Egitto, et vinse Achilleo et gli diede la morte, et la città la mise à sacco. Allhora chiamò il Re Costa da Cipro, et gli diede il governo del regno di Egitto, il qual lasciò nel regno di Cipro un suo fratello, et essendo in Alessandria, mori, et lasciò una figliuola Catherina, laquale cosi giovinetta, diventò delli arti liberali sapientissima. Il regno di Alessandria fù preso da Maxentio figliuolo* di Diocletiano Imperatore. Catherina, essendo morto il padre, fù condotta in Cipro al zio Re, il quale stantiava in Salamina, over Constantia. Costui vedendo la nepote essere Christiana, temendo Maxentio,† et Diocletiano della loro crudeltà verso li Christiani, mise in prigione Catherina in Salamina, la qual prigione, come dicemmo, sta in piedi, et dipoi la volse mandare à Maxentio in Egitto, ò per revocarla ò per castigarla, perche era bellissima giovane et sapientissima. La cavò dalla prigione, et la mandò à Paffo per imbarcarla, et quivi di novo fù posta in prigione fin che la nave fusse preparata, et poi la condussero in Alessandria. Ella andò nel palazzo del padre, et vedendo un giorno Maxentio, che perseguitava ‡ li Christiani, andò da lui, et lo riprese, et la martirizò, come per l'historie è noto, et perche è martirizata in Alessandria tutte le historie latine eccetto Pietro Calo da Chioza dicono essere Alessandrina.

* Maxentius was the son of Maximian, the colleague of Diocletian.

† Diocletian abdicated A.D. 305. Maxentius assumed the purple A.D. 306. Maximian must be here intended.

‡ Maxentius was distinguished by his leniency towards the Christians; his father Maximian fiercely persecuted them.

Alexandria, Costa was transferred from Cyprus and entrusted with the government, his brother being appointed his successor in Cyprus. He eventually died in Egypt, leaving a little daughter, who was conducted to her uncle in Cyprus. The administration of Egypt at this time was entrusted to Maxentius, the son of Diocletian. Catharine's uncle, discovering that his niece was a Christian and knowing the hostility of Diocletian and Maxentius to that sect, put her in prison, first at Salamis and afterwards at Paphos, whither he had sent her, intending to convey her back to Egypt. On returning to Alexandria she one day revisited her father's palace. Encountering Maxentius there by chance she reproached him for his cruelty to her co-religionists, whereupon he caused her to be put to death. It was because the martyrdom took place at Alexandria, so Lusignan explains, that she has been considered a native of that city.

Kyprianos, p. 353.

Kyprianos' version of the legend differs materially from the above. He says that her father, whom he calls Constans, was removed from his kingdom of Cyprus and banished to Alexandria because he was suspected by the Emperors of plotting with the Persians. On his death in exile Catharine, who had accompanied him, returned to Cyprus. Moved by the persecutions, to which she saw the Christians there subjected, she resolved to court a martyr's death. Boldly proclaiming her faith in Christ she was apprehended by the governor and cast into prison at Famagusta. Subsequently, by order of the tyrant Maximinus, who was her father's personal enemy, she was conveyed to Alexandria, and there put to death.

Menology (25th Nov.). Simeon Metaphrastes. Martyrium St. Catharinæ (Pat. Græc., tom. cxvi., pp. 275-302).

The Menology and Simeon Metaphrastes give an entirely different story of the martyrdom and make no mention at all of Cyprus in connection with the saint.[1]

According to the former, Catharine, on the occasion of some pagan festival at Alexandria, was so moved to indignation at the spectacle of the many victims offered to the idols that she

[1] Kyprianos explains Metaphrastes' omission to mention Cyprus in connection with St. Catharine as follows :—

'Ο Μεταφραστὴς, ὁποῦ διηγεῖται τὸ αὐτῆς μαρτύριον, δὲν ἐφρόντισε διὰ τὸν τόπον, ὁποῦ ἐγεννήθη, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον, ὁποῦ ἐμαρτύρησε, καθὼς καὶ εἰς ἄλλα του πολλὰ ἐπαράβλεψε.

All the accounts represent her as being of royal descent, *e.g.* :—

Menology, θυγατὴρ βασιλίσκου τινος.

Metaphrastes, ἐκ βασιλικοῦ γένους προηγμένη.

The last independent sovereign of Cyprus was Ptolemy, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, upon whose suicide the island was incorporated in the Roman dominions, B.C. 58.

approached Maximinus and boldly reproved him for being a worshipper of false gods. After subjecting her to excruciating tortures he ordered fifty orators to be assembled and threatened them with death by fire unless they succeeded in convincing her of her errors. In the dialectic contest which ensued the advocates of heathendom were worsted by the Christian champion, whereupon they received baptism in token of their defeat and were burnt alive, while the triumphant saint was beheaded.

Near the ruins of Old Famagusta (Salamis) is to be seen a small structure of Cyclopean masonry bearing the name of St. Catharine's prison in confirmation of the legend.[1] Mediæval tradition, however, would seem rather to represent it as the place of her nativity. Most likely a Phœnician tomb, it resembles another structure of the same kind at Larnaka, called Phaneromene, and consists of two chambers of unequal size. The dome-shaped roof is composed of five stones, the middle one of which runs the entire length of the building.

Pococke, Travels, vol. ii., p. 217.

Mary (29th June), the mother of Mark, as the sister of Barnabas is to be included in the Cypriot Calendar. One of the local writers, however, represents her as being the daughter of his brother Aristobulos.[2] This relationship, if true, would make her the niece, and not the sister, of the Apostle. According to Clemens Alexandrinus she suffered martyrdom during the life-time of the Apostle Peter.

Kyprianos, p. 352.

Clem. Alexand. Strom., vii.

Maura (3rd May), and Timothy, her husband, are generally mentioned together. Lusignan claims the village of Perapedi at the foot of Troödos as their birthplace and says they were

Lusignan, p. 25 (b). Kyprianos, p. 353.

[1] This building is frequently mentioned in the accounts of mediæval travellers, *e.g.*:—

(1) Ludolph of Suchen (A.D. 1350): "Ex hac civitate (Famagusta) etiam sancta Katharina fuit orta, et adhuc ibidem stat capella". Hist. de Chyp., ii., p. 214.

(2) Felix Faber (A.D. 1485): "Salamina ergo Cypri, civitas Teucri vetusta, præter hoc, quod fudit nobis odiosos detestabilesque Turcos, edidit nobis S. Barnabam Apostolum, qui ibi martyrium sustinuit, et amabilem sanctamque virginem Catharinam, quæ ibi nata esse dicitur, et in loco nativitatis capella hodie peregrinis monstratur". Fellc. Fabr. Evagator, tom. iii., p. 239.

(3) Mr. John Locke (30th Sept. 1553): "In the morning we ridde to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherine was borne (!). This Chappell is in Olde Famagusta." Hackluyt's Voyages, vol. ii., p. 108.

[2] Ἡ ἁγία Μαρία Μήτηρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μετονομασθέντος Μάρκου, ἦτον θυγάτηρ Ἀριστοβούλου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Ἀποστόλου Βαρνάβα.

martyred on the banks of the Kurias near the town of Kilanion.[1] According to his account, on the spot where their blood fell a spring of water gushed out. The stains, so he affirms, still remained to his day, and were visible on the earth and rocks beneath the water. The accuracy of this statement he vouches for by personal experiment. The legend doubtless owes its origin to the presence of some reddish rocks on the supposed site of the execution, the colouring of which is due to certain minerals. But it serves, notwithstanding, to confirm in the minds of the superstitious peasants of the district their faith in the story. Kyprianos in one important particular differs materially from his brother historian.[2] He says that the martyrs were natives of the Thebaid, but met martyrdom in Cyprus. The account given in the Menology is quite at variance with the Cypriot version, making not the slightest reference to the island in connection with the two saints. Timothy, whose grade in the church was that of reader, was twenty days after his marriage with Maura apprehended by the pagans and handed over in chains with his wife to Arrian, Prefect of the Thebaid, who ordered him to produce and burn the sacred books. On his refusal he was subjected to various excruciating tortures, but still his resolution remained unshaken. His wife was next directed, under threat of death, to use her influence with her husband and induce him to abjure Christ, but she refused. Whereupon, after being herself cruelly tortured, the two were nailed to a wall, where they remained for nine days, till death mercifully released them from their sufferings.

Menology (3rd May).
Synaxaristes (3rd May).

### (2) *The Foreign Saints.*

Auxibios (17th Feb.) was a native of Rome and the son of wealthy heathens. On arriving at the age of manhood his parents wished him to marry, but he refused, and in spite of their threats and persuasions resolved to become a Christian. Seeing there was no prospect of being able to gratify his wishes, while he remained under the parental roof, he determined to

Acta Sanctorum (19th Feb.).
Synaxaristes (19th Feb.).

[1] Santa Maura, Santo Timotheo, suo marito, nacquero nel casale di Perapedi, et furono martirizati nella città di Chillani, presso al fiume: et dove fù gittato il sangue, passa di sopra una fonte, nella qual si vede il sangue dentro nell' acqua attaccato in terra, et nella pietra, et mai non và via, et io vidi, et toccai con il coltello la verità.

[2] Ἡ ἁγία Μαῦρα, καὶ Τιμόθεος, ἔχουσι Πατρίδα τὴν Θηβαΐδα, πλὴν θέλουσι νὰ ἐμαρτύρησαν εἰς Κύπρον.

leave Rome. Accordingly he made his way secretly to Ostia and finding there a ship bound to the East he embarked, landing in due course at Limne in Cyprus, about four miles from the town of Soli. Here he encountered Mark who, in company with Timon and Rhodon, was hiding from the Jews after the murder of Barnabas. In answer to the Evangelist's inquiry as to who he was, Auxibios replied that he was a native of Rome and had come to Cyprus because he was a Christian. His appearance and replies so pleased Mark that the latter at once baptised and consecrated him bishop, sending him to labour at Soli. By St. Paul's direction Herakleides, then Archbishop of the island, subsequently appointed him to that See, where he continued for fifty years. His brother and successor, Themistagoras, is credited with giving a rare instance of fraternal appreciation. Observing the many miracles wrought at his predecessor's grave he ordered his clergy not to open it, when the time came for his own interment, as he did not consider himself worthy to occupy such a resting-place!

Epiphanios (12th May), the celebrated Archbishop of Salamis, or Constantia, is rightly regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the Cypriot Church. Even to the present day his memory has been perpetuated in the name of one of the many capes, for which the island is so remarkable. Though occupying such a prominent position in its ecclesiastical history he was not a Cypriot by birth, his native place being Besanduke, a village near Eleutheropolis in Palestine.[1] There he is said to have first seen the light in the decade between A.D. 310-A.D. 320. His parents are reported to have been Jews and to have brought him up in the national faith until his sixteenth year, when he embraced Christianity. It was probably owing to this early training that he acquired that intimate acquaintance with Hebrew which he displayed in his writings. His life having been written by three biographers there exist copious sources for his history. His early

Menology (12th May).
Synaxaristes (12th May).
Sozomen, H. E., lib. vi., c. 32.
Le Quien, O. C., tom. ii., Coll. 1045-46.

[1] Lusignan, however, claims him as a native of the village of Marathasa or Kalopanagiotis in the Valley of Marathasa at the foot of Mount Troödos:— Lusignan, p. 24 (b).

"Epiffanio, Arcivescovo di Salamina, over di Costanza: il quale era nato dal casale Marathases," a statement which De Mas Latrie declares to be in accordance with the general tradition of the island: "La croyance générale de l'île place le lieu de sa naissance au village de Kalapanaïoti, dans la vallée du Maréthasse, au nord de l'Olympe." Notwithstanding this assertion the Orthodox historian, Kyprianos, follows the more universally received opinion regarding the place of his birth:— Hist. de Chyp., i., p. 94. Kyprianos, p. 351.

Αὐτὸς ὁ Ἱερὸς Πατὴρ πατρίδα εἶχε τὸν Φοίνικα ἐξ Ἑβραίων γεννημένος.

years we are informed were passed in Egypt among the monks, where he doubtless acquired that taste for monasticism which so characterised him in after life. At the age of twenty he returned to his native place, where he founded a monastery. He was well versed both in sacred and profane learning, but credulous and bigoted to a degree, and a rigid stickler for orthodoxy. During his lifetime he was the object of extraordinary veneration to the Christians of his day. St. Jerome in his effusive admiration for the man has gone so far as to describe him as "the last relic of ancient piety". After being ordained presbyter by Eutychios, Bishop of Eleutheropolis, he was (A.D. 368)[1] elected Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, to which island he had followed his master, the hermit Hilarion. Over this See he presided for the long period of thirty-six years. The greatest stain on his reputation is the unworthy part he played in the attack on the saintly Chrysostom, to which he was instigated by Theophilos, the crafty Patriarch of Alexandria (A.D. 403).[2] This, however, proved the last exploit of his long life, for, as he was returning to his diocese before the meeting of the Synod of the Oak, he expired on shipboard within sight of Constantia at the advanced age of ninety-six.[3] His death under these

[1] Anno circiter 368 vel 369 insulæ Cypri metropolita et Constantiæ sive Salamis episcopus factus est.

Sozomen, H. E., lib. viii., c. 15. Sokrates, H. E., lib. vi., c. 14.

[2] Sozomen and Sokrates report that Epiphanios' last words to Chrysostom were: ἐλπίζω σὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἐπίσκοπον—to which Chrysostom rejoined: οὐδὲ ἐγὼ σὲ τῆς σῆς ἐπιβήσεσθαι πόλεως.

The Menology represents the incident differently. According to it Chrysostom, on hearing that Epiphanios had assented to his exile, wrote informing him that he would never again in consequence sit on his episcopal throne, to which Epiphanios replied: Ἀθλητὰ Ἰωάννη παίου καὶ νίκα.

Theophanes alludes somewhat differently to the interchange of compliments which took place between the two prelates, φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ τελευτὴν ἐδήλωσεν (*i.e.* Epiphanios) καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἐπιφανίῳ τὴν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ.

[3] Polybios (c. 63) represents Epiphanios just before leaving Constantinople as informing the Emperor Arcadius that he was then one hundred and fifteen years and three months old, having been consecrated a bishop when sixty, and having discharged the duties of that office for fifty-five years. Papebroch questions the accuracy of this statement for the following reasons:—

Acta Sanct. tom. iii., p. 36.

(1) Jerome writing in A.D. 392 of Epiphanios, ten years before the latter's death, says that at the end of his life he was still engaged in literary labours—a statement hardly to be understood of a man 105 years old.

(2) No one would credit a man of that extreme age with being equal to the fatigues of a journey to Constantinople.

(3) From a statement made in a dialogue respecting Chrysostom between Palladios, Bishop of Helenopolis and Theodore, a Roman deacon, to the effect that Epiphanios was a bishop for thirty-six years, Papebroch conjectures that the saint was about ninety-six at the time of his decease, being born in A.D. 308 and consecrated in A.D. 368.

circumstances is commonly reported to have happened in fulfilment of a prediction uttered by that persecuted saint.

There is still extant a life of the Archbishop, the joint production of two of his most intimate associates and disciples, John and Polybios, which differs very materially from the account already given. The former of them, who had been an inmate of Epiphanios' monastery at Besanduke, and the special companion of his travels, seems to have played the part of a Boswell, unknown to his master and contrary to his express commands. On his death-bed he confided his memoirs to Polybios, charging him to continue the work and assuring him that his life would be miraculously prolonged for the purpose. The latter accepted the task and remained with Epiphanios, whom he survived. Though he brought the prelate's remains back to Salamis he was not present at the funeral. His absence he explains by saying that before the burial of the body he had gone by the saint's instructions to the Thebaid, where he was detained and forcibly consecrated to the See of Rhinocorura. This part of the narrative was subsequently furnished at his request by Sabinos, Epiphanios' successor.

Vita S. Epiphanii excerpta ex voce Joannis unius ex ejus discipulis (Pat Græc., tom. xli., p. 24 sq).

Polybii Rhinocorurarum Episcopi reliqua vitæ S. Epiphanii.

This biography has been viewed with very grave suspicion, as it has been found in several important particulars to be utterly at variance with other reliable sources of information.[1] In fact the Bollandist editor has declined to have recourse to it at all, while Baronius has censured its inaccuracies in the very strongest terms.

According to it the father of Epiphanios was an agricultural labourer, while his mother helped to support the family by weaving linen. They had two children—Epiphanios, and a daughter named Kallitropos. When the former was ten years old his father died, leaving his mother in great poverty. There happened to be residing at Eleutheropolis a certain Jewish lawyer, named Tryphon, a very estimable and religious man, who possessed property in the saint's native village. He had known the family, and now offered to adopt Epiphanios—an offer which his mother gratefully accepted. He taught the boy

The Menology curiously asserts that Epiphanios only agreed to the banishment of Chrysostom by the threat of the Empress Eudoxia that she would otherwise reopen the heathen temples.

[1] Plurimis acta ea esse conferta mendaciis judicare cogetur cum Baronio, ad ann. 372, num. 18, quisquis eam (vitam) contulerit cum infra proponendis censuris seu observationibus :—

Acta Sanct. (12th May).

Itaque iis quæ dixi actis omissis, ea colligere aggredior quæ ipse de se pauca satis, plura quæ alii indubitati scriptores suggerent.

the requirements of the Law and the elements of Hebrew learning. Tryphon had an only daughter, whom he designed as a wife for Epiphanios, but the project fell through owing to her death. At his death he left all his property to his adopted son, who, on the death of his own mother, took his sister Kallitropos to live with him. The circumstances which led to Epiphanios becoming a Christian are thus told by his biographers. One day, as he was riding through Besanduke, he encountered a Christian monk, named Lucian, who was traversing the streets of the village on foot. At the moment of their meeting a beggar seized Lucian by the feet and asked an alms, declaring he had not broken his fast for three days. Lucian having nothing else presented his cloak to the suppliant. While Epiphanios was a spectator of this charitable act, he saw a white garment descend from heaven and cover Lucian, in place of the cloak he had just given away. Filled with amazement at the sight he got off the animal he was riding and, falling prostrate before the good man, demanded who he was. Instead of answering, Lucian in turn asked his questioner to what faith he belonged. On Epiphanios replying that he was a Jew he inquired how he could put such a question to a Christian, seeing that the animosity between the two creeds was so great. Epiphanios next desired to know whether any obstacle existed to his becoming a Christian and was informed there was none save his own reluctance. Seven days after their first meeting he received his new friend into his house with his own mother's sister, Veronica, who presided over a community of nuns. The result of this chance acquaintance was that Epiphanios and his sister became members of the Christian Church at Besanduke. To Veronica he afterwards entrusted the charge of Kallitropos, bestowing upon her at the same time 1000 pieces of money. Then having sold all his property except forty pieces, which he reserved for the purchase of religious books, at sixteen years of age he accompanied Lucian to the latter's monastery, the inmates of which earned their livelihood by copying books. Here he met one, who was destined to exercise the greatest influence upon his after life. This individual, Hilarion, the celebrated hermit of later times and the successor of Lucian in the headship of the monastery, was already renowned for the many miracles which he had wrought. To his care the young neophyte was now entrusted for instruction in the Christian Scriptures.

The circumstances, under which Epiphanios became connected

with Cyprus, are as follows: Being informed by the captain of a ship, which had just arrived at Cæsarea from Paphos, that Hilarion had taken up his abode in a cave near that town, he determined to seek him out. Taking with him his two friends, John and Polybios, he proceeded at once in a Cypriot ship in quest of his old master. Great was the joy at the meeting between them. After two days' intercourse Epiphanios resolved to return and, on Hilarion asking where he was going, replied to Ascalon, Gaza, and the desert beyond. Hilarion advised him to proceed to Salamis instead, assuring him that he would find there a place to dwell in and warning him that the voyage he contemplated would be attended with great peril to him. On arrival at the coast with his two companions Epiphanios found two ships bound for Ascalon and Salamis respectively. Contrary to Hilarion's advice they embarked in the former, but scarcely had they put to sea when a violent storm arose, which threatened them with destruction. After contending for four days with the tempest they put into Salamis, exhausted with the dangers and privations through which they had gone. When the ship had refitted they were about to continue their journey when the event occurred which changed the whole course of Epiphanios' life. All the bishops of the island were then assembled in conclave at Salamis to elect a successor to the Archbishop, who had lately died. Some days had been already spent in solemn prayer to God that He would reveal to them their future head. Amongst the number of the assembled prelates was a venerable old man named Pappos, bishop of the insignificant little town of Chytri, distant about twenty-five miles from Salamis. He had been a bishop for fifty-eight years and was held in the utmost respect by his colleagues for his sufferings in the times of persecution. He was gifted, moreover, with a kind of divine prescience, through which it had been revealed to him that Epiphanios should be the new bishop of Salamis. It happened to be the season when the grape harvest was approaching maturity. Before sailing Epiphanios proposed to his companions that they should go into the market and buy some grapes. He had just chosen two very fine bunches and was in the act of paying for them, when the saintly Pappos drew near, his tottering form supported by two deacons and attended by three bishops. Addressing Epiphanios he invited him to leave the fruit with the merchant and accompany them to the church. The latter, accepting the invitation, Pappos on their entrance requested him to offer prayer, when he excused himself

on the plea that he was not in orders. The words had scarcely left his lips before one of the deacons by main force dragged him to the altar, where, after being rapidly passed through the grades of deacon and priest, he was consecrated bishop.[1] On leaving the church at the conclusion of the ceremony they repaired at once to the episcopal residence, when Pappos urged Epiphanios to address the assembled fathers as their spiritual head. The newly-consecrated prelate begged, however, to be excused, until Pappos explained to him that what had just occurred was the result of a divine revelation and that Heaven itself had selected him as their head.

It was not likely that the appointment of a complete stranger to so important a post would be allowed to pass without a protest. Signs of discontent were soon forthcoming, the opportunity for their display being given by Epiphanios himself. Within three days of his consecration to the See a certain Eugnomon, a native of Rome, was imprisoned by one of the leading citizens of Salamis for a debt of one hundred pieces of money. Being a foreigner and possessing no friends in the city no one would trouble to procure his release. Epiphanios hearing of his sad plight pleaded on his behalf with his creditor. Finding there was no chance of setting him at liberty, until the claim had been paid, he took the amount necessary for the purpose from the Church funds. A certain deacon named Charinos, a rich man, whose ambition had been disappointed by Epiphanios' preferment, saw in this circumstance the occasion for which he was looking. Calling together the clergy of the diocese he endeavoured to excite them against the newly-appointed Archbishop. Addressing the latter he inquired whether he, who had come among them a perfect stranger without a rag to his back, was not content with having obtained the See that he must squander its revenues also. He called upon him either to refund the money he had purloined or depart to his own country. It so happened that Eugnomon on his release had proceeded

[1] Epiphanios was subsequently guilty of this irregular practice himself when in the diocese of Eleutheropolis he forcibly ordained Paulinian, St. Jerome's brother, to the offices of deacon and presbyter.

Jerome, Epp., 51, 82.

Robertson says that the practice of forcible ordinations was a remarkable feature of this age. Both forced ordinations and the hasty promotion of neophytes were after a time forbidden by canons and by imperial edicts, in some of which a curious distinction was made between the case of bishops who had been ordained without their own consent, and that of presbyters or lower clergy in like circumstances. The latter were allowed to renounce their orders; but this liberty was denied to the bishops, on the ground that none were really worthy of the episcopate but such as were chosen against their will.

Robertson, Church Hist., vol. i., p. 442.

straight to Rome, where he had sold his property, and had placed the proceeds in the hands of the Archbishop. This sum Epiphanios had distributed among the needy with the exception of one hundred pieces, which, in consequence of this speech, he handed over privately to Charinos with the words: "Take the money I expended on behalf of the stranger's liberty". Charinos at a second meeting of the dissentients showed them the money, which he pretended he had wrung from the Archbishop. His brother clergy, disgusted at the vindictive spirit he had displayed, bade him return it—an injunction which he took care not to obey. Though Epiphanios showed no resentment at his conduct, retribution was not slow in overtaking the offender. It was the former's custom to entertain at his residence the clergy of the diocese, he himself during the meal reading to them from the Gospels, which were his inseparable companions. During one of these repasts a raven flew in at the window and uttered three loud croaks. Charinos, who was one of the party, asked the assembled guests what it was that the bird had said. On the question being put by him three times Epiphanios, who had been in no wise disturbed by the interruption, replied that he knew. Charinos thereupon vowed to put him in possession of all his property if he could tell him. In answer to the challenge Epiphanios replied the bird had announced that Charinos should no longer be a deacon. No sooner had the individual named heard these words than he was seized with a sudden trembling and, being carried home by his servants and put to bed, died next morning. His wife strictly observed the terms of the wager, for she handed over all the property of the deceased to Epiphanios, who in return made her a deaconess, at the same time restoring the use of her hand, which for ten years she had lost through paralysis. After such a warning no one thought, for a while at least, of further opposing Epiphanios. But if his biographers may be credited, though open resistance was now at an end, still for a long time feelings of resentment continued to be cherished against the alien bishop. On one occasion a plot was even formed against his life, the ringleader being a deacon named Rufinus, who hoped, if successful, to become primate himself. It was his duty to arrange the episcopal throne, and one day, while so engaged, he placed in that part of it, where Epiphanios would sit, a sword, covering it from view with rugs. The Archbishop somehow or other must have received notice of the plot, as on ascending the steps of the throne he called to Rufinus to remove the covering, and on his refusal

removed it himself, when the sword falling down pierced the right foot of the conspirator. The latter, after some words of rebuke from his intended victim, withdrew at his orders from the church and three days later met the fate usual to all the adversaries of Epiphanios. The opposition, which had thus been silenced during his lifetime, manifested itself again after his death in the following manner: When the body was conveyed into the metropolitan church of Salamis for interment, two deacons, Longinus and Petronius, converts from Valentinianism, objected to its burial within the walls. This act excited great commotion in the city, as a rumour had somehow got abroad that an attempt would be made to carry off the sacred remains. Accordingly on the tenth day after their sojourn in the church, Sabinos, another of the deacons, in spite of the opposition which he encountered, proceeded with his own hands to dig a grave for their reception. Longinus and Petronius, joined by others of the disaffected, who doubtless thought they might now safely vent their spite, tried to forcibly prevent the execution of his purpose and presumed even to lay hands upon the corpse. When the uproar was at its height, Sabinos bethought himself of invoking the aid of the deceased prelate in defence of his own outraged memory. Scarcely was his petition for help concluded when speedy punishment befell the offenders. Longinus fell to the earth dead, while Petronius, deprived on the moment of the use of his hands and voice, was carried home to die also four days later. After this salutary warning the obsequies were allowed to proceed without further interruption.

The death scene of the famous ecclesiastic has been touchingly described by Polybios. He expired almost within sight of the walls of that city over whose spiritual destinies he had so long presided. On the outskirts of Salamis, at a place called Dianeuterion, sailors were put ashore to inform its inhabitants of the grievous loss they had sustained. "Men and brethren, citizens of the populous metropolis of Constantia, come down to the sea at the place called Dianeuterion and receive the precious remains of our holy and most blessed father Epiphanios, for he has finished his human life." At the news the shadow of a great sorrow seemed to fall upon the town where the aged prelate had for so long been an object of pride and affection to all alike. Crowds ran down to the spot indicated, filling the air with their lamentations, while the roads were thronged with sorrowing country folk flocking into Salamis to do honour to the memory of their venerated pastor.

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